

TOTALITARIANISM - PASS-PORTS &
VISA-S

1989

Increase in number of passport refusals by govt

AN INCREASED number of applications for passports has been turned down by government over the past year.

The Department of Home Affairs said 210 passports and travel documents were denied to SA citizens last year, up from a total of 247 for the 18-month period from June 1986 to December 1987 — or a 22% monthly average increase.

Department spokesman Charles Theron said three passports were withdrawn by Home Affairs Minister J G Botha last year.

He said over the same 18-month period, 260 197 passports and travel documents were granted, meaning one in every 1 000 people was denied the right to travel internationally.

BRENT MELVILLE

Lawyers for Human Rights national director Brian Currin said: "Government statistics show the extent to which we are degenerating — especially in view of the news that the Soviet Union is relaxing on the issue of human rights in terms of the right to travel."

He said government violated the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by viewing it not as a right but a privilege.

The issue was very much of a civil and political nature, and "instead of sharing bottom slot with the Soviet Union on the issue of 'freedom of movement' SA will be left there in a rather lonely position", Currin said.

E
O
sl
si
si

No visas needed ³³⁰ for the Ivory Coast

South Africans no longer need visas to visit the Ivory Coast. *steu 10/1/87*

The marketing director of a travel agency, Mrs Marna Grobelaar, said she had recently visited the Côte d'Ivoire. Despite a slight communication problem, she found the people were very friendly.

Mrs Grobbelaar said she believed the recent peace initiatives in Namibia by the South African Government might have influenced the Côte d'Ivoire's decision. — Sapa.

Cape Times 24/1/89 330

Six month passport for Tutu is 'spiteful'

Political Staff

THE Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev Desmond Tutu, has been granted a passport for only six months — and it expires in June.

A spokesman for Archbishop Tutu's office said yesterday that in recent years he had been granted passports valid for 12 months, but when he applied for a renewal in December last year, it was granted for only six months.

The Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, said yesterday that he had no comment on the matter.

The Progressive Federal Party spokesman on home affairs, Mr Tian van der Merwe, strongly criticised the decision.

"It is a pointless and spiteful move on the part of the government to issue a passport of that nature.

"It is clearly designed to send a political message to the archbishop and as such it is an abuse of power and an abuse of the state's right to issue passports," Mr Van der Merwe said.

CHC-TMB 8/7/84 1330

Naidoo gets no passport

JOHANNESBURG — Congress of South African Trade Unions general secretary Mr Jay Naidoo has been denied a passport to attend the conference of Commonwealth Foreign Ministers in Harare.

Cosatu said in a statement yesterday that the Department of Home Affairs had never given "a straight or no" answer to their application for Mr Naidoo's passport despite repeated attempts to obtain one.

Bop trial: charges withdrawn

MMABATHO — Charges against 21 of the 195 people accused of trying to overthrow the Bophuthatswana government in an abortive coup on February 10 last year, were yesterday withdrawn in the Mmabatho Supreme Court at Rooigrond.

The court also ruled that the trial of eight of the accused be separated from the remaining accused because of a risk of prejudice. All but one of the remaining accused pleaded not guilty to the main charge of high treason and alternative charges under the Bophuthatswana Internal Security Act.

One of the accused, WO Matilo Phiri, 32, pleaded guilty to the main count of high treason.

He admitted in an explanatory state-

ment that he had been involved in the attempt to overthrow the Bophuthatswana government and to install a new government to "restore democracy" in the country.

Phiri said as a regimental sergeant-major in the country's defence force, he had given instructions on February 10 last year to defence force members to detain the president of Bophuthatswana, his cabinet and the commissioner of police.

He had also ordered his forces to occupy the Molopo military base, the Bophuthatswana Broadcasting Centre, Garona government building and the Molopo military airfield.

The case continues. — Sapa.

Cosatu angry about passport

COSATU yesterday condemned the failure of the Home Affairs Department to issue a passport to general secretary Jay Naidoo for travel to the Commonwealth foreign ministers meeting in Harare this week.

It said he had made an urgent application on January 5 for a passport, but no straight reply had been received from the department. The department was "trying to hide its effective refusal behind a veil of bureaucratic silence".

Cosatu attorney's phone calls to the department had elicited responses promising a response only on dates after the planned departure date.

"This type of action once again demonstrates to our overseas allies that SA is ruled by an authoritarian clique."

Vryheid prisoners saw their way free

PRETORIA — Nine awaiting-trial prisoners sawed through the window bars of their cell early yesterday morning and escaped from the Vryheid Prison in Natal, Prisons Service announced.

A spokesman said one of the escapees, Humphrey Mkwanyana, 21, was caught by police in Vryheid. The breakout was being investigated.

Those who escaped yesterday were: James Mhlanga, 32, Abraham Khoza, 26, Teboko Dhlomo, 22, Chris Khumalo, 26, David Madla Malala, 24, Nkosi Nati Khuzwayo, 23, Mandla Ngwenya, 20, and Jabulani Twala, 21.

On Tuesday convicted prisoner Iqbal Mohammed escaped from Durban's R K Khan Hospital. — Sapa.

ITED

ERS
rmen-
clared
of the
ollow-
books
March

RES

RES

educt-

nness-

rpose

aries:
nited
Street
burg
2001
2022

ke,
et,
G.

ted of 'dumpling' body

**Cape lecturer
is refused
new passport**

CAPE TOWN — University of the Western Cape lecturer Mr Graeme Bloch has been refused a passport to visit educational institutions in England and attend a conference in Essex.

The refusal is the third since his passport was confiscated by security police in 1976. — Sapa.

Stoffel bars top Catholic scholar

By KAREN STANDER
Religion Reporter

A LEADING international Catholic theologian and scholar has been refused a visa for South Africa — but his lecture to a University of Cape Town conference will still be heard.

The blocking of the visit by Professor Gregory Baum, of McGill University in Canada, would "fuel the fires of the academic boycott", warned Professor Charles Villa-Vicencio, head of UCT's department of religious studies.

Professor Baum was to have been the main speaker at a conference to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the department of religious studies next week.

Appeal rejected

A copy of his lecture has been forwarded to the department and it will be read out on the second day of the conference. Three South African theologians have been invited to respond to his comments.

Professor Villa-Vicencio said Professor Baum was invited to South Africa by Archbishop Denis Hurley. He was to have lectured at three universities (Natal, Rhodes and UCT) and

delivered public lectures arranged by the Institute of Contextual Theology.

After his visa was refused an appeal was made by Archbishop Hurley, the vice-chancellors of the three universities, the Canadian Embassy and Progressive Federal Party MP Mr Peter Gastrow.

It was confirmed last week that the appeal had been turned down.

Professor Villa-Vicencio said the department of religious studies condemned the refusal in "the strongest possible terms".

"I can only conclude that either this government is feeling far more vulnerable than we realise or, alternatively, the Minister (of Home Affairs Mr Stoffel Botha) is simply being bloody-minded.

"This high-handed action by the state fuels the fires of the academic boycott and it will again be argued in some circles that if an academic of the standing of Professor Baum is denied a visa, others ought to be blocked."

UCT vice-chancellor Dr Stuart Saunders "deplored" the visa refusal.

He said Professor Baum was a scholar of international repute "from whom many would have benefited".

McGill
6/4/89 330

Star 11/4/89

330

120

125

283 journalists refused entry to SA

Of the 898 visa applications by media representatives last year, 283 were refused or cancelled and 556 approved, the Director-General of Home Affairs, Mr Gerrie van Zyl, said in his department's report for 1988, tabled in Parliament yesterday.

He said 13 615 visitors' return or transit visa applications by

other people were turned down and 400 908 approved.

ILLEGALS

The illegal entry of people from Mozambique into the self-governing territories of Gazankulu and kaNgwane had continued during the year.

At the request of the governments concerned, no steps were

taken against these illegals.

They were issued with provisional permits which restricted their residence to those areas until they could return to Mozambique.

Since December 1985, 10 311 people had been issued with such permits in kaNgwane and 33 538 since April 1986 in Gazankulu. — Sapa.

Cam Times 11/4/87

13 615 visa requests turned down in 1988

By BARRY STREEK

330

THE government last year turned down 13 615 applications for visas to visit South Africa, the Department of Home Affairs said yesterday.

It also refused 214 applications for passports and the passports of three people were withdrawn. A further eight passports were refused by the Director of Civic Affairs and Manpower in Windhoek.

In its 1988 report, tabled in Parliament yesterday, the department said that 400 908 passport applications were approved last year.

Most of the approved visa applications were from Africa — 226 951 — but 94 268 from Europe and 41 839 from North America were also approved.

In comparison to 1987, the number of visas issued increased by an average 34,1% a month.

The department said 898 visa applications from media representatives were received last year, and 556 of these were approved, 283 refused and 59 were still under consideration at the end of last year.

STW 12/4/87 (330)

PAC leader and wife given SA passports

The president of the Pan Africanist Congress, Mr Zephania Mothopeng, and his wife have been granted passports and plan to travel overseas soon.

Mr Mothopeng said yesterday that he was happy because he would be able to receive medical treatment overseas.

Mr Mothopeng, who was released from jail in November last year, said he would travel to Britain, the United States and other countries on dates to be finalised.

The three-month passports were granted after several refusals. Mr Mothopeng, who has been ill for a long time and underwent an operation, was nominated for the United Nations Human Rights Award together with jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

Art Times 12/12/29
Passport for PAC head 330

JOHANNESBURG. — The president of the Pan Africanist Congress, Mr Zephania Mothopeng, and his wife, Mrs Urbania Mothopeng, have been granted passports and plan to travel overseas soon.

Wilson Sandura, was sworn-in on January 3 by President Robert Mugabe.

investigation so that criminal proceedings can be instituted. — Sapa.

housebreaking thefts.
REPORTS: Sapa, Own Correspondent.

PAC president, wife granted passports



● **MOTHOPENG** PAC president Zephania Mothopeng and his wife, Urbania, have been granted passports and plan to travel overseas soon.

Mothopeng said in Orlando West yesterday he was happy because he now had an opportunity to receive medical treatment overseas. The passports were valid for three months.

Mothopeng, who was released from jail last November, said he would travel to Britain and the US at dates still to be decided on by the family. B/Dan 13/4/87

He said: "I feel happy although it is a right for every South African to have a passport and not a privilege."

Mothopeng, who has been ill for a long time and underwent an operation, was nominated for the UN's Human Rights Award together with jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

He was expected to address a special session of the UN, which paid tribute to him as leader of the PAC in New York at the weekend. — Sapa.

R5,1m for AIDS centres

DIANNA GAMES

ABOUT R5,1m would be spent this financial year to set up AIDS advisory centres in four main cities, excluding Johannesburg, to provide information and training about the virus, and to launch another awareness campaign, the Department of National Health said yesterday.

It said the R5,1m had been added to existing activities such as blood screening, epidemiological surveys, education campaigns and supply of condoms.

This is an increase on the amount spent in the previous year of R2,5m.

Department medical services director Buis Lombard said the centres would be located in Cape Town, Durban, Port Elizabeth and Bloemfontein.

He said although they would be financially subsidised by the department, they would fall under the jurisdiction of the relevant local authorities who would decide on what programmes they would run and what training they would offer.

Johannesburg had an AIDS Training and Information Centre administered by the SA Institute of Medical Research.

Lombard said government needed to promote the awareness that the transmission of AIDS was primarily a social and not a medical problem and was one which the state could not address by itself.

Dispute over cricketer's luxury car

SUSAN RUSSELL

AN R84 000 second-hand Mercedes-Benz is at the centre of a Rand Supreme Court dispute between cricketer Ray Jennings and the House of Sports Cars.

Jennings is suing the motor dealers for R5 000 repairs done on the 280SL Mercedes-Benz immediately after the sale in May 1987. He is also asking for interest and costs.

He claims House of Sports Cars undertook to pay for the correction of any defects to the vehicle after it

had undergone an AA inspection.

House of Sports Cars claim they undertook to pay the costs of removing two dents on the left-hand rear fenders, obtaining a road-worthy certificate, cleaning under the rear valence and a minor lubrication service.

They deny they were under any obligation to pay for anything else. The case continues today.

Refusal of visa for top theologian criticised

By KAREN STANDER
Religion Reporter

AS a society became more unjust, human sciences — including religious studies — were likely to become more radical, internationally renowned scholar Professor Gregory Baum said in a lecture read on his behalf.

Professor Baum, a Catholic theologian from Canada, was invited as keynote speaker at a conference to mark the 20th anniversary of the University of Cape Town's Department of Religious Studies, but he was refused a visa by the government.

Eighty-five guests at the conference signed a petition condemning the refusal of a visa to Professor Baum. The petition is to be sent to the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha.

The petition said the refusal confirmed the conclusions reached by many people that the government feared religious freedom and believed that by denying South Africans the influence of Professor Baum's presence it was countering the process of social change.

Academic boycott

Mr Botha's action had strengthened the cause of those favouring an international academic boycott, which the government claimed to condemn.

In his speech Professor Baum said the notion of a value-free, objective human science was an illusion and in some instances could even serve ideological purposes.

"The human sciences can escape their bondage to the dominant cultural consciousness only through an emancipatory commitment.

"Human science, including religious studies, is or should be, a critical activity. The more unjust a society becomes, the more radical these sciences are likely to appear.

"We may see the day when religious studies will be regarded as a subversive activity," Professor Baum said.

Embassy qualifies Cachalia stance

Star 28/10/89
330
A spokesman for the German Embassy in Cape Town, Mr Herbert Quelle, yesterday pointed out that a statement critical of the South African Government's refusal of a passport to human rights lawyer and restricted United Democratic Front secretary Mr Azhar Cachalia was made in response to queries from the press.

In the statement, the German Embassy said it was "deeply disappointed" that Mr Cachalia had been refused a passport, and said it found it difficult "to accept a practice which denies a citizen the right to travel abroad".

Mr Cachalia was to have travelled to Cologne, West Germany.

By Kaizer Nyatumba

Human rights lawyer and restricted United Democratic Front secretary Mr Azhar Cachalia has been refused a passport — for the fourth time in three years — to travel overseas.

Mr Cachalia was to have travelled to Cologne, West Germany, where he was invited to present a paper at a conference of German lawyers in April.

The German embassy, which had made representations on his behalf, was informed that the application had failed, Mr Cachalia said.

A statement released by the German embassy said: "The embassy is deeply disappointed that the passport was refused. The embassy has not been given any reasons for the refusal.

"It has been the policy of the German federal government to support a free exchange of people and ideas worldwide, and we find it very difficult to accept a practice which denies a citizen the right to travel abroad."

Govt again denies ²³⁰ UDF man a passport

The Johannesburg branch of the National Association of Democratic Lawyers (Nadel) has condemned the Government's refusal to grant Mr Cachalia a passport as "arbitrary and unjustified".

"... Nadel recognises freedom of movement to be a fundamental human right, and considers the refusal of Mr Cachalia's passport to be a violation of this right," the organisation said in a statement.

The national chairman of Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR), Mr Jules Browde, said the LHR would have liked Mr Cachalia to attend the conference since he would have made a worthwhile contribution.

the period from June 15 to December 15 this year.

Cape Times 3/5/89

Passport for Sisulu 330

JOHANNESBURG. — The Department of Home Affairs and Communications yesterday approved a passport application by former detainee and newspaper editor Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu to travel to America for the 50th anniversary of the Nieman Foundation.

Sisulu gets ovation at US Press banquet

The Argus Foreign Service

CAMBRIDGE (Massachusetts). — Zwelakhe Sisulu, the South African journalist, who was recently released without being charged after nearly two years in detention, was given a standing ovation when he attended the 50th anniversary of the Nieman Fellows at Harvard University.

The Nieman Fellowship for Journalists was established at Harvard University 50 years ago and at the weekend nearly 400 Nieman Fellows, including 14 South Africans, gathered with their wives for the celebrations.

Mr Sisulu, who is editor of the New Nation, Johannesburg, and a Nieman Fellow, had earlier declined to accept a passport granted with certain conditions.

When the conditions were withdrawn, he decided to attend the reunion.

He made a late entrance at the dinner on Saturday night, and the people, among them many of the most distinguished names in American journalism, rose to their feet and applauded him.

Mr Sisulu was one of several speakers. He wore a yellow golf shirt as he had just arrived by air from Johannesburg.

Seven drown in bay

Argus Africa News Service

MAPUTO. — Seven people drowned when their small boat hit a rock close to the mouth of the Maputo River in Maputo

Top journalists Sturges 189 applaud Sisulu

By Michael Green

CAMBRIDGE (Massachusetts) — Zwelakhe Sisulu, who was recently released without charge after almost two years in detention, was given a standing ovation when he attended the 50th anniversary of the Nieman Fellows at Harvard University on Saturday.

The Nieman Fellowship for Journalists was established at Harvard University 50 years ago and at the weekend nearly 400 Nieman Fellows, including 14 South Africans, gathered with their wives for the celebrations.

Mr Sisulu, editor of *New Nation* and a Nieman Fellow, had earlier declined to accept a passport granted with certain

conditions.

When the conditions were withdrawn, he decided to attend the reunion. He made a late entrance at the Fellows' dinner on Saturday night, and the company, among them many of the most distinguished names in American journalism, rose to applaud him.

Mr Sisulu was one of several speakers at the function.

He urged Americans to continue to oppose apartheid and acknowledged the help given to him by Nieman Fellows, who made representations to the Government for his release.

● Michael Green is editor of *The Daily News* in Durban and is also a Nieman Fellow.

CAPL 7/1/89
13/5/89
330

169 refused passports

Political Staff

THE government refused passports to 169 people last year, the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, said yesterday.

In response to a question tabled by Mr Tian van der Merwe (DP, Green Point), Mr Botha said his department had received 231 882 applications for passports and renewal of passports.

He added that 10 coloured people, 24 Indians, 112 blacks and 23 whites were refused passports.

In reply to another question by Mr Van der Merwe, he said 166 people, all black, were deported from South Africa last year.

A further 44 225 people were repatriated, including seven to Tanzania, one to Ghana and 248 to Malawi.

UDF member
South Times 13/5/81
denied passport

THE passport of the prominent anti-apartheid activist and executive member of the UDF, Maulana Farid Esack, has been withdrawn. Mr Esack is the national coordinator for the Call of Islam and the vice-president of the SA branch of the World Council of Religion and Peace.

Columnist blames 'twits' for visa ban

By JEREMY BROOKS
London

A BRITISH journalist discovered the cost of his acid pen this week — an all-expenses-paid holiday in sunny South Africa.

The offer of a first-class SAA air ticket for Sunday Mirror columnist Jeffrey Bernard was swiftly withdrawn when he poked fun at the details demanded in his visa application.

Bernard wrote that he couldn't see the point in listing his past jobs — among them working as a dishwasher and boxer.

Furious

And he couldn't see why Pretoria would be interested in which schools he went to.

Friends — one the daughter of a black political prisoner in SA — were furious that he was even considering the trip. But, he said, writing was his living and he would travel anywhere to observe and write about life.

"Anyway, I might not be able to go at all, because they don't half make a fuss about giving a hack a visa," he complained.

That was three weeks ago. Then, last Sunday, Bernard's *My Life* column announced that "a load of thin-skinned twits" in the SA Government had decided not to grant him the visa. All foreign journalists must have one before they are allowed into the country. "In a way I



JEFFREY BERNARD
Poked fun at questions

feel flattered that, as a small fry, non-political hack I should be barred from the wretched place," said Bernard.

"Now I know why it is called the Cape of Good Hope. You can hope for something better once you have rounded it."

The attack, in the pages of the 2.7-million circulation newspaper, left many people fuming.

However, the SA Embassy denied responsibility, saying

it wasn't it, or Pretoria, that vetoed the visa.

No decision had yet been made on Bernard's application, a spokesman said. But it is clear the advice they gave Pretoria on how to deal with it is not favourable.

Bernard himself says the offer came to him via Charles Moore, editor of the respected *Spectator* magazine where he writes another column, *Low Life*. Mr Moore had been offered the ticket by SAA and had decided to pass it on to Bernard.

"Charles was very upset after I wrote the first piece. He had offered me the ticket and was obviously hoping I would write a few columns from South Africa.

"I got a letter from him giving me a right rollicking, telling me that basically I had f****d it all up. It was clear to me the offer no longer stood."

SAA's London manager, John Mathews, would not take calls on the subject from the *Sunday Times*, and Mr Moore was said to be either at a meeting or unavailable.

SA passport refused

DURBAN. — Banned Durban journalist Mr Marimuthu Subramoney, 42, now managing editor of the Press Trust of SA News Agency, has once again been refused a passport by the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha.

CH 7/1/15
13/6/87 330

Passport refused for ex-political prisoner

CH 17/6/89
Times

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

330

A FORMER Robben Island prisoner, Mr Trevor Wentzel, has been refused a passport for the second time, after being invited to visit Europe. Mr Wentzel said yesterday that he had been informed by the Department of Home Affairs that his application for a passport had been turned down. Last year a similar application was refused, but he was told he could make representations to the department, including details of his itinerary and who was paying his travelling expenses. He spent a year on Robben Island after he was convicted in 1985 for a 1984 attack on the house of Ravensmead MP Mr Hansie Christians, who was the Labour Party candidate at the time. Mr Wentzel was released after his conviction was set aside.

Passport to see Bush for Mrs Sisulu



UNITED Democratic Front leader Mrs Albertina Sisulu has been issued with a South African passport.

She left Jan Smuts Airport last night to meet President George Bush and President Francois Mitterrand's wife, Danielle.

This is the first time the 70-year-old Mrs Sisulu, who has been banned for a total of 18 years since her political involvement began in the 1940s, has been issued with a passport or been allowed to leave the country.

A clearly delighted Mrs Sisulu, who was accompanied by Sister Bernard Ncube and Mrs Jessie Duarte of the Federation of Transvaal Women, said last night: "I have been invited to the United States by President Bush himself and Mrs

Danielle Mitterrand has invited me to France."

Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa, the acting general secretary of the UDF, who was at the airport to bid her farewell, said: "It is strange that in South Africa Mrs Sisulu is a restricted person who may not leave her Sowe to home from 6 pm to 6 am and yet she has been issued with a passport to leave the country and will be addressing a meeting in France."

The departure of the three women last night seemed almost hush-hush. Only close friends and relatives saw them off and there were no well-wishing crowds.

Mrs Sisulu's passport will enable her to meet her son Max whom she has not seen since his exile after the crackdown on the ANC in 1963. But

● TO PAGE 2.

Passport granted to Mrs Sisulu

● FROM PAGE 1.

the prized passport has its limits — it is only valid for 30 days.

First stop for Mrs Sisulu is France where she will meet a number of important French diplomats. She will also be going to Sweden with Sister Bernard Ncube who has been invited there.

The UDF co-president will then join up with a delegation of UDF leaders including national treasurer Mr Azhur Cachalia, Mr Titus Mofolo, an executive member of the UDF, and Mr Curnick Ndlovu, the organisation's national chairman, to meet President Bush.

President Bush's invitation, according to White House Press secretary Mr Marlin Fitzwater, is being viewed as one of the ways President Bush and his administration intend "to pressure and use their influence to bring about justice and equality in South Africa".

No date

Although no date for the UDF meeting with President Bush has as yet been set, the meeting is expected to be near the end of June.

This meeting follows shortly after President Bush's recent talks with Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Reverend Allan Boesak and Reverend Beyers Naude.

Mrs Sisulu is the wife of the former secretary general of the ANC, Walter Sisulu (75), who has served a 26-year jail term and is now being held at Pollsmoor Prison.

Her younger son, Zwelakhe Sisulu (38), a journalist and former trade unionist, was detained for 950 days and has since been stringently restricted. He may not return to his job as editor of the *New Nation*.

The Sisulu family has been recognised internationally with a number of human rights awards, the most recent of which was the Carter-Menil Human Rights Prize for giving "hope to all in South Africa who oppose and suffer under this unjust system" (of apartheid).



Skirmish over visas 'could end in war'

By David Braun,
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Deteriorating diplomatic relations between South Africa and Canada have resulted in a new skirmish over visas for diplomats.

Normally, diplomats wishing to visit a country are routinely granted visas on receipt of written application.

However, in recent weeks Canada and South Africa have been embroiled in a tit-for-tat exchange which could, in the words of a Canadian official, have the potential to end in diplomatic war.

It started two weeks ago when Canada refused to grant a visa to an official of the South African Department of Health and Welfare to attend an international Aids conference in Montreal.

Although about a dozen South African delegates from hospitals and academic institutions were allowed to attend, Ottawa rejected the health department official's application in keeping with its policy of keeping official

contacts between the two governments to a minimum.

According to reports in the Canadian media this week, South Africa retaliated a week later by refusing to issue visas to two senior officials from the Canadian International Development Agency. Both have diplomatic status and were on their way to Lesotho where their agency has programmes.

This decision was apparently made in Pretoria in direct retaliation for the Canadian decision to refuse the health official's visa.

A few weeks ago an attache from the South African Embassy in Washington, who regularly visits the Ottawa embassy, had to undergo an interview and wait for several hours before getting his visa.

Ottawa has apparently given instructions to hand out the same treatment to all South Africans who want to visit Canada.

South Africans wishing to visit Canada must apply for their visas outside of South Africa.

SA and Canada in visa skirmish

CN 7/16/89 330

By DAVID BRAUN, The Argus Foreign Service, Washington

DETERIORATING diplomatic relations between South Africa and Canada have resulted in a new skirmish over visas for diplomats.

Normally, diplomats wishing to visit a country are routinely granted visas on receipt of written application.

However, in recent weeks Canada and South Africa have been embroiled in a tit-for-tat exchange which could, in the words of a Canadian official, have the potential to end in a diplomatic war.

The exchange started two weeks ago when Canada refused to grant a visa to an official of the South African department of Health and Welfare to attend an international conference on Aids in Montreal.

Although about a dozen South African delegates from hospitals and academic institutions were allowed to attend, Ottawa rejected the Health department official's application in keeping with its policy of keeping official contacts between the two governments to a minimum.

According to reports in the Canadian media this week, South Africa retaliated a week later by refusing to issue visas to two senior officials from the Canadian International Development Agency. Both have diplomatic status and were on their way to Lesotho where their agency has programmes.

The decision to reject their visa applications was apparently made in Pretoria in direct retaliation for the Canadian decision to refuse the Health official a visa.

A few weeks ago an attache from the South African Embassy in Washington, who regularly visits the Embassy in Ottawa, was made to undergo an interview and wait for several hours before being granted a visa.

Ottawa has apparently given instructions to hand out the same treatment to all South Africans wanting to visit Canada.

Earlier this year, South African journalists complained angrily at the way they had been treated by the Canadian Embassy in London when applying for a visa to attend a media conference hosted by the Canadian Government.

South Africans wishing to visit Canada must apply for their visas outside South Africa.

DIPLOMACY

smashing windows and walls.

Cape Times 22/6/89
Canadians denied visas *330*

PRETORIA. — Two senior officials of the Canadian International Development Agency, Mr Steven Gibbons and Mr Don McMaster, have been denied visas to enter South Africa.

Sowetan 22/6/89

330

GO HOME - SISULU TO DE KLERK

LONDON — Ululations and cries of "Amandla, Awethu" greeted Albertina Sisulu as she ascended the back of a truck in the drab grey forum of London's Bull Ring on Tuesday evening.

Sisulu, for the first time in her life allowed to travel abroad, addressed an emotional meeting of around 600 anti-apartheid campaigners protesting this week's visit to Europe by Mr F W de Klerk.

A forest of banners proclaiming "Send De Klerk home" faced Sisulu as she took the microphone and silently raised a fist.

Standing nearby, to underline the way women have fought apartheid, was Adelaide Tambo, wife of Oliver, and Sister Bernard Ngcube of the Federation of Transvaal Women.

The dignified UDF co-



Mrs Albertina Sisulu

president delivered a stinging attack on De Klerk, saying he had nothing to offer blacks in South Africa.

He must, she said, be sent home to end the state of emergency, free political prisoners, unban the ANC and other organisations, allow all exiles home — and suspend the September elections.

In the meantime, the Western world should up the ante by increasing the sanctions pressure.

The diminutive Sister Bernard followed Sisulu

onto the makeshift platform to call the South African Government illegitimate. "Our government is in exile, and we are preparing a welcome for them," she told the crowd.

Sisulu, who has been given 30 days' leave to travel, will return home to a set of restrictions which include bans on attending meetings and talking to the Press.

She believes the authorities gave in on the passport question after she received an invitation to talk to President Bush, which she will do later in the week, accompanied by Sister Bernard and secretary general of the Federation of Transvaal Women, Jessie Duarte.

The women have already seen the Swedish foreign minister and left Britain yesterday for a meeting with Danielle Mitterand, wife of the French president, before heading for Washington.

— *Sowetan Foreign News Service.*

3 UDF leaders get passports

QNB Times 24/6/89 330
PRETORIA. — The Department of Home Affairs has approved the passport applications of three UDF leaders who are due to meet President George Bush next week, a departmental spokesman, Mr Charles Theron, said yesterday.

Mr Curnick Ndlovu, Mr Titus Mofolo and Mr Azhar Cachalia are due to leave South Africa as part of a delegation on Monday to meet President Bush at the end of the week. — Sapa

Passports

for UDF leaders

THE Department of Home Affairs had approved the passport applications of three UDF leaders who are due to meet US President George Bush next week, a departmental spokesman, Mr Charles Theron, said yesterday.

Mr Curnick Ndlovu, Mr Titus Mofolo and Mr Azhar Cachalia will leave South Africa on Monday for the meeting.

They are members of a delegation led by UDF president Mrs Albertina Sisulu and Federation of Transvaal Women president Sister Bernard Ngcube, who have already been granted their passports.

Commentators said the department had been obliged to issue the passports in view of a possible meeting later between the US President and Mr F W de Klerk, who is currently meeting European leaders.

The department has, in the past, withheld passports from anti-apartheid activists. — Sapa.

Former Canadian Minister wins battle over Namibian visa

330

By Brendan Seery,
The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — After winning her battle with the South African authorities over the issue of a visa, former Canadian External Affairs Minister Miss Flora MacDonald finally arrived in Namibia yesterday to join a non-government Canadian team observing the transition to independence.

Miss MacDonald — who served as External Affairs Minister in the late 1970s and has held other ministerial posts — was initially refused a visa when she applied from Canada some weeks ago.

She said as she was the holder of a Canadian diplomatic passport, her government's Department of External Affairs had made an official protest to the South African ambassador in Canada over the refusal.

As she was about to call a press conference last week to denounce the South African attitude, the visa was approved. It is understood that the Windhoek office of Administrator-General Mr Louis Pienaar played a major role in getting approval.

She and 10 other representatives of Canadian non-government organisations will stay in Namibia for about a fortnight.

AP 7/15 14/7/89
New passport
for Tutu

330
Political Staff

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu has had his passport renewed, but only for six months.

This is the second time Dr Tutu's passport has been renewed for a six-month period. Dr Tutu's liaison officer, Mr John Allen, said although the archbishop has had his passport removed twice since 1980, it had recently been issued for a year at a time.

DP hits out at visa curb on Breytenbach

By Bruce Cameron,
Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The Government was strongly criticised today for not granting exiled Afrikaans poet, Mr Breyten Breytenbach, a three-week visa. It has limited him to a four-day visit.

Home Affairs Minister, Mr Stoffel Botha said yesterday that he had issued a four-day visa on humanitarian grounds and on condition he did not participate in politics while in South Africa.

FREED 330

Breytenbach, who has lived in Paris since he was freed in 1982 after serving seven years for terrorism, had applied for the visa to visit his sick father.

However, friends of Breytenbach say he applied for a three-week visa and his wife, Yolande, for four weeks.

Democratic Party Home Affairs spokesman, Mr Tiaan van der Merwe, said today: "This is just another instance of the uncaring narrow attitude so often displayed by the Government."

SUFFER

"Breytenbach, whatever his background, paid the penalty yet the Department of Home Affairs and the Government seem intent on continuing to make him suffer."

"What earthly damage does the Government think Breytenbach is going to do in South Africa in three weeks that he is not going to do in four days."

"It reflects an authoritarian attitude of a Government which does not begin to understand what fundamental human rights mean."

B/Daw 21/7/89

(330)

Breytenbach gets four-day visa

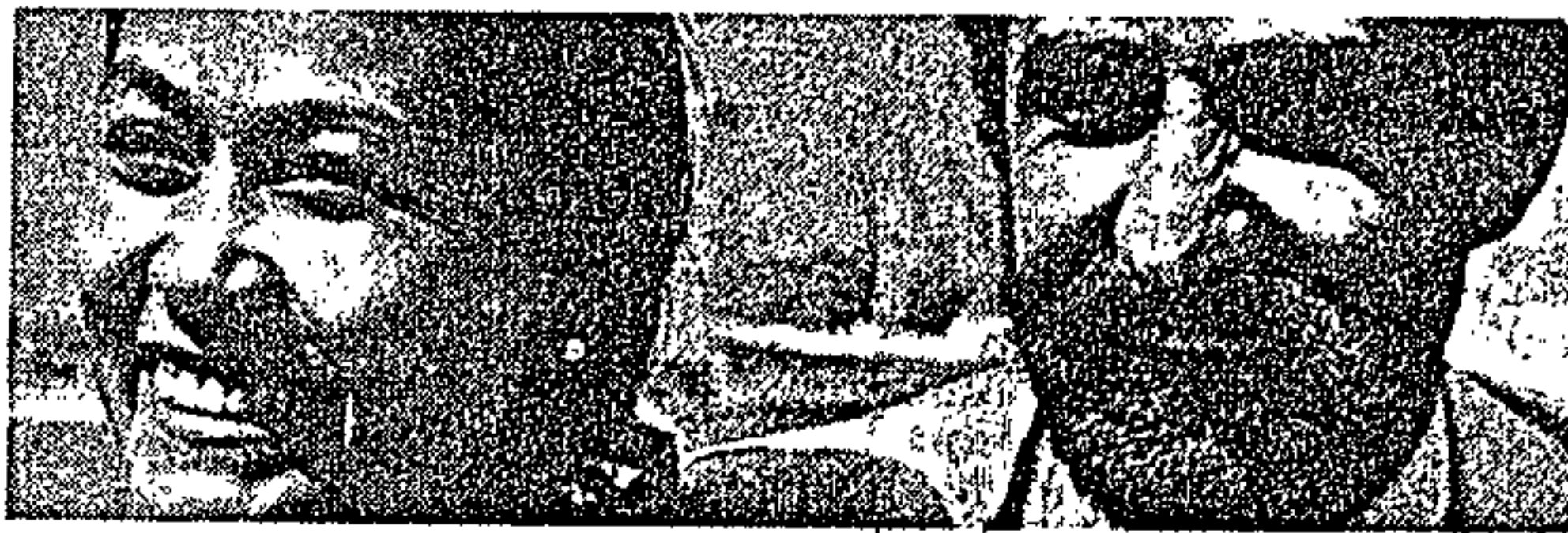
SA HAS granted exiled poet Breyten Breytenbach and his wife four-day visas to visit his ailing father.

Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha said in a statement that he had issued the visas on humanitarian grounds and on condition that the couple did not engage in politics.

Friends of Breytenbach's said they expected the couple to arrive before the weekend. — Sapa-Reuter.

'Govt no longer

di-



**SECRET
VISIT ...**
Yolande and
Breyten
Breytenbach
were allowed
to visit the
poet's ill
father.

Breytenbach's secret visit is already over

Own Correspondent
PORT ELIZABETH. — Breyten Breytenbach has been and gone.

The South African poet returned to exile in Europe last night after a whistle-stop visit to his bed-ridden father in a Grahamstown hospital on Tuesday night.

The government announced on Thursday that Breytenbach and his wife Yolande had been granted four-day visas specifically to visit the poet's ailing 84-year-old father.

Mr Breytenbach senior is a patient in the geriatric wing at Settlers Hospital, Grahamstown.

A statement by Home Affairs Minis-

ter Mr Stoffel Botha suggested that the visit was still pending and reports indicated it was likely to take place this weekend.

But news that Breytenbach had already visited his father and was already en route back to Europe, leaked in Grahamstown yesterday.

Only a select few relatives and close friends knew of Breytenbach's trip.

Friend and fellow writer Prof Andre Brink refused all requests for comment.

It is understood that the government requested complete secrecy around the trip before acceding to the visa applications.

Breyten forced into a pact of silence

Sunday Times Reporters

EXILED poet Breyten Breytenbach was forced to enter into a "pact of silence" with the Department of Home Affairs in order to visit his sick father.

Millions of South Africans were told on Thursday night's SATV news that the controversial writer and his wife had been granted visas to visit South Africa for four days. *STimes 23/7/89*

But Breytenbach was already here, visiting his ailing father, Mr J Breytenbach, 84, who recently suffered a stroke and is in Grahamstown's Settlers Hospital. **330**

"Breyten agreed to keep his trip a secret to ensure he was granted the visa," said a friend yesterday.

"The authorities kept a close watch on him while he was in the country."

Flew

"And all his friends were instructed to stay mum on his presence."

The fellow author and friend, who did not want to be named, said Breyten spoke of his impending visit when he and other writers met the ANC at Victoria Falls a fortnight ago.

"He left the country the way he came — via Swaziland — and flew to Harare before going to West Berlin for a writers' conference," the friend said.

"Yolande flew via Jan Smuts on a separate aircraft."

Breyten drove to Grahamstown from Swaziland by car, the friend said.

The poet has been refused visas several times.

"The family does not want to discuss the matter," a brother, Mr Cloete Breytenbach, said.

The Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, said Breytenbach had been granted a four-day visa on "humanitarian" grounds on condition the couple did not engage in politics.

Cachalia denied ^{Conf. Twp/1} passport ^{8/8/89} 330

JOHANNESBURG. — United Democratic Front national treasurer Mr Azhar Cachalia, part of a UDF group which travelled overseas recently to meet President George Bush and Mrs Margaret Thatcher among others, has been refused a passport to address a Commonwealth gathering in Australia.

Mr Cachalia said yesterday that he was informed last Friday (August 4) by the Department of Home Affairs. No reasons were given by the department.

The anti-apartheid activist was to have addressed the Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers in Southern Africa (CCFMSA) meeting in Canberra yesterday at the invitation of Mr Joe Clark, Canada's Foreign Minister, who is chairman of the committee.

Dr Max Coleman of the Human Rights Commission, Alexandra township, trade union activist Mr Moses Mayekiso and Father Smangalisu Mkathswa of the Institute of Contextual Theology are to address the CCFMSA today. — Sapa

1/11/89

70 new names in Gazette

Passtoors has now joined banned list

Pretoria Correspondent

Ms Helene Passtoors, who was deported to Belgium earlier this year, is one of the 70 new names to appear in the latest list of banned people in the Government Gazette.

Anyone on what is known as the consolidated list may not be quoted, even although not in South Africa. Some of the people are dead, but may nevertheless still not be quoted.

People convicted of serious offences, such as treason, have their names placed on the list.

These people — such as Popo Molefe, Moss Chikane, "Terror" Lekota, Paulus Malindi and Tom Manthata of the UDF — and others serving prison sentences on Robben Island, are on the list.

Treason convictions

Other newly-listed Robben Island prisoners are those tried at Bethal: Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim, Simon Dladla and Acton Mandla Maseko.

They were convicted this year by the Pretoria Supreme Court of treason and terrorism.

People are listed in the consolidated list in terms of section 27 of the Internal Security Act of 1982, section 16 of the Internal Security Act of 1982, and section 28 of the Internal Security Act.

Also named are people whose

names appeared on a consolidated list in terms of the Internal Security Act 44 of 1950.

Listings under section 27 of the Internal Security Act details names, dates of birth, addresses at the time of departure from South Africa, occupations and present whereabouts.

The consolidated list also details convictions and dates of conviction of people listed in terms of section 16 of the Internal Security Act of 1982.

The names of people who were listed in terms of the Internal Security Act of 1950 appear in the updated list, as do their present whereabouts.

The period of detention of detainees and former detainees in terms of section 29 of the Internal Security Act of 1982 also appear in the consolidated list.

7 pupils held housebreakin

Police have arrested seven pupils at high schools in Johannesburg's suburbs in connection with a burglary racket.

The value of goods recovered by Linden detectives was R45 000, watersrand police spokesman Colonel Frans Malherbe.

The suspects have been linked to breakings in Windsor, Randburg and Richmond.

The suspects, aged between 15 and 18, are expected to appear soon in Magistrate's Court. — Crime R

Policemen

13 embassies back poet's passport bid

Star 7/10/89
PAT DEVEREAUX 330

THIRTEEN foreign embassies including the British, French and American are sponsoring an "international solidarity" concert for poet Mzwakhe Mbuli at Johannesburg's Market Theatre Warehouse today.

Initiated by the West German Embassy's Mr Peter Ruthmann, the solidarity concert is an attempt to stop harassment of "peoples' poet" Mzwakhe Mbuli and support his efforts to obtain a passport.

In the past three years, the South African poet has had many requests to perform overseas but has been unable to go. Mbuli was recently asked to perform at a series of European concerts beginning next month.

However, Mbuli and his wife Nomsa are expected to appear in a Soweto regional court on charges under the Arms and Ammunitions Act on Monday.

This follows Mbuli's lengthy detention under emergency regulations, the banning of some of his "anti-establishment" poetry and a recent grenade attack on his home.

The poet's benefit concert begins at noon and features singer Jennifer Ferguson and the African Jazz Pioneers.

...to blow

Albertina Sisulu restrictions lifted

Political Staff

AK645 13/10/89 (24330)

RESTRICTION orders on Mrs Albertina Sisulu have been lifted, a spokesman of the Ministry of Law and Order said today.

Mrs Sisulu, 70, is president of the United Democratic Front and wife of African National Congress official Mr Walter Sisulu, who is to be released.

Mrs Sisulu has been effectively banned since her political involvement began in the early 1940s through the influence of her then husband-to-be Walter — an active member of the ANC's Youth League who later became the organisation's secretary-general.

The couple were married in July 1944 and have five children, among them restricted New Nation editor Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu. Four of them are political activists, two in exile.

This year Mrs Sisulu was issued with a passport for the first time since being placed under banning orders in 1964.

She joined the ANC's Women's League in 1948 and in 1954 became active in the Federation of South African Women, a women's rights organisation of which she became president.

● Picture, page 3.

Passports wanted for Sisulu group

SEVEN ANC members among the eight political prisoners to be released soon would apply for passports to travel to Lusaka to report to the ANC, NUM general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa said at an MDM Press conference yesterday.

He said he hoped government would grant them passports because, as members of the ANC, they were accountable and needed to report to the leadership in exile. *Monday 13/10/89*

If they were refused passports, it would be a clear indication government was not serious about engaging in negotiations to bring about a peaceful SA, Ramaphosa said.

The Press conference was held to announce the formation of a National Reception Committee by Cosatu and the UDF to welcome the seven on their release.

SA Youth Congress president Peter Mokaba said government had to look at unbanning the ANC as the political prisoners

EDYTH BULBRING

were leaders of the organisation and could not be released into a vacuum.

Ramaphosa said Mandela had told him and his three companions he could not, as a prisoner, enter into negotiations with government.

After talks with government before its announcement that it was releasing the prisoners, Mandela said his release was not on the agenda.

At no stage during his talks with the authorities about the release of his fellow prisoners did Mandela ask for his own release, Ramaphosa said.

Mandela told the four he had urged government to talk to the ANC leadership.

The release of the eight political prisoners in the immediate future would probably be staggered, Ramaphosa said. However, it was expected it would happen during the next two weeks. (330)

Ex-trialist gets passport

STimes 15/10/84
A FORMER treason trialist was granted a passport this week to travel to any part of the world.

Natal Indian Congress executive member Mewa Ramgobin had to wait for more than 15 years to be issued with the document which is valid for six months.

In 1974 Mr Ramgobin was given a six-month passport to visit a sick relative in India. During the trip he was a guest of the Indian, Ceylon and Mauritius governments.

He has made six applications since 1983 to travel abroad but they were all refused.

By GEORGE MAHABEER

He was not able to accept an invitation by the publisher of his book, *Waiting to Live*, to visit America for its launch.

Mr Ramgobin was part of a group of political activists who sought refuge in the British Consulate in Durban in 1984 to highlight the plight of detainees held without trial.

In December 1984 he was charged with high treason but was acquitted in December 1985.

Mr Ramgobin was banned

for 17 years and under house arrest for 12 years.

He played a leading role in reviving the NIC in the nine months he was free between December 1970 and September 1971 when he was banned again.

Mr Ramgobin said he was happy to receive the passport although it was valid for only six months.

"But my happiness would be greater if my compatriots were also allowed to travel freely."

Mr Ramgobin added: "I will be leaving for England and Germany shortly."

in mass executions, Tehran residents said yesterday.

CMT T-15 16/10/87
Passport took 15 years 330

A NATAL Indian Congress executive member, Mr Mewa Ramgobin, who was banned for 17 years and placed under house arrest for 12 years, has at last been granted a passport after trying for more than 15 years.

Passport for ^{CAT} ^{7/11/89} ³³⁰ Mr Mpetha

Political Correspondent
RECENTLY released
trade union veteran and
Cape ANC leader Mr Os-
car Mpetha has been
given a passport.

Mr Mpetha, 80, was the
oldest of eight political
prisoners freed in Octo-
ber.

There has been specu-
lation that some of the
released men may at-
tend a major anti-apar-
theid conference being
held in Paris on Novem-
ber 25.

However, announcing
the granting of Mr
Mpetha's passport yes-
terday, Minister of Home
Affairs Mr Gene Louw
said it was to allow him
to visit relatives in Brit-
ain.

ANC eight's plans for Lusaka visit

CAT TUN'S
11/11/89
330

PORT ELIZABETH. — The eight ANC leaders who were recently released are planning to visit Lusaka soon for talks with the ANC's executive.

Mr Govan Mbeki, speaking to the press yesterday for the first time since being restricted soon after his release from prison two years ago, said he and the seven ANC leaders released last month had applied for passports.

Their intention was to travel to the ANC's Lusaka headquarters to consult the national executive on the political situation in South Africa, Mr Mbeki, 79, told Sapa during a telephonic interview from his home.

He said he was "naturally very happy" at the lifting of his restriction orders, which for two years prevented him from talking to the press, leaving the magisterial district of his home without permission and attending gatherings.

A spokesman for Mr Walter Sisulu, one of the seven leaders released in October, confirmed yesterday that all seven were in the process of applying for their passports.

Mr Mbeki's lawyer, Ms Priscilla Jana, said she had applied to have his restrictions lifted in view of the fact that the other seven leaders had not

been restricted on their release.

A spokesman for Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok said Mr Mbeki's restrictions had been lifted "after careful consideration".

Mr Mbeki said he had no immediate plans for his new-found freedom, but it could be expected that he would resume political involvement, "especially with my former comrades of the Rivonia trial".

Unless it was necessary, he would not be travelling to Johannesburg in the near future.

Mr Mbeki said he had submitted his application for a passport on Tuesday this week, before the news that his restriction orders were to be lifted had reached him.

He had intended applying for the permission required in terms of the restriction orders to travel to Lusaka as soon as the passport had been issued, he said.

Mr Mbeki was a schoolteacher and newspaper editor before his arrest in Johannesburg in 1963. He also published two books on black politics in South Africa.

In Pretoria, a senior police spokesman yesterday confirmed that restriction orders had been lifted on Mr Mbeki. — Sapa

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. —

Exiled ANC Youth League founder Mr Anton "A.P." Mda has made an application to President F.W. de Klerk to return for a week to address the launching of the Pan Africanist

Movement (PAM) in Soweto in early December.

In what is seen in both parliamentary and extra-parliamentary circles as the biggest test of Mr De Klerk's reform policies, Mr Mda — who has been in self-imposed exile for more than 25 years — is asking Mr De Klerk to guarantee his safe passage into Soweto and his return to Lesotho.

Mr Mda's application for a political visit to SA is a sequel to an invitation by the PAM's leadership to address the movement's three-day inaugural congress on December 1, 2 and 3.

In a statement, PAM's interim committee publicity secretary Mr Bennie Alexander said Mr Mda — who is now a Lesotho citizen — made the application yesterday to return to his country of birth through PAM's lawyers.

ANC man
requests

SA return

330

'People's poet' refused passport

JOHANNESBURG. — Prominent people's poet Mzwakhe Mbuli has been denied his South African passport, and as a result is unable to accept invitations to perform in Germany, Holland, Switzerland and Austria.

Shifty Records announced in Johannesburg yesterday that Mr Mbuli had not been given any reasons for the refusal of his passport. — Sapa

Santa brings a passport!

By GEORGE MAHABEER

(330) AFTER being denied a passport for 10 years, a journalist has received a surprise Christmas gift — a two-year passport to take up a scholarship in West Germany.

Mr Marimuthu Subramoney, who has just turned 43, will leave Durban in January to study as a news broadcaster with West Germany's international radio service, Deutsche Welle. *Sitew 17/12/67*

Banned and placed under house arrest in

1980 for three years, Mr Subramoney was unable to accept a scholarship offered him by Scotland's Edinburgh University.

But after several unsuccessful bids for a passport, Mr Subramoney appealed to Minister of Home Affairs Eli Louw.

Mr Subramoney, who owns a news agency in Durban, is the official South African correspondent for Radio Deutsche Welle, the Press Trust of India, Radio Netherlands and several other radio stations and papers.

B/Day 22/12/89

ANC men seek passports again

330

EDYTH BULBRING

FIVE of the seven recently released ANC leaders have reapplied for passports, a Home Affairs spokesman confirmed yesterday.

They are expected to travel to Lusaka in January to consult the ANC. The spokesman said he had received fresh applications from Walter Sisulu, Andrew Mlangeni, Elias Motsoaledi, Wilton Mkwayi and Ahmed Kathrada. The five initially withdrew their applications for passports on December 12.

A separate passport application by Raymond Mhlaba was still under consideration, he said.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports Sisulu said in a Christmas message in the New Nation newspaper yesterday that South Africans had a duty to intervene in the troubled Natal townships to minimise, if not to eliminate, the violence there.

He added that the end of the decade gave South Africans some hope for the relaxation of tension in the country as a whole.

□ SACC general secretary the Rev Frank Chikane has invited leaders of Azapo and the Pan Africanist Movement to a meeting to discuss allegations that the SACC had funded the Jeff Mase-mola Welcome Rally after some "arm-twisting".

"The matter is considered by the SACC to be serious enough to warrant an urgent meeting before the Christmas break," said Chikane in a letter to Nkosi Molala, president of Azapo and Benny Alexander, PAM general secretary. Chikane said no response had yet been received from the two organisations.

Passports for ANC men to go to Lusaka

CM- Times 28/12/89
330

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Seven top internal ANC leaders, including Mr Walter Sisulu, will travel to Lusaka in the first two weeks of January to attend what is being called the most significant conference on the future of South Africa by anti-apartheid leaders in at least three decades.

Sketchy plans for the talks were advanced within hours of yesterday's confirmation by the department of home affairs that passports had been granted for one year to recently released ANC leaders Mr Sisulu, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, Mr Elias Motsoaledi, Mr Wilton Mkwayi, Mr Andrew Mlangeni, Mr Raymond Mhlaba and Mr Govan Mbeki.

The importance of the talks was emphasised by the ANC in Lusaka yesterday, by local ANC leaders and by other anti-apartheid leaders.

Mass Democratic Movement leader Mr Murphy Morobe said the meeting would have far-ranging implications for events in South Africa.

The ANC is known to be keen to have the seven arrive in Lusaka to coincide with the annual January 8 state of the nation address by the ANC, which maps out the organisation's aims for the coming year.

1990 will be the first year the ailing leader of the ANC, Mr Oliver Tambo, will not deliver the address.

An ANC spokesman in Lusaka said he was "dumbfounded" by the news of the imminent visits. "I have been pessimistic all this time."

TOTALITARIANISM - PASSPORTS & VISAS

1990

JANUARY - MAY

Last exile year for ANC

The Star's Africa News Service

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

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

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

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

shw 5/1/90

330

By Craig Kotze

Veteran sports activist Mr Peter Hain, who paid a nine-day secret visit to South Africa last year, entered the country illegally and under a false name, the Department of Home Affairs said yesterday.

The matter was now being taken up by the South African Government with the British Embassy in South Africa.

Mr Hain revealed yesterday that he had visited South Africa to warn against the planned rebel cricket tour to South Africa. He also wrote to President de Klerk advising that the tour

could promote violence.

According to Mr Piet Colyn, the director-general of the department, an investigation had revealed that no person by the name of Peter Hain had recently visited the country.

However, the department did have a record of a British citizen, who gave his name as Peter Gerald Western-Hain, who had entered the country on a British Airways flight on December 9 last year.

Mr Colyn gave the man's Brit-

ish passport number as U217652 and said it was valid until November 24 1999.

"He arrived in Cape Town on December 9. On the arrival form he furnished his name as Peter Gerald Western-Hain, his occupation as a telecommunications consultant and the purpose of his visit as business," Mr Colyn said.

He said Mr "Western-Hain" left South Africa on December 17 from Jan Smuts Airport.

"The visa exemption applica-

ble in respect of British citizens visiting South Africa was withdrawn by written notice in respect of Mr Peter Gerald Hain in 1969.

"Should the latter and Peter Gerald Hain in fact be one and the same person, he circumvented the prohibition notice applicable to him.

"The matter is being pursued officially by the South African Government with the British Embassy in South Africa," Mr Colyn said.

Hain visited SA illegally — Govt

Hain's visit may have been illegal govt

GOVERNMENT is to probe the visit to SA by anti-apartheid activist Peter Hain, whose visa exemption was withdrawn 20 years ago and has never been reinstated. Home Affairs director general Piet Colyn said in a statement yesterday that department records showed British subject Peter Gerald Western-Hain arrived in Cape Town on December 9 last year. He stated his occupation as a telecommunications consultant and his purpose in visiting the country as business, Colyn said. He left the country on December 17. If this was the famous Peter Hain, he circumvented the prohibition notice applying to him. A visa exemption, applicable to

EDYTH BULBRING

British citizens visiting SA, was withdrawn in respect of Peter Gerald Hain in 1969, Colyn said. The matter was being pursued by government with the British Embassy. Hain, who made the secret nine-day visit to SA before Christmas, wrote letters to rebel English cricket team captain Mike Gatting and President F W de Klerk after his trip warning that conflict arising from the forthcoming cricket tour would cause political damage to SA and ruin hopes of ending sports isolation. A spokesman for De Klerk said the

president had not received Hain's letter as he was on holiday, and his office was being moved from Pretoria to Cape Town. National Sports Congress (NSC) secretary Krish Naidoo said the NSC and the SA Cricket Board (a Sacos affiliate) were forming anti-tour committees to protest the tour. Sapa reports that the Pan Africanist Movement said in a statement yesterday that should it decide to take action against the English cricket tour it would do so without seeking magisterial approval and the action could go beyond the "liberal holding of placards".

Comment: Page 4

330

Hain tells of brushes with police

LONDON — Mr Peter Hain says he got into South Africa legally via "an unusual route" on his recent secret visit, but will give no details.

The veteran anti-apartheid campaigner, speaking at a press conference here yesterday, first joked that he had "been quiet recently because I have been digging a tunnel under the Limpopo".

But, pressed for details, he said: "I went in legally and not in disguise. I am not willing to say anything beyond that."

Mr Hain would not reveal the date of entry, port of entry or which border he had crossed, but added that it had been "an unusual route". He stayed in South Africa for nine days and his travels took him to Cape Town, Pretoria, Port Elizabeth and Oudtshoorn.

He described how he had a number of "close encounters" with unsuspecting South African police during his recent clandestine visit.

Cynical observers pointing to the renowned and formidable efficiency of South African security police are wondering if

**CHRIS WHITFIELD
and SAPA**

they in fact knowingly allowed him in while keeping an eye on his movements.

If Hain — an enemy of many white South African sports fans in the late 1960s and early 1970s — did enter the country unnoticed, observers say the security police have slipped up badly.

Hain related two specific incidents of encounters with police during his tour.

In Oudtshoorn, where he interviewed the res-

tricted editor of *Saamstaan*, Reg Olifant, Mr Hain said they knew beforehand the newspaper's offices were bugged, and care had been taken not to say his name out loud.

The Olifant interview had been interrupted by a telephone call from security police, who demanded to know from the editor "Why are you telling all that shit to foreign journalists ... you are making shit".

Mr Hain recounted how security police had then started driving up and down outside the newspaper's offices, and that the interview had

been continued outside in the open, against a background of ostriches in a pen.

In another incident, Mr Hain and the film crew had driven through a police roadblock near the black township of New Brighton outside Port Elizabeth.

Mr Hain, who was in the rear seat, had looked back and seen they were being followed by a police car, which stopped them.

Linda McDougall, the TV producer — who is also banned from re-entering South Africa — had angrily talked the suspicious policeman out of making any further inquiries and they had been allowed to proceed.

Asked about reports in South Africa that he had entered the country on a British passport in the name of Peter Western-Hain, he declined to comment: "I have nothing to say about rumours from the South African Government," he said.

Journalists were yesterday shown the "World in Action" programme on the cricket tour, which will be broadcast on

● TO PAGE 2.

Secret film gets go-ahead

LONDON — Britain's television monitoring body, the Independent Broadcast Authority, has given the go-ahead for a programme secretly filmed in South Africa recently by anti-apartheid activist Mr Peter Hain to be broadcast as scheduled on Monday.

Confirming this last night, a spokesman for the IBA said a review of the programme was "on our own bat", and not as a result of a complaint by pro-South African Tory MP Mr John Carlisle, who was reported to have objected on the grounds that it was aimed at whipping up violence against Mike Gatting's cricket tour to South Africa later this month.

The IBA had reviewed the film as it dealt with a controversial topic — sport and apartheid in South Africa — and had been involved in discussions with the television company, Granada, last week already, the spokesman said. — Sapa.

Hain

FROM PAGE 1
Monday evening.

The programme is pitched at Mike Gatting's unofficial England side which departs shortly for its tour of South Africa.

It contrasts conditions at Newlands, Cape Town, with the facilities used by players in Guguletu. The difference in facilities for school-children is also highlighted.

But the overwhelming message of the programme is that there is considerable resentment within South Africa's black communities.

ANC leader Mr Govan Mbeki tells Mr Hain the tour will be "dogged by demonstrations", and a black cricketer says the reaction to the tour could amount to "civil war ... people will be jailed, people will be killed because the might of the South African Government will be behind him (Gatting)".

Mr Hain said later he still believed the cricket tour could be called off.

"I don't think anybody expected the politically charged atmosphere that will surround this tour. I think Dr (Ali) Bacher must be asking himself if it is really worth it."

PAC LEADS SLIP INTO SA

330

C/Press 7/11/90

Exec in mission for 'final push'

against Nats

By ZB MOLEFE

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

All left the country individually this week.

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

The names of the other members could not be established.

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



Selby Ngendane

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

There were rave reviews — myself. But in this cabaret circuit you're expected to look a certain way —

me," says Natalie, "why I don't do it on the cabaret circuit you're expected to look a certain way — The answer's simple: Natalie Gamsu may be crazy about Bette

Exiled editor's daughters

5/11/90 Sunday Times Reporter

TWO of exiled former Daily Dispatch editor Donald Woods' children have made their first secret journey "home", swopping the harsh London winter for a sunny Wild Coast holiday.

The eldest and youngest of the Woods' children — Jane (26) and Mary (18) — jetted back to London this week after a "weird but wonderful" three weeks with South African family and friends.

holiday in SA

Details of their trip were kept under wraps for fear the girls would once again be the target of a rightwing fanatic.

When Mary was six she suffered serious acid burns and trauma when she pulled on a poisoned T-shirt, which had been a gift.

Unfair

Leaving very little to chance, the girls' grandfather, Mr Harold Bruce, and a close family friend, former security policeman Mr Donald Card, organised the sisters' visit with military precision.

While Mary and Jane visited their father's old newspaper in East London at the start of their holiday, local newspapers agreed to "no stories, no pictures" until the girls were safely back in London.

Jane, who now works for the Daily Express in London, told how her father had fought with himself before finally agreeing to let his daughters visit South Africa.



ON THE BEACH... Jane and Mary Woods take a morning walk on the sands outside East London

"He wasn't keen on us coming but he changed his mind, deciding it was unfair to impose his exile on us". She said her father really envied them their visit and that they had phoned him regularly to tell him of the changes they had found. Mr Woods has been exiled in London since 1978 after his cross-border escape in 1977. As a fierce anti-apartheid campaigner and close friend of Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko — who died in police detention — Mr Woods has continued to publish works in London and to administer the Lincoln Trust.

His friendship with Biko is depicted in Sir Richard Attenborough's film, Cry Freedom, which is banned in South Africa.

Said Jane of her dad: "He misses his family and friends. He wants to come back but he won't unless there have been major political changes."

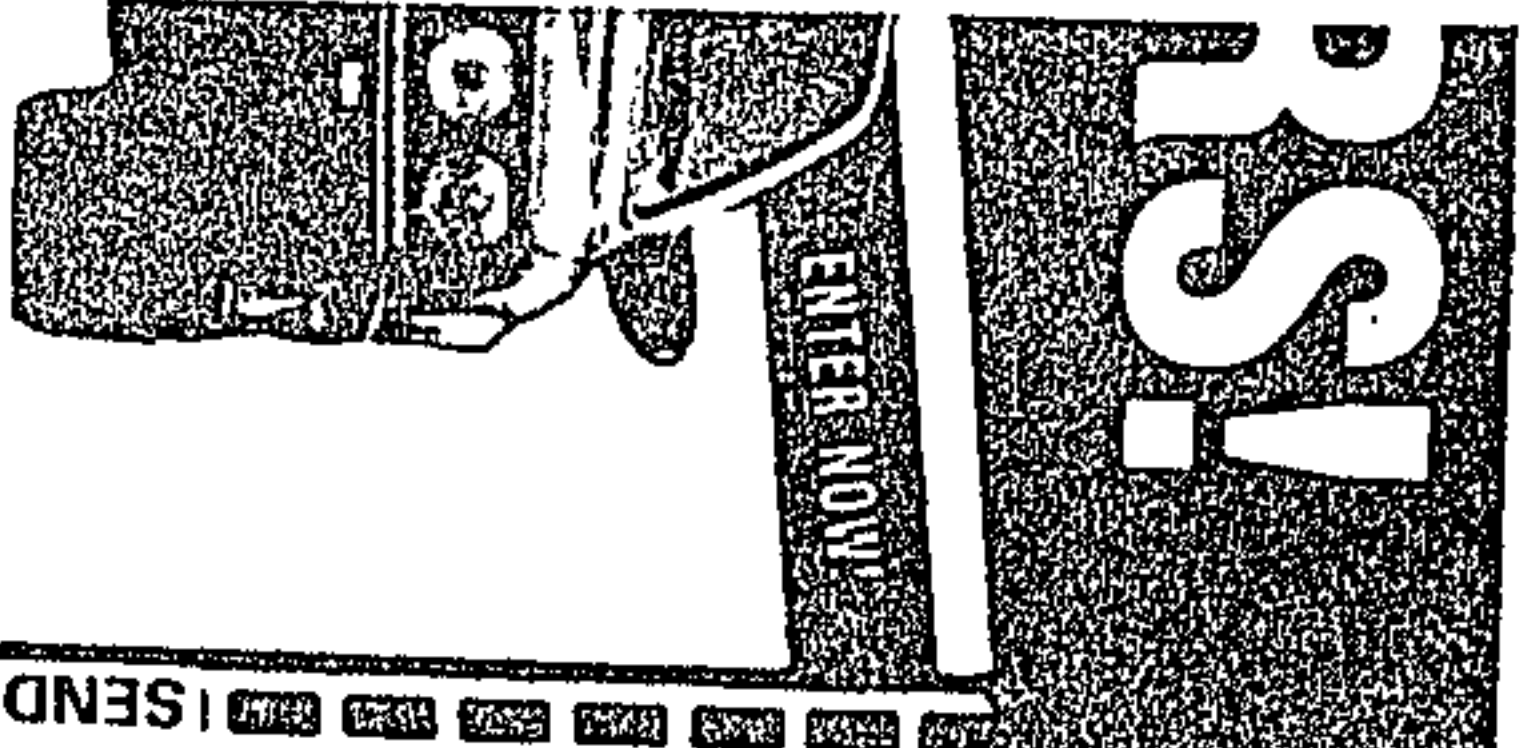
Jane is adamant that — with the exception of Mary who has spent more time abroad than in SA — her whole family still consider themselves South Africans.

Easier

While it was "strange" to be back, it was "wonderful" to visit their "nanny" Evelyn, their family and friends and to have the opportunity to visit their brother's grave, she said.

Jane said there was a temptation to return to SA where the life-style is "nicer and easier" than in Britain. But she said she would not return before there was substantial political change.

Jane said there had been noticeable cosmetic changes — such as the removal of apartheid signs and open restaurants and beaches — but she said there was a lack of real change, particularly in people's attitudes.



MMW 3161 OURS

SEND TO: ST JOHN COM

soon belong to you. s You like and we'll first correct answer. nation for each entry.

NOT DONE

The decision to grant Jesse Jackson a visa to visit this country might have a lot to do with Pretoria's desire to show the world a new, moderate face, reports DAVID BRAUN of The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The imminent visit to South Africa by leading US anti-apartheid activist the Rev Jesse Jackson has raised different expectations as to the contribution he might make towards ending the conflict in the country.

Mr Jackson, a candidate in last year's US presidential elections, is generally regarded as the leading spokesman for American blacks.

An often highly controversial figure, he has involved himself in numerous domestic and international social issues.

He has long been a leading activist against apartheid and a highly vocal critic of the South African Government.

Terrorist

Mr Jackson was responsible for the Democratic Party adopting a resolution in its 1988 presidential election policy platform which would have obliged the new US president, if he were a Democrat, to declare South Africa a terrorist state.

That would have automatically imposed a new series of harsh economic and other sanctions on South Africa.

Mr Jackson's confrontational style has not endeared him to Pretoria, which has turned down several of his applications for a visa to visit South Africa in recent years.

The decision to allow him to visit now might have a lot to do with the "Pretoriastrolka" created by President F W de Klerk's new Government, and Pretoria's desire to show to the world a new, moderate face.

There are indications, however, that the SA Government



In from the cold... The Reverend Jesse Jackson talks to Soweto schoolchildren during his previous visit to South Africa in 1979. This time the American anti-apartheid preacher might possibly play a constructive role in fostering dialogue between the South African Government and the extra-parliamentary opposition.

330

believes Mr Jackson could be extremely useful in promoting dialogue between the various South African groups.

Mr Jackson, furthermore, might be sufficiently impressed by progress in South Africa to be persuaded that now is not the time to impose additional sanctions.

At least some elements in the South African power structure are hopeful Mr Jackson might turn out to be a moderating influence in Washington, adding support to President Bush's view that Pretoria needs to be given an opportunity to put its house in order.

Expectations on the other side of the South African political fence are a little different.

Mr Jackson has been invited to South Africa jointly by the Rev Frank Chikane, general secretary of the SA Council of Churches, and Mr Walter Sisulu, elder statesman of the ANC.

Mr Chikane said in a letter inviting Mr Jackson last week that he believed a visit by the US leader would help him gain first-hand knowledge of the new, complex dynamics of the situation in South Africa "to enable you to put the necessary pressure on the US, particularly the administration, to act

accordingly to force this regime to negotiate with the legitimate and authentic leaders of the people of South Africa."

"Your presence could also exert pressure on white South Africa, particularly the De Klerk Government, to create the necessary conditions conducive for meaningful negotiations," Mr Chikane said in his letter.

The necessary conditions are presumably the demands made by the Mass Democratic Movement, ANC and other groups to lift the state of emergency, release remaining political and security prisoners, and so on.

Mr Jackson was careful to steer a neutral course when probed this week by the media as to what exactly he hoped to accomplish in South Africa.

He said it would be presumptuous for him to define a role for himself, but with all his experience and personal knowledge of many black and white South African leaders, he hoped he could impress upon them all the need for communication, reconstruction, reconciliation and peaceful development for a new South Africa.

He hoped to talk to a broad cross-section of leaders so that his concerns could be heard.

Specifically on the issue of sanctions, Mr Jackson avoided calling for additional measures (which might be significant or it might be expedient, in view of the fact that his visa could presumably be withdrawn).

However, it was quite plain that he was not in favour of lifting sanctions at this stage.

He said: "The issue of sanctions corresponds with the system and the extent to which the authentic leadership sits around a common table. They, the people who live there, can together determine when apartheid and sanctions should end. After all, one is a response to the other."

"So in some sense it is like the Montgomery bus boycott in the US. When asked when the boycott of the buses would end, the people answered it would end when they were allowed to sit in the front of the bus."

Noble aims

The issue, he added, was not the methodology of dealing with the system but the system itself and the people who must agree to now form a relationship. The power was in the hands of the people to end apartheid and sanctions.

Similarly, Mr Jackson was adroit at handling the issue of whether President de Klerk should be allowed to meet President Bush.

"If in fact we achieve the noble aims of one South Africa no longer divided by race or sex or religion or fear, perhaps then everybody will communicate with everybody," he said.

Mr Jackson was complimentary about recent moves by President de Klerk and state-leaders made by the South African leader, which he said were positive and a step in the right direction.

But the word had to become flesh, he said. The recent meeting between Mr de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela had been encouraging as a start, but the process needed to continue to its logical conclusion.

Sowetan 10/11/90



Peter Hain.

Hain changed name to enter SA

Sowetan Correspondent 330

BRITISH anti-apartheid activist, Mr Peter Hain, entered the country on a British passport after legally changing his name by deed poll.

Hain, who has been prohibited from entering South Africa, secretly visited the country last month to make a television programme, which was screened in Britain this week.

He changed his surname to Western-Hain, incorporating his wife's maiden name into his surname.

Hain then applied for a new British passport in his changed surname.

A spokesman for the British embassy in Pretoria said yesterday there were no irregularities in the issue of Hain's passport.

The spokesman confirmed that his passport was issued in the name of Western-Hain.

Capt. T. 11/1/90 (330)
Denard seeks visa extension

JOHANNESBURG. — The Department of Home Affairs yesterday confirmed that Colonel Bob Denard, the Comorean mercenary leader, had lodged an application for a time extension on the temporary visa issued to him.

Col Denard arrived in South Africa in December. Negotiations with the French authorities on his future destination are continuing. Col Denard was granted permission to stay temporarily in South Africa till January 22. — Sapa

Sisulu to visit ANC's HQ in Lusaka

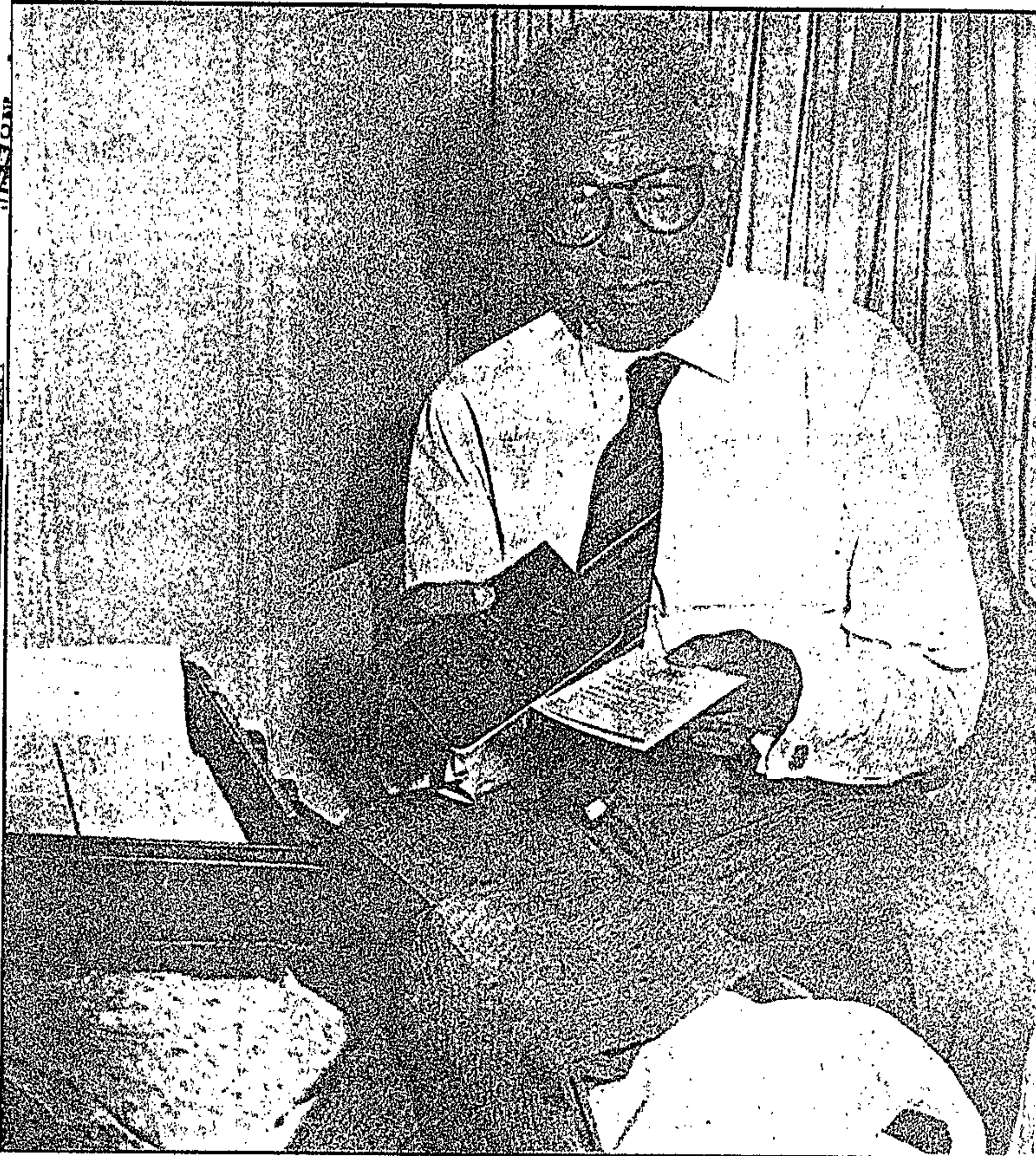
LUSAKA — The banned African National Congress said yesterday it expected Mr. Walter Sisulu and others freed from South African jails to visit its Zambia headquarters on January 15.

There was no formal announcement of the dates but notices displayed at all ANC offices in Lusaka said: "We expect the arrival of our leaders on January 15."

Mr. Sisulu and other veterans freed in October are likely to address exiled ANC leaders at Lusaka's Mulungushi Conference Centre on January 17.

(330)
They were recently granted passports to travel to Zambia for the first meeting between the internal and external wings of the banned nationalist movement for a quarter of a century. — Sapa-Reuter.

JANUARY 1990



Walter Sisulu packs his bags before departing for a multi-nation tour which begins in Zambia. Pic: MIKE MZILENI

Veterans set to greet ANC in exile

ANC veteran Walter Sisulu and his delegation will be given a hero's welcome by the ANC leadership in Lusaka tomorrow after being separated from their comrades for 26 years.

The ANC will inform Sisulu and his seven-man delegation about the exiled movement's activities during a series of meetings in the Zambian capital during their one-week stay.

Sisulu will be accompanied by Govan Mbeki, Harry Gwala, Raymond Mhlaba, Elias Motsoaledi, Wilton Mkwayi, Ahmed Kathrada and Andrew Mlangeni.

A senior ANC spokesman said in Lusaka it was important for the delegation to know what the ANC had been doing outside South Africa in the fight against apartheid.

They will meet the ANC National Executive Committee and Zambian government leaders.

"This will be a historic reunion," the spokesman noted, adding that a major address by Sisulu and his

delegation to the ANC cadres was being planned.

Also on the three-week multi-nation tour is a visit to Tanzania, the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) headquarters in Addis Ababa, a visit to ANC leader Oliver Tambo in a Swedish clinic, and possibly a visit to London.

The visit to Tanzania is of particular interest because at Mazimbu and Dakawa are two pioneering ANC projects which provide sanctuary, education and training for South Africans in exile.

In a significant development in its policy of no ministerial contact with the "terrorist" ANC, the British government has opened its doors to consultations with moderate, but not militant, leaders within the organisation on a South African solution.

The Foreign Office indicated on Friday that Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd would welcome talks with Sisulu, who has established a relatively moderate profile under the ANC umbrella since his release.

Denard's SA stay extended

JOHANNESBURG. —

The Department of Home Affairs has extended the temporary residence permit of French mercenary Colonel Bob Denard by two weeks to January 29.

A temporary residence permit was issued to Colonel Denard in December when he arrived in South Africa, after negotiations between France and SA.

Negotiations between France and SA about Mr Denard's future are still under way. — Sapa

ENIGMA members of the ANC in exile may return to South Africa shortly to re-organise the movement internally and become involved in the negotiating process. This is said to be part of deal hammered out in recent months between ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and senior members of President F W de Klerk's Cabinet.

The ANC leadership in Zambia yesterday discussed a 10-point document drafted by Mr Mandela and taken to Lusaka by recently released Mr Walter Sisulu.

BLESSING

And, in a surprising move, Mr Mandela will telephone his comrades from his bungalow at Victor Verster Prison on Paarl today to hear their response.

Government sources spoke this week about "major developments" in the continuing efforts to get the ANC to the negotiating table.

This has the blessing of Mr Mandela — the result of months of talks between him and senior Cabinet members including Mr De Klerk, Jus-

IT'S A DONE DEAL!

Top ANC exiles set to return to SA as part of Nat pact with Mandela

By DRIES VAN HEERDEN

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee and Constitutional Affairs Minister Gerrit Viljoen.

Details of the plan are expected to be announced by President De Klerk when he opens Parliament on February 2.

It involves:

- The release of Mr Mandela and other political prisoners;
- The unbanning of the ANC and the lifting of restrictions on affiliated organisations such as the United Democratic Front;
- The lifting — in stages — of the state of emergency;
- The return of exiled ANC members.

In turn the ANC is expected to give a public undertaking that it is committed to a peaceful settlement of the country's political problems.

According to government sources no fixed date has yet been set for Mr Mandela's release although it is expected before the end of March.

Sources say his release has everything to do with the Government's agenda for negotiation, and a senior ANC member in Lusaka told the Sunday Times the organisation expected it to happen only once the Government was satisfied that "its cards are in place for the talks to come".

"When Nelson leaves prison it will be the signal for the game to start," he said.

The strongest indication yet that the Government is on the brink of this process came from Foreign Minister P. W. Botha on his recent return from Hungary.

PROBLEM

He said the Government was ready to tackle "obstacles to negotiations" — considered code words for what the ANC labelled "preconditions" in its recent Harare Declaration.

The question of the unbanning of the ANC is said to be

at the top of the Cabinet's agenda. It is accepted this process should be concurrent with the Mandela release, otherwise he would have to "operate in a vacuum".

The high-profile visit of Mr Sisulu to ANC headquarters in Lusaka poses a problem. With him and his seven comrades — re-installed in the ANC leadership — back in South Africa and addressing mass rallies, the ANC will be de facto unbanned.

A trickier problem may be the return of senior ANC exiles to South Africa to take over the leadership of the internal organisation.

Sources say the Govern-

ment is working on a strategy that will draw a distinction between the ANC's political and diplomatic personnel and the cadres of the military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe.

This would allow the "politicals" to return while the "MK soldiers" would have to remain in exile.

Such a move may mean the return to South Africa of some of the ANC's most visible leaders, like secretary for external affairs Mr Thabo Mbeki and the movement's intelligence chief Mr Jacob Zuma.

ANC sources estimate there are between 12 000 and

15 000 members of the organisation in exile — the majority either in Zambia or in training camps and educational facilities in Tanzania and Angola.

Up to 7 000 can be regarded as MK cadres.

Mr De Klerk is also expected to announce an amnesty for prisoners convicted for political offences in which no violence was used. ANC sources claim there are at least 350 of its members still in detention of which only a third have been convicted of "terrorist activities".

On its part the ANC leadership is expected to come up with an unequivocal commitment to a peaceful process of political change.

PEACE

In recent months the Government has dropped its precondition that the ANC renounce violence before talks start.

A senior ANC member told the Sunday Times a public commitment to peace "need not be an insurmountable obstacle".

And this week acting ANC president Mr Alfred Nzo all but acknowledged in Lusaka the movement doesn't have the ability to step up the armed struggle.

Suttner back after defying restriction

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Former detainee and Wits law lecturer Mr Raymond Suttner yesterday returned to SA from Lusaka after defying emergency restrictions by leaving the country last year.

Mr Suttner was met at Jan Smuts Airport by a banner-waving, chanting crowd of about 70 people

On his release in September 1988 after 27 months in jail, 18 of which were in solitary confinement, Mr Suttner was immediately classified a restricted person.

In August last year he defied restriction orders and left SA while under effective house arrest to attend MDM talks with the Organisation

for African Unity (OAU) in Harare and to recover his health, which had suffered during detention.

According to his sister Ms Sally Suttner, he was very pleased to be back home and had always intended to come back.

While overseas Mr Suttner travelled and lectured in Britain, America, Australia and the Soviet Union and met officials of the Australian and American governments, President Robert Mugabe and President Kenneth Kaunda.

Witwatersrand liaison officer Lieutenant Ida Zweel yesterday declined to comment on how police would handle Mr Suttner's return, but said his specific case was being investigated.

Jubilant exiles rejoice at prospect of coming home

Saturday 4/2/90

330

By JEREMY BROOKS
London

THE mood among South African exiles living abroad was electric this weekend as first prospects of their return home were raised.

For some it will be the first time they set foot on South African soil in nearly four decades. Their children and some wives would be seeing the country for the first time.

Many, black and white, now resident in countries like Britain, Holland, France and Sweden are in the process of applying for refugee status and are officially "stateless" — with no travel documents — while awaiting a decision by the authorities.

Welcome

No one knows exactly how many there are — but the ANC put the figure yesterday at "tens of thousands". Its centre in Tanzania, Dakawa, has 8 000 people alone.

The South African Embassy in London said it would "welcome" inquiries from people wishing to go back and wanting advice.

Privately, sources said there should be no obstacle provided individuals had not been convicted of a "common-law criminal act".

"But it may still take some time to convince them they won't be arrested at Jan Smuts Airport," one said.

Officially, the ANC immediately raised a stumbling

block and said that while political prisoners remained in prison for "murder, terrorism, and arson" there was no question of the leadership setting foot in the country.

The issue was raised by ANC executive member Thabo Mbeki in a live TV debate with National Party spokesman Con Botha on Friday.

Mr Botha said he assumed from the President's speech that even those who had engaged in military training abroad would be granted amnesty.

Mr Botha said: "I sincerely hope, along with the rest of my party, that Mr Mbeki will now return to South Africa."

"He will be welcome to come back to our country and to place on the agenda those matters he would like to bring into the negotiating process. He is now free to do so."

Mr Mbeki said it was impossible for him to return while ANC members engaged in "military conflict" were still regarded as criminals.

"The question of our return to the country is a matter that must be part of the evolution of this whole process."

But while Mr Mbeki remained guarded, the excitement among individual

members remained high. Their hopes were voiced in London by Albie Sachs, still being treated in Britain for the car-bomb injuries he received in Maputo two years ago.

"It's a tremendous thing to contemplate, going back," he said.

Former Daily Dispatch editor Donald Woods, in California for a lecture tour, said he had been phoned at 2am US time from London by his wife Wendy telling him the news.

"I am very excited. At first Wendy and I hope to go there on a visit."

"It's not such an easy thing uprooting a family of seven, but we will be thinking about it very seriously."

Cricket

"What I would really like to do is go back there and get involved in a serious television service, a hard news analytical programme, something like that."

"And I would really love to be involved in helping plan the first real international cricket Test series."

ANC executive committee member Aziz Pahad said: "For the first time in 30 years I'm legal again."

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

Walter Sisulu speaks in Stockholm, Sweden, after the unbanning of the ANC



SACP recalls its founder members



Gladys Marks.



John Marks.

By SOPHIE TEMA

330

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 4/2/90*

He died in exile and was buried in Moscow at "Heroes' Acres" close to Moses Kotane - who was known as "the man on the motorbike" because he rallied schools along the Reef on a motorbike for the boycott of Bantu Education introduced in black schools in 1952.

Gladys Marks, 82, his widow, this week recalled the efforts her husband made and the dreams he had for a free South Africa.

She remembered how her husband had prophesied: "The new generation will fight for their rights and they will obtain their freedom."

Gladys said she wished her husband was alive to share in this great moments with all the people of this country, and the fruit of the efforts of all those who sacrificed their lives and families for a better South Africa.

1984 Gladys visited the grave of her husband and that of Kotane in Moscow.

During her visit she was accompanied and assisted by Moscow authorities and welcomed by South African exiles who provided a huge wreath which was laid on the grave of her husband.

"What De Klerk, has now done will not be forgotten," she said.

Exiles waiting to come home

330

By MICHAEL STENT
of The Independent

IF the prospect of Mr Nelson Mandela's release infuriates white Right-wingers the return home, without the threat of prosecution, of tens of thousands of exiles drives them apoplectic.

For most of the men and women who have spent years in the camps of Africa and cities of Europe have dedicated their lives to the violent overthrow of apartheid.

It was not because it was too late to re-type his speech to the opening of Parliament that President F W de Klerk failed to mention the issue. The Government chose a low-key briefing of South African political correspondents earlier on Friday to state its position: that only people who were known to have undertaken violent crimes would be charged if they returned to South Africa.

The numbers of refugees have always been difficult to determine. But figures from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress indicate that there are up to 50 000 refugees. Most are in Tanzania where the ANC has camps housing between 10 000 and



HUGH MASEKELA

20 000 and the PAC 2 500.

The UNHCR cares for about 10 000 in Angola, Lesotho, Botswana, Swaziland, Zimbabwe and Zambia host about 12 000, and there are those uncounted thousands in Europe. Another 55 000 whites, principally graduates, have probably left South Africa in the past 15 years, with opposition to military service figuring among their reasons for emigrating.

The exiles are familiar demons in white politics. Most are black, many are communists. They embody both the swart and rooi gevaars, the black and red perils beloved by National Party politicians for decades.

De Klerk's announcement that "political prisoners" but not "terrorists" would be released - the same distinction which would app-

ly to exiles - breaks with the traditional government assertion that there are no political prisoners in South Africa. The only acknowledged exception was Mr Robert Sobukwe who was detained on Robben Island after completing his prison sentence. It is a distinction which neither the Right nor the ANC and PAC is prepared to make.

Prosecution

All agree that membership of the recently 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 Pallo Jor-



MIRRIAM MAKEBA

dan, said in Lusaka at the weekend that the organisation would not shift its headquarters to South Africa, nor abandon its military campaign. Another NEC member, Mr Aziz Pahad, said in London at the weekend that the ANC would need to work out how the return would be organised. ANC members were theoretically also part of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the military wing of the organisation, and the definition of who could return without fear of prosecution would need to be clarified.

De Klerk had made a qualitative leap but had to go further, Pahad said. One issue which had to be resolved was that of the death squads, reports of whose activities emerged recently but against whom the Government has been slow to act.

Mr Ngila Muendane, the PAC's acting chief spokesman in Western Europe, said there would be no security for returning exiles. "The organisations are unbanned but they have not repealed the laws under which they were banned in the first place. They may decide to lock you up at any time." He played down the threat

of a white backlash against De Klerk. "They're not organised enough. 'Liberal' elements in the army and police will back De Klerk and the Right-wing parties are divided. There might be a few desperate people who will shoot."

Caution

The white opponents of conscription are a different case, their constituency more diffuse, less committed. The activists too, though, are uncertain whether they would be liable to prosecution if they returned to South Africa. Mr Matthew Temple, the administrator of the Committee on South African War Resistance, said that despite remissions on sentences announced last week, two men were in prison for refusing to serve in the army and another seven were facing trial. "We still demand the release of imprisoned war resisters, a moratorium on trials and amnesty for exiled war resisters," he said. While Mr Charles Bester and Mr David Bruce remained in jail and the trials continued, "we must assume the status quo remains for war resisters".

ANC militants and officials in Lusaka responded at the weekend with a mixture of buoyancy and caution to De Klerk's speech. "I am going home next week," joked Mr Steve Tshwete, another member of the NEC.

"Naturally, this is a step forward. It is welcome news. I am looking forward to going home," said Mr Vusi Mabuse (28) a militant journalist with the ANC's Lusaka-based Radio Freedom station.

"But not at any cost," he added.

Children of the townships celebrate the unbanning of political organisations announced by State President de Klerk on Friday.



Scores of children took to the streets in Rockville, Soweto, on Friday. Picture by Alf Kumalo.

the crowd of 750 singing Swedes at a four-hour long anti-apartheid rally here.

"Terrorists" whose names have echoed through black townships for the past three decades: Joe Slovo and Alfred Nzo both fresh from a meeting at the Kremlin, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Dennis Goldberg ... and Oliver Tambo recuperating in a Swedish clinic from a stroke.

Many in exile for half their lives, the ANC's leadership say they now await word from President de Klerk on their homecoming.

The white father of the anti-apartheid movement, Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, called the ANC leaders "great freedom fighters" and said it was an unforgettable and historical reunion which would lead in time to the "total liberation" of South Africa.

Mr Walter Sisulu then paid tribute to the Swedes — who in 1988 alone gave the ANC 70 million krona (R28 million) — and thanked them for granting the Nobel Peace Prize to Albert Luthuli and Archbishop Tutu.

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

STAN 5/2/90

(330)

Fight will continue — ANC

STOCKHOLM — ANC leaders have cautiously welcomed South Africa's reforms but pledged to continue the armed struggle for the time being.

For most of the veteran nationalists, President de Klerk's announcement on Friday that the ANC is now legal was only the start of the reform process they are demanding.

"They just have to give in to us. If they do not, it is just hard luck," Mr Govan Mbeki (79) told a rally of Swedish anti-apartheid campaigners in Stockholm.

"If it seems this announcement is a change of heart, we must not believe it," Mr Mbeki said, adding that he believed white racism in South Africa remained unchanged.

EXILED MEMBERS

Former ANC secretary-general Mr Walter Sisulu (77), released in October after 25 years behind bars, said Mr de Klerk had to make clear the legal position of exiled nationalists who face terrorism charges if they return to South Africa.

The ANC leaders said the armed struggle would continue for the time being and urged their supporters in Sweden to keep up economic sanctions on Pretoria.

"It is going to take a long time to evaluate what De Klerk has offered," said Joe Slovo, secretary-general of the SA Communist Party, which was also legalised by Mr de Klerk on Friday. Mr Slovo is also a member of the ANC's executive council.

In Lusaka, the ANC said at the weekend that it would not suspend guerilla actions, but conceded that its military campaign was likely to receive a "lower profile" than in the past.

"We have always said that the notion of the ANC unilaterally abandoning armed struggle is out of the question," said ANC information chief Mr Pallo Jordan. — Sapa-Reuters.



By GUY BERGER

LONDON. — In her home here, Sonia Bunting's grandchildren talk about Michael Jackson, but her thoughts are about far-away Cape Town.

She and her husband Brian, both members of the SA Communist Party (SACP), left the city "on July 11, 1963" to go into exile in Britain, she told SOUTH.

"We travelled by boat and arrived in London on the day of the Rivonia arrests. Comrades came to welcome us, but it was most traumatic when we heard the news."

Although the liberation movement had been under severe pressure, most structures had been "top notch" when the Buntings left Cape Town.

Sonia Bunting traces the problems to the start of detention without trial — "which opened the door to torture and information extracted under duress".

Untenable

She and her family left due to the difficulties of being banned. "I was under 24-hour house arrest, and Brian was under 12-hour — on the assumption that he was the breadwinner."

"But he was banned from working on Spark (formerly the Guardian), and could not find a job elsewhere," she said.

The situation was untenable and comrades agreed the Buntings should go.

Once in Britain, the couple threw themselves into activity. "We never integrated into Britain, never felt part of the British community, be-

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

Other exiles helped them "with accommodation, schools, settling down — so difficult when you come to a strange country".

The Anti-Apartheid Movement had been launched in 1959 as a "Boycott Committee", and the couple have helped build the powerful solidarity movement over the years.

Sonia Bunting also spent her first five exiled years working as an organiser for the "World Campaign for the Release of South African Political Prisoners" — set up at the time of the Rivonia trial.

"I told the sponsors that I was a named communist, and I think they may have wanted someone different to do the job. But they couldn't find anyone else prepared to work for a few pounds a week, so they took me on."

It was clearly a difficult job emotionally — Bunting had to deal with trials of people she knew well from the distance of Britain.

"I was so struck by the courage of the Rivonia people who said they would not appeal even if they were sentenced to death. It was the biggest relief in my life when they were

sentenced to life," she recalled.

In 1968, Sonia Bunting went to work fulltime for the SACP's Inkululeko publications — and has been there ever since.

She recounts with pride the production of classics like "Fifty Fighting Years" by Michael Harmel, "Moses Kotane — South African Revolutionary" by Brian Bunting, "South African Communists Speak" (a collection of historical Party documents), "Philosophy and Class Struggle" by Dialego, and Joe Slovo's "South African Working Class and the National Democratic Revolution".

Inkululeko also distributed African Communist, which moved its publication to London in 1963 when editor Michael Harmel was exiled there.

In 1972, Bunting's husband Brian, who had worked as a journalist for the Soviet news agency Tass until then, became editor of the journal.

Circulation, which was 3 000 copies in 1968, is now 18 000.

Sonia Bunting was reluctant to 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 a regular weekly meeting, and pay their monthly subscriptions."

The CPSA dissolved itself before its banning in 1950, but was reconstituted underground as the SACP in 1953.

"The fifties were when we helped to build the Congress movement and to organise the Congress of the People. And there were the actions like campaigns against bantu education and the Sophiatown removals."

Party units were much smaller — just four or five people in Bunting's group — for security reasons.

Unlike the Congress movement at

the time, and even some SACP groups in the Transvaal, Bunting's Cape Town group was non-racial.

SACP work then, she said, was still relatively easy. Police were inexperienced and without powers to detain and torture. But with the repression of the 1960s, the party's structures had to become tighter and more secure.

"So up until now, people have mainly been approached to join the party, although some had made applications," said Bunting.

The calibre of people recruited has had to be high — concentrating on "those that are the hardest working, the most reliable, with a high degree of moral behaviour".

Confident

Members were expected to carry out SACP policies and attend study classes to become familiar with the works of Marx and Lenin.

"When a decision is taken, it must be carried out by party members, even by those who disagree — although the emphasis on democratic centralism must always be on democratic decision making," she said.

In relation to recent events in Eastern Europe, Bunting observed that "when we came into exile, we were confident that the number of socialist countries would grow."

"The extent of the problems now evident there has dismayed us, but we are still confident that socialism is the only solution to the world's problems."

Sonia Bunting stressed excitedly that her family was looking forward to the day when "we can return and take part in the struggle at home again."

At the same time, she noted, "when we go back won't be a personal decision."

"This is not the end of the struggle, but the beginning of the end," she said.

Longing for home

Questions over return of exiles

THE return of ANC, PAC and SACP exiles hinges on the government's exclusion of so-called "terrorists" and freedom fighters from its limited offer of amnesty.

ANC leaders and civil rights lawyers are now questioning the government's pledge to release political prisoners convicted of membership of the liberation movements.

Said ANC stalwart Ahmed Kathrada: "There are a lot of things which have to be explained, such as why only prisoners who participated in the activities of the unbanned organisations will be released and political trials for only such people will be scrapped, while others are left in the cold."

Thabo Mbeki, the ANC's secretary for international relations, said while ANC members who were jailed for terrorism remained in prison, it was "unlikely" he would return.

"The ANC regards these members as political prisoners," he said.

A spokesperson for the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said that 77 political prisoners had already been identified for release within the next few days.

Amnesty

Officials were examining all warrants to determine other prisoners who qualified for release or reduction of sentence.

The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said ANC president Oliver Tambo and other South African political exiles now facing criminal charges were welcome to come home.

Viljoen emphasised that there was no general amnesty and made it clear that the government's intention was to move its focus from people who faced prosecution through membership of formerly banned organisations to individuals guilty of purely criminal acts.

"The purpose of the package is to normalise the situation and to encourage all those who followed the peaceful course to involve themselves in negotiations," Viljoen said.

"Mr Tambo is welcome to return. As far as I know he faces no charge. So is any other South African who is not guilty of criminal activity," he added.

Natal University's Political Science academic, Mr Ian Phillip, said Umkhonto we Sizwe was an integral part of the ANC, bound into the organisation historically by membership, and administratively and institutionally.

"The exclusion of army soldiers from the terms of the statement also fails to address the whole campaign for prisoner-of-war status for captured cadres," he said.

"The same problem, the severe distinction between the military and the political, affects the definition of re-

leased prisoners."

Phillip said it appeared a very small proportion of political prisoners would be released in those terms because of the state's widespread policy of charging people as members of the ANC and MK respectively and independently of "terrorism".

He said the "extremely generous" definition of "terrorism" contained in the Internal Security Act provided the state with extreme ammunition to restrain future action.

Lawyers urged caution, warning families of political prisoners not to raise their hopes.

"It seems at this early stage that no-one in Cape Town qualifies for early release," said Athlone attorney Mr Ibrahim Mohamed.

However, the trial of community leader Mr Johnny Issel came to an abrupt end on Friday.

He was informed by a prosecutor that he need not appear in court today as his charges of promoting the aims of the ANC have been dropped.

On death row, political prisoners are reportedly "excited" by the news that their executions have been suspended pending judicial review.

Mr Shucks Sefanyetso, Lawyers for Human Rights' executions monitor who rushed to Pretoria Central on Friday afternoon to break the news to prisoners awaiting the hangman, said they were "celebrating with a party".

"I broke the news to them; no-one had told them that the State President had suspended all executions," he said.

"I saw Almond Nofomela, I saw Selwyn Simon, I saw many of the others and they're all having a big party tonight."

While the suspension of all executions was welcomed by human rights and legal organisations, they pledged to continue to campaign for the total abolition of the death penalty.

Discretion

A spokesperson for the National Association of Democratic Lawyers, Mr A Soman, said his organisation was "disappointed" that De Klerk had not abolished the death penalty from the statute books.

"The granting of judicial discretion to judges in the imposition of the death sentence and an automatic right of appeal does not address the fundamental objections to the imposition of the death sentence."

"The death sentence does not act as a deterrent and there will still be the danger of judicial error," Soman added.

The national director of Lawyers for Human Rights, Mr Brian Currin, said he believed the reform initiatives would move South Africa towards abolitionist status within the next few years.

"Giving judges a wider discretion and the principle that the death sentence will only be exercised in exceptional cases will, I believe, result in a dramatic reduction in executions over the coming years," Currin said.

"We of course also support the State President's decision to suspend all executions, pending appropriate law reform. We remain committed to total abolition."

330
Soul 5/2/90 - 14/2/90

Exiles hesitant to return

330

South Africa 5/21 - 14/2/90

EXILES have begun to examine more closely the implications of the government's dramatic announcement which has paved the way for their return home.

The immediate reaction of many to the limited offer by State President FW de Klerk was one of relief, but now doubts have crept in which threaten to delay their return.

In Stockholm, Walter Sisulu called on De Klerk to clarify the position of ANC activists wanted in South Africa on terrorism charges, before the ANC could decide to return home from Lusaka.

"It is our desire that our people in exile go home. We have to find out whether the people in exile will be given that chance," he said.

Among the obstacles in the way of the return of the exiles is the question of who can return home without fear of prosecution.

The government's position is that only people who are known to have committed violent crimes will be charged if they return to South Africa.

ANC national executive member Aziz Pahad said the ANC needed to work out how the return would be organised.

"ANC members are theoretically also part of Umkhonto we Sizwe and the definition of who can return without the fear of prosecution will need to be clarified," Pahad said.

"One issue which has to be resolved is that of the death squads against whom the government has been slow to act."

Ngila Muendane, the PAC's acting chief spokesperson, said there would be no security for returning exiles.

"The organisations are unbanned but they have not repealed the laws under which they were banned in the first place," Muendane said.

"They may decide to lock you up at any time."

Tom Sebina, spokesperson for the ANC, said people in exile would not return immediately as there were still several technicalities to be clarified.

The fate of opponents of conscription is not clear. They are uncertain whether they will be liable to prosecution if they return to South Africa.

Matthew Temple, the administrator of the Committee on South Africa War Resisters, said that despite reunions on sentences announced last week, two men were still in prison for refusing to serve in the army and another seven were facing trial.

"We still demand the release of imprisoned war resisters, a moratorium on trials and amnesty for exiled war resisters," Temple said.

"While Charles Bester and David Bruce remain in jail and trials continue, we must assume the status quo remains for war resisters."

In Namibia, president-elect Sam Nujoma, who himself was exiled from his homeland for decades, called on the government to clarify its position on exiles.

"We fail to understand who will and will not be prosecuted if they return home," Nujoma said.

"As far as we are concerned, political exiles should be accepted back without any conditions. It happened in Zimbabwe and recently in Namibia," he added.

They have not published these names.

There are no exact figures on the number of South African refugees and exiles.

The United Nations 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.

'Exiles must decide' about home-coming

ALAN FINE

330

EXILED members of banned organisations will have to decide for themselves whether they had been involved in activities which would make them liable for prosecution should they return home, Police Commissioner Gen Johan van der Merwe said yesterday.

He would not comment on the possible prosecution of prominent individuals, including ANC president Oliver Tambo, whom Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen has been reported as saying was welcome to return to SA.

Political prisoners affected by President F W de Klerk's announcement on Friday would be freed within a week, Justice Department official Maj Elsa Jones said yesterday. 8/10am 5/2/90

De Klerk announced that people serving prison sentences merely because they were members of banned organisations, or whose actions constituted an offence because of the organisations' banned status, would be released.

Jones said initial research showed 77 people would benefit from this decision. Some would be freed while others, whose sentences were based on other offences too, would have their sentences reduced.

Van der Merwe said all that had changed was that activities related purely to the banned status of the ANC, PAC, SACP and other organisations were no longer considered criminal.

"From a police point of view, people against whom we can bring cases of terrorism, subversion and sabotage will — unless amnesty is granted — still face prosecution," he said. Conspiracy also remained a crime, he confirmed.

He declined to answer queries on the status of particular individuals.

Law and Order spokesman Brig Leon Mellet said yesterday he could not answer questions about individuals, saying these were "little things that have to be ironed out".

Van der Merwe said police would have to look at each case to determine whether it would be possible to prosecute.

He said previous public allegations by policemen or politicians against particular individuals "do not suffice" as grounds for prosecution.

He warned there may be individuals against whom evidence may be collected in future after their return. In such cases, prosecutions would be brought.

IF QUOTED correctly, the Reverend Jesse Jackson has made an insightful analogy by comparing sanctions to NATO.

No one is rushing to sunder the alliance because the Berlin Wall has fallen and the Warsaw Pact has become a *de facto* fiction. The West still needs an institutional framework to deal collectively with change in the East where the anti-communist revolution is in its infancy and may still get out of hand.

However wrongly, sanctions have become the one solid constant in the developed world's treatment of South Africa.

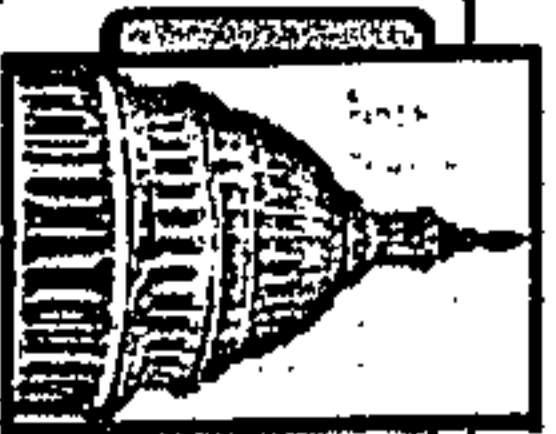
Their sudden abandonment could, in its way, be as destabilizing to the prospects of a negotiated settlement as the instant dissolution of NATO would be to Europe.

Gorbachev's reforms and the almost overnight collapse of the world made at Yalta have ensured that NATO will get no stronger in military terms. By the same token, Mr F.W. de Klerk's epochal speech to Parliament on Friday effectively rules out any further tightening of the sanctions noose. Of that, all sides in South Africa should now be certain.

Assessment

It has been agreed among the applicers that sanctions have served their purpose in bringing Pretoria to its present position, just as it is a slightly less debatable article of faith that it was Western resolve as embodied in NATO that confronted the Soviet elite with the impossibility of its grim Utopia. Neither argument is satisfactory.

The assessment of sanctions is, however, a fact of life which is no way incompatible with its being an outright lie, but, being a fact of life, it must be dealt with as such. There is little point in quarrelling with it in any other forum than a negotiation which will create new and truer facts. It would be a grave mistake for De Klerk to seek relief from any one other than his negotiating partners, a mistake he himself appears to have eschewed even if



Washington
Letter
by SIMON BARBER

No chance now of sanctions being pulled tighter



MARGARET THATCHER: Faster mover than the US president.



PRESIDENT BUSH: He now has the political cover to proceed.

some of his colleagues and representatives have not. Sanctions, henceforth, must be seen not as the tool of intrusive, neo-imperialist outsiders — tempting and partly true though that may be — but as one of the cards in the hand of the parties on the other side of the table.

To plead with outside powers to pluck away or weaken that card unilaterally does several things, none of them helpful. First, it preserves what finally seems to be an illusion: the idea that Pretoria would rather do business with white or yellow foreigners than its own people.

Second, it makes the card seem stronger than it is, thereby encouraging those who would strengthen it further and raising the price that will ultimately have to be paid for its abandonment.

Useful effect

Third, and equally important, it will get in the way of the helpful role at least some outsiders now envisage playing.

Nobody wants to be seen doing Pretoria's bidding. Furthermore, there can be little doubt that, for all its odiousness in most respects, the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act has had one potentially useful side-effect.

This may have taken a while to show itself but the CAAA has allowed a smart, interested American president to enter the action. Without US sanctions, George Bush would not even have been able to consider inviting De Klerk to Washington last year, let alone actually announce an invitation as he did last week.

Nor would he be in any position to engage in the sort of honest brokerage he evidently intends. "Even-handedness" is now his administration's watchword. To promote negotiation, pressure and incentive will be applied equally to both the government and the ANC in the manifestly correct belief that the door to South Africa's future has keys on both sides.

The acceptance of sanctions, as confusing and even alarming as it has sometimes seemed over

the past year, has given Bush the political cover he needs to proceed in a manner that Randall Robinson, Congressman Howard Wolpe and their ilk will declare automatically to be biased and immoral since its purpose is peace, not the raw installation of the ANC in power.

Section 311

Be assured that he will hold the line against new measures — just as he did in moving heaven and earth to prevent Congress seizing more of his foreign policy prerogatives over China two weeks back.

But do not expect him to blow his cover by suspending or repealing the CAAA's sanctions until Pretoria has so convincingly met the conditions laid out in Section 311 that his overall policy or objectives would not come under serious and debilitating challenge.

Such a challenge would not only weaken the president's ability to do the right thing, it would also send confusing signals to

South Africa with dubious consequences for negotiation.

When he senses the timing to be right, Bush is very much his own desk officer, short-circuiting all the layers of bureaucracy between policy development and implementation.

He now has that sense on South Africa which is why, last Thursday, he personally decided that De Klerk should be invited to the White House as well as Mandela. Just a few days earlier his Secretary of State, James Baker, had said the opposite to British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd on the grounds that a De Klerk visit would still be too controversial.

Bush is a profoundly careful politician, both meticulous and cautious. While Baker and other advisers still agonised, he had been quietly consulting his democratic friends on Capitol Hill as well as a broad array of black American leaders to gauge their response.

In the case of the latter, it was not so negative as to be prohibitive, especially with Jackson

comparing De Klerk to Gorbachev. From the former there was, as there had been last year, strong if quiet support. Senator David Boren, chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee, even made it public in his formal reaction to the speech.

Consultation

"I look forward to the release of Nelson Mandela soon and hope that he and President de Klerk will be able to meet President Bush in this country."

In his own reaction, Bush was at pains to use neutral words such as "interesting" and, while he raised the possibility of reviewing sanctions, he quickly stressed that this was a matter for consultation both with congressional and, importantly, South African leaders of all persuasions.

Clearly, he has decided how he wishes to proceed but is determined to keep the avenue as free from political obstacles as possible as he heads down it.

Institutionally, he cannot proceed as fast as British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher or, under the special circumstances of American political life, would it be wise.

A good guess is that he will not recommend any change to current sanctions law until early next year, after the November congressional elections. Even then, he is likely to measure carefully the effect on the course of negotiations in South Africa.

Once he is firmly back in control of this country's policy, Bush will have no little power to decide how substantial the ANC's sanctions card is, particularly since much of the rest of the developed world and its bankers will be waiting on his lead. If he can reduce the card's value, he can reduce the card's value. Likewise, he can keep it at par if he sees Pretoria needing a shove.

The best thing the government can do is leave the matter in Bush's hands and get about its domestic business. One of the many merits of De Klerk's announcement is that it has helped return US policy to its rightful maker — the president.

Charges are withdrawn (331)

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.

Exiled Desai heads home

CME Times 6/2/90 Own Correspondent 330

HARARE. — Mr Barney Desai, 57, till recently listed as a "dangerous communist", leaves here in the next few days after 27 years in exile, one of the first veteran anti-apartheid activists to return home.

When Mr Desai left South Africa in 1963, smuggled on board an Indian cargo liner in Durban, he was president of the now dissolved South African Coloured People's Congress, as well as a statutory communist, a banned person and on bail on charges of breaking the conditions of his ban.

AFRICAN National Congress member Siphso Solly Mokoena (30) was yesterday sentenced to six years imprisonment in the Pretoria regional court for terrorism.

Magistrate Mr WJ Van den Bergh warned and discharged Mokoena on the charge of being a member of the then banned ANC in the light of State President Mr FW De Klerk's speech to parliament.

Duty

Van den Bergh said he would be failing in his duty if he did not impose a sentence befitting the crime committed.

He said that Mokoena, who underwent military training and was in possession of a handgrenade and Makarov pistol at the time of his arrest, had to be given a sentence that would "scare off" other

Man gets six years for bearing arms

By ALINAH DUBE

people from committing the same crime.

Arguing in mitigation of sentence earlier, Advocate JG Van der Riet asked the court to impose a suspended sentence. He urged the court to take it into consideration the release of founder members of the ANC by the Government late last year.

He submitted that there was no evidence that the accused had involved himself in acts of violence.

"Serious attempts are being made to resolve conflict in a peaceful way and the attitude of courts toward political trials has also changed," he said.

Calling for Mokoena's imprisonment, state prosecutor Mr F Roets

referred to an excerpt of De Klerk's speech which said that "the eyes of responsible government across the world are focused on us ..." and submitted that "when the Third World wants to share in the prosperity of the First World they must realise that acts of violence and terror cannot be tolerated".

Most exiles could be blocked

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk's invitation to exiles to come home is confusing and borders on the fallacious.

Almost all the members of movements in exile have at some point committed what can be construed as an act of terror under Section 54 of the Internal Security Act and in terms of the Common purpose doctrine.

Any person that has for instance undergone military training could be "guilty of the offence of terrorism and liable on conviction to the penalties provided for by the law for the offence of treason," the law reads. De Klerk did not extend an amnesty, he merely said they should come home.

While the State, through De Klerk's utterances of Friday, im-

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

PLICITLY declared no intention to prosecute exiles on return the problem would be that most exiles are not in possession of a South African passport and would have to report to foreign embassies and apply for travel documents.

The question arises whether in the course of applying to re-enter the country will a consular or embassy official allow "terrorists" into South Africa?

Ms Alayne Reesburg of the Department of Foreign Affairs in Cape Town yesterday said: "If there are no charges investigated against any person or they are not linked to any act of violence, they will be allowed back in."

Under the Common Purpose Doctrine all members of movements in exile, particularly military personnel can be found guilty. The issue that bothers most is not arrest in South Africa, but the issue of visas or passports on foreign soil as embassies abroad refer all inquiries - made abroad - to the police.

Applications for passports and visas are dealt with through the same channels as always, including the police. In other words the same discretion applies, she said.

A Johannesburg lawyer said De Klerk's statement was not very clear and a parliamentary source, using the infringement of the Group Areas Act as an example suggested the state would "turn a blind eye" unless it involved a criminal act.



JACKSON

Jesse Jackson arrives today

JESSE Jackson starts week-long visit to S. Africa today in the mid of momentous changes designed to meet the criticisms that the American civil rights leader himself so vociferously voiced.

Jackson is the guest of local church groups, share his abhorrence of apartheid race laws, he is hoping to hold a meeting with the man promising to change the face of South Africa. President FW de Klerk.

Last Friday De Klerk lifted a 30-year ban on the African National Congress, the main fighting white rule. He promised to release leader Nelson Mandela in an event that will take place during Jackson's visit.

But Jackson may get a taste of the South Africa that is determined to let apartheid die. Afrikaner

Miriam Makeba ... 'Nothing has been said about the safe return of exiles'

'We'd be walking into a trap'

THE exiled poet who wrote that "wailings fill the chambers of my heart and my head behind my quiet eyes/I hear the cries and sirens" is applying for a visa to come home. But Dennis Brutus still waits, he still hears the cries and sirens, for 'apartheid still exists, (State President FW) de Klerk certainly hasn't satisfied the Harare Declaration's preconditions for negotiation, and I don't even know if my exit permit's been revoked".

Like Brutus, dozens of exiled South African artists in North America are playing with the possibility of returning to the place of their creative inspiration. Unlike Brutus, however, most state quite bluntly that they will not go back as a result of De Klerk's speech last week.

"Has anything changed?" Peter Abrahams asks combatively from his home in Kingston, Jamaica. Born in the decade that the African National Congress was founded, the grandfa-

Exiled artists in the US were toyl-toying between the skyscrapers last Friday, but most are biding their time before deciding whether to come home, reports

MARK GEVISSER in New York

ther of black South African letters (he wrote *Mine Boy* in 1946) has heard it all too many times before.

Lindive Mabuza, a published poet who is also the ANC's chief representative in the United States, asks: "What guarantee do we have that we will not be put right into jail upon arrival? If we all flocked into Jan Smuts tomorrow, it would be walking into a trap."

And so while some exiles were toyl-toying between Manhattan's skyscrapers last Friday, and others are rumoured to be making their

● TO PAGE 22

Artist fear a trap if they come back

From PAGE 21

way towards Botswana and Zimbabwe, most are biding their time. "My first allegiance," says poet and critic Cosmo Pieterse, "is to the movement. If the movement tells me I'm needed back home, I'll pack up my bags and leave tomorrow, even though I've been here for 30 years. There's not a day that I don't think of South Africa, so of course I'm prepared."

Others admit that with American families and friends, and the necessity to forge a new life forced upon them many years ago, going back would be painful. "We'll be returning to places we no longer know," explains poet and 30-year exile Mazisi Kunene. "Our homes might be in ruins and many friends killed. The process of going home involves moving through tragic histories, deaths and losses."

And, adds poet Daniel Kunene, "The work here is far from done. Now that De Klerk's promising change, the pressure might let up. So we're needed here more than ever, to remind the international community how much further the government has to go." If and when they do go home, Kunene insists, "it will be based on our own assessments. I don't want to legitimise De Klerk as someone who can tell me whether or not I can return."

Duma Ndlovu, the poet and playwright re-

sponsible for bringing much of South Africa's township theatre to New York, agrees with the principle: "I've been planning to go home for a while now, but if I do, it will be regardless of De Klerk's announcement."

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

And actor Zakes Mokae says "Yes, I've got a date with the kids in Soweto." Fugard's first collaborator and the recent star of *A Dry White Season*, Mokae has always dreamt of starting a drama school in Soweto. While he echoes the ambivalence of all the exiles, he allows himself to revel in the possibility of a heroic homecoming: "I'll be one of those going home on a plane very soon. My suitcases are packed, I'm just waiting for the word."

Four exiles, all members of Experimental Workshop '71, have just opened an Off-Broadway revival of the play that made them famous. "We left South Africa with *Survival* in '77," says Selaelo Marede. "Maybe we'll go back with *Survival* in 1990." He and comrade Seth Sibanda laugh, a sound bubbling with the possibility of life and art in a democratic, non-racial South Africa, but tinged, too, with the knowledge that it's not about to happen. Not just yet.



Reaction to
the De Klerk
speech ...

TAKE THE GAP, ANC

W/ Mail 9/21 - 15/2/90

330

**The only
way to call
FW's bluff
is to come
home and
grab the
initiative**

THE African National Congress has been slow in responding to the challenge thrown out by State President FW de Klerk.

ANC leader Walter Sisulu was expected to return home this week with a full response from the organisation. He came back empty-handed.

Instead, Secretary-General Alfred Nzo issued a statement telling people not to do anything rash until his executive had decided how to proceed.

The ANC and its allies inside the country have been caught off-guard.

They spent months trying to set the agenda for settlement with the Harare Declaration. They skilfully lobbied for its acceptance by the Organisation of African Unity,

● Continued overleaf

P.T.O.

●From PAGE 1

the Frontline States, the Non-Aligned Movement and the United Nations.

Then suddenly De Klerk turned the situation around.

De Klerk has had the advantage of surprise, and this has enabled him to play the conjurer's trick of appearing to be reasonable without having to concede much.

The ANC has three options:

③ Remain in exile until all its cadres can return, all political prisoners are released and all security laws have been abolished.

This would leave the situation unchanged, except that De Klerk

would keep the initiative firmly in his hands. He would appear reasonable and open, while the ANC would seem defensive and petty.

④ Hold out for more concessions, such as the release of more political prisoners, amnesty for all exiles and the lifting of the Emergency.

This would take some hard dealing, and stretch the matter out for months of doubt and confusion.

⑤ Take the gap opened up by De Klerk. Send home a plane-load of exiles, including senior ANC members, some famous artists, writers and musicians. They would receive an enthusiastic welcome and could set up offices around the country.

Time to come home, exiles

This would call De Klerk's bluff. He would have to deal with a high-profile return and massive welcoming ceremonies. Even if he wanted to, he would find it difficult to take action against those who came back.

The world's eyes would turn from De Klerk to the ANC leadership, who would no longer be isolated in Lusaka, but part of the day-to-day political struggle here.

This is not an easy option; it carries many serious risks. The ANC

330

would have to leave key people in exile; it would risk resentment from the many "young lions" who are in camps in Tanzania and itching to come home; it would be in the uncomfortable position of going about its daily life while many of its cadres are still in prison for carrying out its instructions; it would risk action under the many remaining security laws and Emergency regulations if things turned sour.

But if the ANC does not come home soon, it will have a lot of explaining to do. It will have to tell the international community why it is not responding to De Klerk's positive moves.

It will have to explain to those who have struggled so long and hard for the ANC and other organisations to be legalised why their victory means so little.

Most importantly, this option will allow the ANC to get down to what really needs to be done: mobilising enough people and enough support to ensure that De Klerk cannot turn back.

Because, with international pressure on him easing, and fighting pressure on him growing, he is going to be tempted.

So, come home, all you exiles!

The Editors

Don't pack the suitcase yet, dear

330
1/12/92 - 15/2/90

FOUR hours after radio waves carried the good news from Cape Town to London, the African National Congress offices were not quite buzzing with excitement ... but smiles were broader, handshakes firmer and bear hugs more heartfelt.

"We shall only celebrate after Comrade Mandela is released," a spokesman, Essop Pahad, explained outside the South African Embassy where supporters had gathered; not to celebrate the unbannings but to demand his immediate release.

This caution — like a cat sniffing a gift of fish that doesn't smell quite right — was also evident in the first live television interviews given by other representatives: Pahad's brother, Aziz, on BBC News and the chief representative, Mendi Msimang, on Independent Television News. They refused to admit any euphoria on the first day of a new era in South African politics.

Hamilton Keke of the Pan Africanist Congress told me he was surprised by the blanket unbannings and anxious that "all exiles must return as soon as they can to share their experiences with the people during what'll be protracted negotiations". He added that: "We must suppress our differences. Zeph Mothopeng and Nelson Mandela must make common cause at the negotiating table."

Was he packing his bags for what was already being termed The Return? "I can't go home yet," said the young man who'd been PAC representative in Baghdad.

"I must finish my studies at Essex University so that when I do return I shall be able to offer more expertise to our country."

At the ANC offices another young man had told me, "Of course I'd like to fly home this evening. But we'll have to wait and see if they'll let us in just like that."

He is of the generation that disappeared across borders after the 1976 uprising who could, until F W de Klerk declares otherwise, face criminal prosecution if they did fly home immediately.

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

He has not been home since 1960 — the year of Sharpeville and the ban — when he abandoned his position as an articled clerk at the law offices of Mandela and Tambo in Johannesburg. His children were born in exile and one died a long way from home last November; another is studying in West Germany and three are in Lusaka. What he looks forward to most of all when he does return is a reunion with his family:

"Especially my brother Sebastian — to apologise," he smiled behind tinted spectacles. "You see he's been arrested a few times because the police thought he was me — we look alike a bit, I suppose."

The response of South African exiles in London seemed to be: air out the suitcases, but don't start packing yet

By former Drum writer **ARTHUR MAIMANE**, an exile in London for three decades

Wolfie Kodesh, a grizzled, 70-year-old veteran of the South African Communist Party who left on an exit permit in 1963, arrived with his face split by a wide grin: "I burst into tears when I heard."

"I've already talked to a freighter and all I have to do is give them three days' notice to ship my stuff back."

"The Wolfman", as Ahmed Kathrada called him in his letters from Robben Island and Pollsmoor, was nostalgic about his departure from Cape Town; he still remembers the name of the ship — *Die Transvaler* — that brought him into exile.

Dennis Goldberg is another exiled member of the SACP. He was sentenced to life with Nelson Mandela but released in 1985 when he renounced violence — "though I made it



Dennis Goldberg

clear to them I still supported the armed struggle," he told me. He works for the ANC and also wants to return: "For all that sun and to have peaches bursting in my mouth again. But so far it's still only promises and words — with a commitment to group rights and a retention of the apartheid laws."

Suspicion and caution are commonplace. Paul Joseph of the Indian Congress "skipped the country" while

he was banned and wonders what protection there would be "from being bumped off by the police — or by the AWB". This is a concern apparently shared by De Klerk, who wants to arrange security for Mandela before he can walk out of the prison warden's house in Paarl.

Actor and film director Lionel Ngakane left legally in 1950 to complete the film *Cry The Beloved Country*, but has for years been refused re-entry. He telephoned on what he called "a momentous day", saying, "I'm already in Jo'burg — took off as soon as I heard the good news," he laughed.

But another of those of us called legal exiles — because we took off from Jan Smuts Airport with passports in hand — warned there could be resentment when we land back there with our bags, perhaps from people who resent us for having "run away from the struggle to an easy life in the fleshpots of the outside world".

Some have experienced a hint of this "unwelcome" on brief trips home while others have been protected by their status as officially undesirable visitors.

They either misplaced Pretoria's trust and became political activists or, worse, married white or black spouses in the days when such liaisons were followed by a letter from the embassy warning the erring exile he was banned from ever going home for promoting miscegenation.

But the ANC's chief representative, Mendi Msimang, believes there will be tolerance for the "runaways", at least, from black people.

"They'll understand that you've all contributed in many and various quiet ways. We shall all of us return with valuable experiences from all over the world — after all, the ANC has more diplomatic missions around the world than the regime."

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

Like so many, Msimang has spent half his life in exile. Aziz Pahad, who skipped in 1964, insists: "There must be no distinctions about who can go back or not. It's not a privilege but a right for all of us. And we must go back as disciplined formations. We'll have to organise because it's going to be some time still before we get what we want — one man, one vote."

Essop Pahad was for some years the ANC representative in Czechoslovakia and has two children born in exile. He is one of those who contracted what an Act of Parliament termed "mixed marriages" and among the questions facing him as he contemplates "The Return" is whether mixed families (as defined by the Population Registration Act, which was not mentioned in De Klerk's speech) can risk a backlash from people likely to regard them as rubbing multi-coloured salt into a whites-only wound.

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

The UN Commission for Refugees estimates that 50 000 South Africans have been forced out by apartheid into other African countries and unknown thousands live in Europe, America and Canada.

These people are now considering whether to take their countless thousands of children — a rainbow generation for a liberated republic — back to experience what will undoubtedly be a great culture shock. The shock will not only apply to children whose parents contravened the Mixed Marriages Act, but also to black children who do not speak the languages of a country called home, the nostalgic dream of their parents.

And some of this "pure" generation, like my daughter born in Ghana, have also married "outsiders" for whom apartheid is an ideological affront rather than a personal issue.

For the moment, the prevailing attitude of those homesick exiles who have a personal stake in the future of South Africa seems to be: air the suitcases, but don't start packing yet. There are too many questions still to be answered.



The melody's changed, but the exiles linger

Hugh Masekela ... 'We are not coming home yet'

Picture: PAUL WEINBERG, Afrapix

Miriam Makeba ... 'Nothing has been said about the safe return of exiles'

'We'd be walking into a trap'

THE exiled poet who wrote that "Wailings fill the chambers of my heartland my head behind my quiet eyes I hear the cries and sirens" is applying for a visa to come home. But Dennis Brutus still waits, he still hears the cries and sirens, for "apartheid still exists, (State President FW) de Klerk certainly hasn't satisfied the Harare Declaration's preconditions for negotiation, and I don't even know if my exit permit's been revoked".

Like Brutus, dozens of exiled South African artists in North America are playing with the possibility of returning to the place of their creative inspiration. Unlike Brutus, however, most state quite bluntly that they will not go back as a result of De Klerk's speech last week.

"Has anything changed?" Peter Abrahams asks combatively from his home in Kingston, Jamaica. Born in the decade that the African National Congress was founded, the grandfa-

ther of black South African letters (he wrote *Mine Boy* in 1946) has heard it all too many times before.

Lindiwe Mabuza, a published poet who is also the ANC's chief representative in the United States, asks: "What guarantee do we have that we will not be put right into jail upon arrival? If we all flocked into Jan Smuts tomorrow, it would be walking into a trap."

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

●To PAGE 22

SOUTH AFRICA'S most famous musicians, some in exile for more than 30 years, have greeted State President FW de Klerk's unbanning of the African National Congress with a distinct lack of enthusiasm.

"We are not coming home now," says singer Miriam Makeba, composer and trumpeter Hugh Masekela and composer Caiphus Semenya. *W.M.* 9/2-15/2/90

In interviews with the *Weekly Mail* this week, the legendary three said the government still needed to do much before they could consider coming home.

The artists said that apartheid was still in place, the State of Emergency had not been lifted, Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners were still in jail and the question of the exiles' homecoming had not been properly addressed.

"How could you expect us to return home when De Klerk said nothing about the safe return of exiles. We might fall into a trap and get detained under the State of Emergency because they still have many laws in force," said Makeba.

She said there were still many obstacles that needed to be cleared by the government before they could start thinking of coming home.

"Our people at home and the liberation movement will tell us when things are ready and we will certainly come back then."

"Everybody wants to come — after all, it is our land. My umbilical cord is buried in that land."

Masekela said coming home at this stage was not attractive for him.

"In the first place I do not recognise the South African government because I did not put them there, and so permission to come home cannot come from them."

"The issue at this stage is the people and the announcement did not give the people anything. They cannot vote, there is still the State of Emergency and a lot of other things before we can talk about coming home."

Some of the country's most famous musicians, writers and artists have lived in exile for decades. Has the FW De Klerk speech of last week meant they'll be coming home? The answer is 'not yet', reports PHIL MOLEFE (330)

"My coming home is not an issue; I am more concerned with the safety and welfare of our people. I am part of the 32 million disenfranchised people, so coming home is not important."

He said the safe return of exiles could not be guaranteed at this stage. "There is still that element of Afrikaners who are vitriolic, who cannot be trusted and De Klerk has no control over them."

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

"Who can come home and who should not?" he asked.

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

"*Ek meen, ons is nie moegoes nie* (I mean, we are not fools)," he chuckled. "You come, you do not know the traps."

"Freedom of our people is what is needed most. My coming home is not important," he said. "What De Klerk offered is a bone without meat. However, as some people have said, it is a step in the right direction."

He said the developments in the country are like a song which goes through many stages.

"A song has an introduction, verse, bridge, chorus and if it is sweet enough you put a tag on to it. So far, in South Africa, we are at the beginning of a verse and we are very far from the bridge and the chorus. The tag, which makes a song sweet enough, is still a dream."

●To PAGE 22

P.T.O.

Lewis's deportation stays

W/Man 9/2-15/2/90 By PHILIPPA GARSON (330)

RESPECTED British academic and former managing editor of the *Labour Bulletin*, Jon Lewis, has been refused leave to appeal against the Bophuthatswana government's decision to deport him.

Staff and students of the University of Bophuthatswana (Unibo) have held boycotts and demonstrations in support of Lewis and rumours are circulating that the British government may intervene on his behalf.

Lewis, who was deported from South Africa in 1987, was ordered last week by the minister of internal affairs to leave the independent homeland "immediately". Legal steps taken this week to rescind the order failed and he must leave Bophuthatswana by next Wednesday.

Lewis is married with a small child and has been lecturing at the University of Bophuthatswana for the past two-and-a-half years, since his deportation from South Africa.

His new deportation orders come in the wake of clashes between the university management and the Unibo Staff Association (USA), of which he is president. The Association is affiliated to the Union of Democratic University Staff Associations (Udusa), an anti-apartheid body with 4 500 staff members from universities throughout South Africa.

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk's announcement that exiles would be allowed back home was met with mixed reactions by families who had lost hope of ever being reunited with them.

Some of the parents and relatives have not heard from or seen their children and relatives since they left decades ago.

The memories engraved in their minds are of their teenage sons and daughters in grey flannel school pants or dungarees.

They do not know how the young and innocent pupil has turned out in adulthood. The tragedy is that there are those who will never know.

Mrs Scholastica Dumasi of Orlando East Soweto's last sight of her son, Vincent, was in the shorts and khaki shirt he wore on the day he left home. She has not seen him since.

"If I knew where he was I would say I was excited with De Klerk's announcement," Dumasi said.

Rumour

"But I do not know if he will be coming back or not. I do not want to think of him as dead though. I have always told myself that if he is dead I would have been told long ago," she said.

Dumasi has never had any correspondence or message about to her son's whereabouts since his disappearance in 1976, except for a rumour that he was in Swaziland. Her search for him there was fruitless.

"He did not have a reference book when he left. He was still too young to qualify for an ID. It has been difficult trying to trace him because he did not have any papers to identify him by.

"I couldn't ask just anybody if they knew where he was because I was afraid that I could be talking to spies."

Hope flares anew for SA exiles

By SIZAKELE KOOMA



Dumasi said she developed hypertension and was in and out of hospital in the period soon after Vincent, her eighth and last child, vanished.

The family of Lesley Moatshe of Meadowlands, who also left home in 1976, only learnt last year that he had died in 1986 during a confrontation with the police in Louis Trichardt.

"All along we did not know where he was," said Tshuki Mphake, his sister.

"His disappearance caused my parents a lot of distress. My father, who had asthma, started having frequent attacks. Lesley's unknown whereabouts led to his death a year later," she said.

Mother

The Moatshe's only got to know about their son's death when his mother, Elizabeth, asked a friend to help trace him. The friend phoned Lusaka and was told about the ill-fated confrontation in Louis Trichardt.

Lesley had changed his name, the reason why it had been difficult for his family to trace him.

"We only know that he is buried in Louis Trichardt but we do not



SALLY MOTLANA

know his grave," Mphake said.

She said she was happy for the families who would be reunited with their relatives.

"It would have been very exciting to see him after such a long time. We really miss him. Sometimes I think there could have been a mistake, that he is still alive and he will

one day come home."

Anxiety runs high in the families of refugees. They speak of the big comeback with a mixture of excitement, suspicion and doubt.

Sally Motlana, president of the Black Housewife's League, wants De Klerk to say clearly when and how the exiles can come back.

She is anxiously waiting to welcome back home her two sons Oupa, who left home when he was 18 and now holds a Masters degree in Economics, and Karabo, his younger brother who skipped the country in 1983 and now holds three law degrees.

"Everything still depends on the President. He must spell his plan out. Our children want to come back home. But they cannot just walk to the border without a piece of paper," Motlana said.

All the years her sons have been away, she said, she has felt barren.

"Now I am going to feel like a woman again.

"I literally died when they went away. It took me two months to trace Oupa. I did not know whether he had died or

had been arrested. Karabo told me that he was leaving but did not say where he was going.

"Although I am excited about their return they are skeptical. They want De Klerk to address the question of immunity. When I went to see them at the weekend I expected to find them jumping with excitement. But they were cool and suspicious."

Roseline Phetheni of Diepkloof is eager to see her two grandchildren, her son-in-law and daughter home. They too are just as anxious.

Her son-in-law, who left the country in 1977 while still a student at the University of Fort Hare, was already making plans for a visit over the phone last Saturday.

Problem

The problem of having an exiled son-in-law has caused the Phetheni's a lot of inconvenience.

These have included holding a wedding celebration in a country where they knew nobody and not being able to help their daughter when her children were born.

"It was awful making arrangements for the wedding. We were running in and out of the country. The wedding was held at a friend's place because we did not have relatives there.

"I am very happy that my daughter's family will be able to come home. They have not spoken of settling this side. They are still watching the situation. Besides, they have got jobs in America where they live, they cannot uproot themselves from their lives that side."

I
t
c
a
d
E

Breyten: Go home before history rolls on

By JEREMY BROOKS: London

THE ANC leadership should "seize the moment" and return home to take up President F W de Klerk's challenge, says exiled South African writer Breyten Breytenbach.

In an impassioned plea this week, Breytenbach said the ANC should face the fact that it was no longer a liberation movement, but a political party.

"I am concerned that we may miss the boat. We have at our fingertips the chance of historical compromise," he told London's Guardian newspaper.

"It is imperative that the ANC is seen to be filling the gap opened by De Klerk."

Breytenbach's call, published in the paper's comment page, contradicts — and even criticises — the careful response by ANC executive members to President De Klerk's reform measures announced last week.

"As a muddled meddler, I may be saying all the wrong things in terms of timing and tactics," Breytenbach wrote.

Struggle

He warned of the dangers of creating a personality cult around Nelson Mandela.

"Don't paint him into a corner with praises ... give the man a break! Let the man go and have his month in the Bahamas. Isn't he only human, too?"

Breytenbach, writing from his home in Paris, said he believed the world would forget South Africa's liberation struggle as soon as "the dust settles over the last cameraman trampled underfoot at Mandela's liberation".

He added: "As a revolutionary, I chafe at what I perceive to be a lack of historical vision, the seeming incapability of the leaders to lift themselves, and us with them, beyond the restrictions of anger and pain and distrust — a touch of pettiness that even risks robbing us of a decisive moment in our history."

"If we now dither and quibble ... we shall find time seeping through our fingers."

"And we may run out of sympathy as well. The world no longer owes us a living."

It was illogical to demand that Mr De Klerk eliminate apartheid before the ANC "deigned" to take on its task.

The ANC ideals could only be furthered by a "resolute step forward", he said.

"After all, we have nothing to lose but apartheid."

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, 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.

PAC exile comes back home after 27 years

Sunday Times Reporter

THERE were wild scenes of emotion at Cape Town's D F Malan Airport yesterday as PAC exile Barney Desai returned home after 27 years.

Mr Desai, 57, arrived with his two children, Zivia and Hardy.

A large police contingent

confiscated an ANC flag at the airport.

During his exile, Mr Desai practised as a barrister in London and remained a staunch member of the PAC's central committee at the organisation's United Nations mission.

"I took the decision to return home after President De Klerk's speech last week,"

477-7141
12/2/90
Turoks allowed in for a week 336

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.

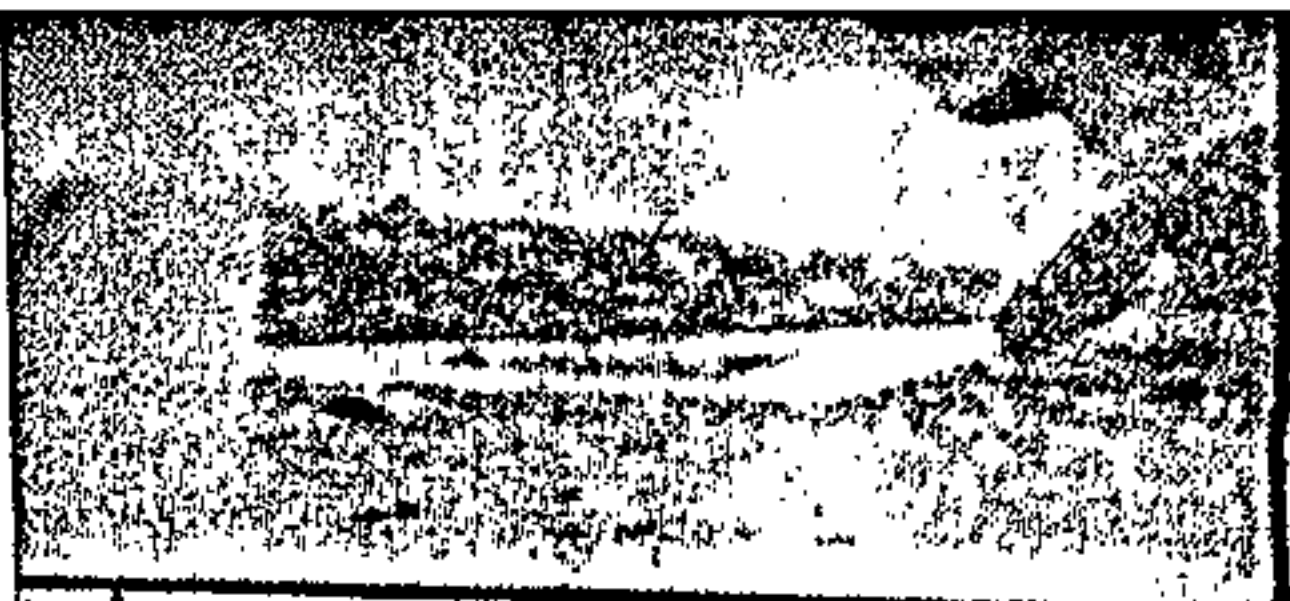
Mr Ben Turok, 62, disclosed that he and his wife Mary, 57, arrived on a strictly personal visit last Tuesday on the urging of relatives following Mr F W de Klerk's February 2 speech.

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.



Dogs set on airport(2490) crowd, says witness

Staff Reporter *SM* 12/2/90

Several people waiting for Mr Nelson Mandela to arrive at Jan Smuts Airport last night were injured when police used dogs to disperse a crowd of about 300, an eyewitness told The Star.

A young woman waiting at the airport said police set dogs on the crowd and several people were injured.

She said the crowd was peacefully toying outside the airport when the dogs attacked.

Passport application to get swift attention

SM 12/2/90
Own Correspondent (330)

CAPE TOWN — An application by Mr Nelson Mandela for a South African passport would be given "immediate attention", said Home Affairs Minister Mr Gene Louw.

Mr Louw said he had not yet had such an application. Passports were issued to Mr Walter Sisulu and his former prison colleagues "within 24 hours".

PAC's Barney Desai back in SA after 27 years' exile

Cape Times 12/2/90 *330*

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Barney Desai, a member of the PAC's central committee who has been in exile for 27 years, returned to South Africa with his son and daughter on Saturday.

Mr Desai, a former president of the Coloured People's Party and Cape Town City Councillor for District Six, his daughter Zivia and his son Rehad arrived at Jan Smuts Airport shortly before 11am to a small PAC welcoming committee.

He is believed to be the first long-term exile to have returned to SA.

Members of the PAC legal team were on hand in case Mr Desai should be detained.

One of the team, Mr Dinkgang Mosenke, said at the airport that the movement had been assured by the Commissioner of Police, General Johann van der Merwe, that Mr Desai would not be arrested but could be interrogated.

Mr Desai left SA in 1967 while on

bail on a charge of attending an illegal gathering.

"I am very happy to be back at home with my people," he said while embracing members of his welcoming committee.

"I want to be with my people and am prepared to continue the struggle for the dignity of my people."

"Just now I am very happy to be home and I will play my part."

Mr Desai was a member of the PAC's central committee based at the organisation's United Nations mission in New York.

He was head of the SA Coloured People's Congress, which was affiliated to the Congress of Democrats and affiliated to the ANC, Natal and Transvaal Indian Congresses. Following his restriction in the '60s he was forced to resign the presidency of the party.

Mr Desai, who practised as a barrister in London, said he went into exile as he had been "stripped of all civil rights". — Sapa



Mary and Ben Turok yesterday ... happy to be home.

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

Exiled couple on visit to SA

LEFT-WING academic Ben Turok and his wife Mary are the first ANC exiles known to have returned to SA on a visit. Their trip from Britain has been limited by the authorities to one week.

In an interview yesterday, Ben Turok, 62, disclosed that he and his wife Mary, 57, arrived by air last Tuesday on the urging of relatives following President F W de Klerk's speech on February 2.

He was one of the more than 100 people delisted after the speech.

Turok, now a London academic and a member of the ANC's regional political committee in Britain for the last three years, fled SA in 1966 after serving a three-year prison sentence for arson and six months subsequent house arrest.

His conviction was related to an attack on the Rissik Street Post Office on December 16 1961. This was the day of the launch of the ANC's guerrilla campaign, and the attack was one of the first two by the ANC.

Turok stressed the visit was a purely personal one, and he and his wife did not see themselves as pathbreakers for other ANC exiles. They are now seriously considering returning to SA permanently. The main purpose of the visit was to examine this possibility.

The couple return to Britain today.

They arrived at Jan Smuts airport with British passports, not knowing whether Turok would be arrested, sent back, or allowed in. Although they had been "forced" to take up British citizenship, they still considered themselves South Africans.

"When the customs officials checked on

ALAN FINE

their computers, our names came up. We had already briefed an attorney, who quickly got in touch with De Klerk's office, and they decided to give us one-week visas," Turok said.

In 1967, on arriving in London after a difficult flight through Africa, Turok became editor of the ANC journal, *Sechaba*, for two years. He then held an academic post at London's Open University for 16 years.

Turok said the week in SA, during which he met many people including Walter Sisulu and Helen Joseph, had left him with the impression that despite some major changes there were many signs that apartheid remained in place.

But government's latest moves were of "enormous significance", and his general scepticism about government's commitment to real change was now subordinated to his feelings of elation.

330

Challenge

Turok's long association with the ANC includes participation in economic policy-making. He said he had helped draft the economic provisions of the Freedom Charter and had delivered the main speech on the subject at the Kliptown Congress of the People in 1955.

"There are many mechanisms which could be used to ensure the SA economy came to serve the interests of the majority. The ANC's great challenge is to devise policies that do this and, at the same time, do not disrupt the economy," he said.

SRAC 1312190

(330)

Former prisoner, exile have mixed emotions

By Shehnaaz Bulbulia

A recently released political prisoner and a returning exile have expressed mixed emotions of euphoria and apprehension at the changing political climate in the country.

Political activist Ms Barbara Hogan, who was released from Pretoria Central Prison last week after serving eight of her 10-year sentence for security offences, described the recent changes in the country as "electric".

"Coming out of jail into this environment is exceptional for any political prisoner. I am very excited about the unbanning of the ANC and SACP and I'm equally delighted about Nelson's release. It's as though South Africans are celebrating an early Christmas," said an elated Ms Hogan in Johannesburg yesterday.

PRESSURE

She added: "I was not surprised by these changes. There was no way the Government could avoid acting in this manner. It would be ludicrous for the Government to have banned the ANC and freed Walter Sisulu and the others as recognised ANC leaders.

"Besides there was too much international and local pressure on the Government to take strides to change the country." She said far from feeling as

though she stepped into a time-warped she was "clued up" and "all my predictions have come true".

Asked about the future of SA, Ms Hogan said she was uncertain. "I don't believe that the Government or the democratic forces are in control of the situation. It's up for grabs and the democratic movement has to seize this historic moment."

A former exile and ANC member, Mrs Mary Turok, who has just visited the country after being away for nearly three decades, said yesterday. "I'm so excited about the legal presence of the ANC in South Africa. But I must add, I'm also afraid that the Government may change its attitude."

Mrs Turok, a key member of the ANC woman's committee in London, returned to SA on an eight-day visit with her husband, Mr Ben Turok, a member of the ANC's regional political committee. She returned to London yesterday.

The couple plan to resettle in SA permanently. "We have to continue the struggle for liberation," said Mrs Turok.

She was "stunned" at the changes which had taken place in 30 years. "When we left there was no hint of the presence of the democratic forces."

A former SACP member, Mrs Turok left the country in 1966.



"It was right" ... ANC member Ms Barbara Hogan, released from prison last week after serving eight years of a 10-year term, described recent political changes in the country as electric.

Picture By Karen Fletcher.

Lusaka to draw plans for exiles' return

LUSAKA — Top-level ANC discussions to formulate plans for the movement's members to return to SA begin in the Zambian capital today.

The national executive committee is also expected to make preparations for Nelson Mandela's imminent arrival in Lusaka.

"How the ANC will stage its return is the challenge the SA regime has thrown at it," one diplomatic source said.

President F W de Klerk had not yet granted a blanket amnesty to political exiles, so the 3 000 or more living in Lusaka could face stiff prison sentences for trea-

Own Correspondent

son or sabotage if they returned home now, the source added. *B10am*

14/2/90
"But some exiles must return very soon to legitimise the movement in the eyes of the international community," said a Western diplomat. *330* *HA*

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.

(330) 142/9D

Mandela passport queried

Political Correspondent

The Ministry of Home Affairs said today that no application from Mr Nelson Mandela for a passport had yet been received by them.

However, it was possible that Mr Mandela had submitted an application at a regional office and the application had not yet arrived at headquarters.

Mr Mandela said this week he would be visiting Lusaka soon for consultations with the ANC leadership. It is expected he will go next week.

ANC exiles 'may return soon'

By Ken Vernon,
The Star's Africa
News Service

LUSAKA — The African National Congress is planning to come out and function openly on the South African political scene and thousands of ANC exiles may soon be heading back to the country.

According to sources close to the ANC National Executive Committee, which is meeting in Lusaka to formulate a response to the reform initiative of President F W de Klerk, the NEC has decided to take full advantage of the opportunity afforded by the initiative to operate as a political party in South Africa.

The formal and detailed decision of the NEC is scheduled to be announced at a press conference in Lusaka this afternoon.

The decision to return to South Africa is seen as a major victory for those in the ANC who advocate "jaw-jaw" over "war-war".

It will also neatly side-step the need for the ANC to make any concessions to the South African Government to promote negotiations.

The decision to return and operate within the changing system will overtake the need for such concessions.

Another aspect of the return to a "normal" political situation

is that ANC supporters and sympathisers within the country, who have been adopting a "wait and see" attitude, will declare their true colours.

There will be a lot of surprises when this happens, said one ANC member, especially in the homelands.

Thousands of exiles are expected to begin streaming back to the country once the "OK" is given by the ANC, and in Lusaka the possibility of return is the only topic of conversation among many rank-and-file ANC members.

The new policy will be a setback for "militarists" within the organisation who reportedly still distrust the motives of President de Klerk.

The continued praise for Mr de Klerk as a "man of integrity" by Mr Nelson Mandela may have strengthened the hands of the negotiationist faction within the organisation.

It is expected that part of the new strategy will be that official roles within South Africa will be created for Mr Mandela and other internal leaders such as Mr Walter Sisulu and leading lights in the Mass Democratic Movement.

ANC leaders in exile will probably not form part of the return movement in the near future.

They will remain in exile, and

in control, at least until the ANC holds a watershed congress scheduled for June.

That congress could be the most important to be held since the 1950's.

One of the main aims of the ANC's new strategy will be to reinforce its role as the major spokesman for the black majority within South Africa in any future negotiations to shape a post-apartheid South Africa.

A major aspect of the new strategy will be that present blockages to talks, such as the release of prisoners convicted of violent crimes, will not be allowed to hold up the process of "normalisation".

The apparent willingness of the ANC to allow Barend Strydom to walk free along with its own prisoners on death row is seen as testimony to that attitude.

Stumbling blocks will be sidelined for resolution at a later stage.

The return of the ANC to the political stage will normalise South African politics for the first time in almost 30 years.

However concern has been expressed within the organisation about the role of the police, particularly their apparent ability to act against many activities under the cover of existing security legislation even after the state of emergency is lifted.

SONS and daughters last seen nearly 30 years ago, the graves of long dead parents — these are the thoughts uppermost in the minds of thousands of exiles waiting for the magic words: "Go home".

For some, the instruction from the ANC — when it comes — will be just too late. John Hoogendyk, the 1956 treason trialist who left South Africa in the 60s after being banned six times, died of cancer in London on Wednesday.

Friends said the 78-year-old communist had been in some pain until he watched the release of Nelson Mandela on Sunday.

"We sat around his bed as he cried. They were tears of joy, not sadness," one said. Shortly afterwards Mr

By JEREMY BROOKS: London

Hoogendyk "became peaceful" and lapsed into a coma. A non-religious memorial service, addressed by ANC executive Dennis Goldberg, is to be held on Wednesday.



For other exiles it is clear that long years have not dimmed a desperate longing to step once again on to South African soil.

Jonas Gwanga, the New York-based composer of the music for *Cry Freedom*, left in 1961 during the state of

emergency imposed after Sharpeville.

Gatherings of more than five blacks had been banned. There were already six members in his band — one of them the famous trumpeter Hugh Masekela. Unable to even rehearse, they trickled, one by one, over to London.

Princess Patience arrived in 1960 as a member of the King Kong musical.

When it finished its run, after Sharpeville, she stayed and found work as a model, becoming the toast of swinging 60s London.

Travelling to parties in a Rolls Royce, she was on first-name terms with each of the Beatles as well as Rolling Stone Mick Jagger.

Today, aged nearly 50 and forgotten — but still with stunning good looks — she sits in her tiny Brixton flat dreaming of the money she once earned.

330

The fabulous silk and sequined dresses she wore to decorate the walls, Princess talks of an aching desire to return to her Xhosa people and continue the career mapped out for her by her

parents — as a sangoma, a "healer".

Waiting for her is the daughter she left with her parents, now both dead. The girl is now a woman of 29. They met once, in 1981.

"I want to see my parents' graveyard and to talk to my family. The thought of them being so far away is very painful.

"If I had listened to my father I wouldn't be here — I would be at home growing old in the traditional way. I feel it has all been a waste of time. It wasn't worth it."

Jonas Gwanga and Prin-

cess appeared this week in a BBC TV documentary called *SA Blues* which looked at the life of South Africa's artistic community in exile.

Jonas said: "Even with the success of *Cry Freedom*, I'm still wandering the world, knocking on doors.

"There's always that temporary feeling. You never settle. You can't even hang pictures on the wall.

"Adjusting to different cultures is not an easy thing. Some people just break down, others end up, as

alcoholics or suicides.

"Trying to adjust to this sort of life when you're an adult is not easy.

"Sometimes you see someone who is going over the brink but you can't help them — the change is just too heavy."

The rate of suicides and alcoholism among exiles is well known to the ANC which has a fully-fledged welfare wing staffed by counsellors.

A few months after the 1976 Soweto riots, Sontsi Mdebele crossed the border to Botswana at night, on the run from the police. Behind

her she left a two-year-old son.

"I'm his mother, but he has never lived with me. He's nearly 17 now and we'll never be able to communicate.

"I blame myself. I had to leave — I had no choice. But I still have the guilt with me."

Sontsi has sung with Miriam Makeba and Paul Simon on the Graceland tour. She is busy cutting her solo album.

Jonas Gwanga saw his mother for the first time in 15 years in 1976 when he flew from New York to Botswana.

His mother had never been on a plane before in her life but met him in Gaborone.

"She was all over me, calling me her chubby little son," he said.

"Then she disappeared in the bathroom and I knew she was going there to cry and pray by herself.

"I couldn't laugh. I couldn't cry. I was just confused ... had that silly feeling when you want to do everything at the same time.

"And there was the guilt the big sense of responsibility surrounded by so much love."

Princess Patience best sums up the emotions of thousands of men and women like her.

"I must go home and feel better," she says simply.

DRIES VAN HEERDEN REPORTS ON A VISIT TO THE ANC IN LUSAKA

Comrade Stovo

330

JOE SLOVO doesn't go to bed at night with a guilty conscience. But many white South Africans think he should.

For almost half a century, the Lithuanian-born advocate has done little other than plan the downfall of the white government of South Africa.

His schemes and actions have caused the death of many people — including innocent civilians.

As general secretary of the South African Communist Party and for a long time chief of staff of ANC military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, he has been Public Enemy No 1 of successive SA governments.

In a Lusaka hotel room, Mr Slovo, a personable fellow, sat down to talk about his life as a revolutionary. The least of his worries, he says, is the fact that he has been demonised by so many in South Africa.

Attacked

"I am a contented man," he says. "If white South Africans have hated me, it has always been counterbalanced by the fact that I am much loved by the majority of the population — and they are the people that count for me."

"In fact, the more the Government has attacked me, the higher my stakes have risen in the eyes of the majority."

THE MAN WITHOUT A GUILTY CONSCIENCE

important contribution to the cause.

"But it really never entered my mind that I was giving up a career. The sort of deprivation that people say I have suffered has been more than outweighed by the idealism of the cause that has moved me all my life."

"My critics have labelled me 'anti-South African'. The truth is exactly the opposite. It is my love for the country and all its people that has led me to live a life of purgatory in exile."

He frankly admits he never really thought he

would be able to return to South Africa. Rapid developments inside the country have caught him unawares.

"In a sense, I never left South Africa. The courage of the people inside who carried on the struggle made me feel as if I was there with them."

"And, in a vague, abstract way, I thought I might some day be back. Frankly, I could not have kept going if I did not have this to cling to."

"But to think of actually walking in the streets of Johannesburg again... it all seemed so remote."

"It was the thought of

friends and comrades we'd left behind that kept driving me. In my office in London hangs a photograph of Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu. Whenever I felt despair or uncertainty, I looked at the picture and took new courage."

Targets

Slovo believes that much of the propaganda aimed at him over the years was because the Government refused to admit that black men could draft policies or plan actions that shook the regime and the military."

"So they had to invent this ogre of a great white brain manipulating the ANC behind the scenes," he says.

But he admitted that, as commander of Umkhonto, he did plan armed incursions and attacks on targets — of which some can be labelled "soft".

"It is never easy to be involved in a process that leads to any loss of human life," he says. "Obviously we did not relish some of the consequences of our actions. But they are unavoidable in any conflict."

"My conscience is clear."

"Perhaps more than any other liberation organisation involved in a military struggle, we have consciously set out to avoid the loss of innocent lives."

"Statistics will one day show that in South Africa, fewer lives were lost than in any other comparable situation. We toned down several of our operations at the expense of our struggle because we were so mindful of this."

And did he, as a man who lived by the sword, ever think he might also one day die by the sword?

"It is impossible to commit one's self to the struggle without some thought in the back of your mind that you may have to pay the ultimate penalty. But if this governed your life, you would not be able to do anything."

Suffered

"Margaret Thatcher had her public relations. I had Saatchi & Saatchi to handle Botha & Botha."

His standing within the ranks of the ANC seems unassailable.

One can attend any meeting of the movement and, without exception, there will be a special welcome for "Comrade Joe Slovo, general secretary of our ally, the SA Communist Party".

And when the praises of the leadership are sung, some of the loudest "vivas" are reserved for JS — his nickname in exile circles.

In ANC circles, everyone knows that Joe Slovo has suffered a great deal for his commitment.

Since he left South Africa in 1963, he has lived on the run. He seldom sleeps in one place two nights in a row.

His wife, Ruth First, was killed by a parcel bomb in Maputo in 1982.

Many say Joe Slovo, 64, could have become a Supreme Court judge or at least a rich advocate with a thriving practice if he had stayed on and curtailed his political activism. But instead he chose to follow his own path. Does he, on reflection, think today that he should have taken a different route?

"It was not an easy decision to leave. Through being an advocate defending most ANC members in the late 50s and early 60s, I made an

Guerrilla diplomat wants to return from Russia with love

SIPHO SIMON MAKANE is the diplomat who wants to come in from the cold — literally.

For the past two years he has been the ANC's chief representative in Moscow. But his heart really belongs to his native Fort Beaufort in the Eastern Cape.

"If the ANC leadership decides to return to South Africa, I want to be among the first to come home," Mr Makane said this week in Lusaka, where he attended the meeting of the National Executive Committee.

"But, I also realise it is not a decision to be taken too hastily. Discipline will be the keyword in the next few days and weeks."

It is a sad reflection on recent history that the amiable soft-spoken diplomat has come to know the capitals of the world better than that of his own country.

Wary

After being expelled from Lovedale College for political activities in the early 60s, he left the country to further his studies in the Soviet Union. He also became completely fluent in Russian.

Having served in ANC offices in Uganda and various Eastern European capitals, he was appointed to the highly-regarded post in Moscow.

"But I've still never been in Cape Town. I visited Johannesburg briefly once or twice and I had to slip into Pretoria under cover of darkness to avoid arrest."

Talk about life in Moscow and the first thing he mentions is the terrible weather. "The snow and the cold and



SIPHO SIMON MAKANE
Wants to come home

the ice become unbearable. "After so many years I still can't get used to it."

He walks with a slight limp, the result of an old rugby injury sustained when he was still young and strong. "It is holding up better now in Africa where it is warm ... but in the Moscow cold it gives me a lot of trouble."

Years of first-hand experience of the Soviet system have made him wary of the excesses of socialism.

"Gorbachev is the first leader who recognised that the old system simply did not work. The changes he is bringing about are absolutely essential to rescue the Soviet economy."

And for South Africa?

"I don't think pure socialism can be a solution for our problems. It is too ingrained in human nature to strive towards bettering living conditions — and financial inducements are needed."

"It is natural for young people to be driven by ideal-

ism. I had the same anger and impatience when I joined the ANC. But when you reach my age you come to realise that everything cannot be attained overnight.

"It is so sad that so many people had to die before we, as fellow South Africans, realised that our problems can best be solved through negotiations," he added.

"Weapons don't think. They kill at random. But the best bullets are political bullets."

Mr Makane finds it quite amusing that he is often mistaken for South Africa's ambassador to the Soviet Union by ordinary citizens.

330 Ironic

"They come banging on my office door to ask about emigration prospects and job opportunities — especially qualified and professional people. They believe South Africa is the land of milk and honey," he said.

"Radio Moscow is now advertising for an Afrikaans announcer for its external service. They are using someone now but have received a flood of letters from inside South Africa complaining about the quality of the man's language."

And it seems as if glasnost may also be extending to official Soviet attitudes towards South Africa. Ironically, the ANC representative often finds himself on the wrong end of the stick.

"I often get politicians or officials telling me: 'Why are you still hammering De Klerk when he tries his best to change? You are too hard on the poor chap.'"

"I have to remind them it

is my job to keep up the pressure on the South African Government otherwise the momentum will be lost," said Mr Mokane.

He is optimistic about South Africa's future — but not starry-eyed.

"We may be going through an initial period of uncertainty and upheaval. It is not going to be easy to change the attitudes of both blacks and whites after generations of

indoctrination and bitterness.

"But, in the end, we will have to realise that we need each other. Circumstances will force us together."

And will he be available to return to Moscow in a pin-striped suit as the official ambassador of a future South African government?

"Not likely. I want to go and rest in Fort Beaufort ..."

400 000 set to return to SA - Chikane



FRANK CHIKANE

HARARE - As many as 400 000 people could be regarded as South African exiles who might want to return in the changed circumstances that were promised. South African Council of Churches general secretary the Rev Frank Chikane said at the weekend.

He was speaking at a news conference after a special meeting of the World Council of Churches on South Africa.

Chikane said the figure of 400 000 had been given to him by a WCC source.

He called for a general amnesty for all exiles and said he had written to President FW de Klerk to get clarification on who was regarded as an exile and who the Government would allow to return.

As he understood it, the narrow definition of prisoner would exclude the greater part of the leadership of the liberation movements.

In this case it would not be possible to start meaningful negotiations, he said. - *Simetian Africa News Service.*

Buthelezi speaks on Mandela

19/12/90
Soweto
INKATHA president Mangosuthu Buthelezi said on Saturday the Press had incorrectly created the impression that difficulties had arisen between himself and Mr Nelson Mandela, so heightening the Natal conflict between Inkatha and ANC affiliates.

Buthelezi said he had been in contact with Mandela who was reported to have said police were siding with Inkatha in the conflict which has claimed thousands of lives.

"We discussed the reports indicating conflict between us and while I do not want to speak on behalf of Mr Mandela, I say that I am entirely at ease and satisfied that there still is the love and respect between us which has always been there," Buthelezi said.

On Friday Buthelezi denied police supported his Zulu Inkatha movement and said Mandela's comments reflected an error of judgment.

The Inkatha leader's statement on Saturday came almost at the same time that Mandela's aides said the ANC leader would travel to Natal to address the problem of violence.

You can stay as you are for
rest of your life or you can

Change to

MAINSTAY

INTERNATIONAL

Now
the world's
No.1
cane
spirit



TRADEMARK

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

INTERPELLATIONS

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

General Affairs:

Peter Hain: unlawful entry

1. Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

Whether he has taken or will take any action in regard to the alleged unlawful entry into the Republic of South Africa of one Peter Hain; if so, what action; if not, why not?

B213E.INT

*THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS: Mr Chairman, I should like to reply to the hon member's question as follows.

As far back as 29 September 1969 the Government took the first steps to prevent Peter Hain from entering South Africa without permission. His visa exemption was withdrawn on that date. His exemption from the requirement of possessing a temporary residence permit was also withdrawn. He was also informed of this in writing and his name was placed on the visa stop list. This visa stop list contains all information relating to all undesirable persons, as well as the names of all persons whose visa exemptions have been withdrawn, in addition to known name variations and aliases, with cross-references where possible.

When a visitor to South Africa arrives at the point of entry, his passport, his arrival form and other relevant information are compared with the stop list and are checked by computer with the main frame in Pretoria.

Owing to a shortage of data lines and funds the system of electronic comparison is unfortunately not yet in operation in Cape Town. Here the clearance is done by consulting the stop list manually. It is expected—and this is the good news—that the computerised system will also be in operation at D F Malan Airport by the end of April this year. The system ought to be in

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

330

operation throughout the whole of South Africa by the end of this year.

Immediately it came to light that Peter Hain was possibly in the country, all arrival forms were checked. No arrival form in the name of Peter Hain could be found. What was found was a form in the name of Peter Gerald Weston-Hain, who entered the country on 9 December 1989 at D F Malan Airport. Since his Christian name and date of birth corresponded with those of Peter Hain, the matter was immediately reported to the British Ambassador who confirmed that Peter Hain had acquired a new passport a few weeks before his arrival, and that just prior to that he had changed his name in England by the quick and simple deed poll method and taken the name Weston-Hain. Weston was his wife's maiden name.

Obviously the Department of Home Affairs knew nothing about this. Apparently the British Embassy was not aware of his change of name either. The altered details had therefore not yet been included in the relevant documentation. That goes without saying. Mr Hain was therefore allowed into the Republic of South Africa under his new surname by the immigration official concerned in good faith.

I want to make it quite clear that the Department of Home Affairs is geared to clear visitors who have had a long and tiring journey as quickly as possible. There is therefore too little time to conduct long investigations in order to sort out every visitor's identity down to the last detail. The department views this matter in a very serious light, and has officially notified the British Government of its dissatisfaction in respect of Peter Hain's actions.

*Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: Mr Chairman, the hon the Minister's reply confirms the contents of the statement the CP made on this issue. The illegal entry of Peter Hain is further proof that the Government no longer has control over which of South Africa's enemies enters the country. [Interjections.]

And what is more, it does not matter to the Government either. Under the present Government, South Africa has become a market-place for its enemies. Peter Hain is probably one of South Africa's most notorious enemies, and his

background is far worse than the hon the Minister made it out to be here.

On 5 March 1982 the *Citizen* reported that the Anti-Apartheid Movement had been hijacked by the "hard line" communists. Peter Hain was one of their "bright stars". He was the one who led the demonstrations against our sports teams in England. Now he enters South Africa without any trouble.

*THE STATE PRESIDENT: That is simply not true.

*Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: Of course it is true. The hon the State President was not present when the answer was given.

*THE STATE PRESIDENT: I was here.

*Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: Where was the hon the State President? He must have been asleep.

*THE CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order!

*Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: No, Mr Chairman, the hon the State President must behave himself. [Interjections.]

I want to ask how many of South Africa's enemies, of whom the Government is not aware, are walking around in South Africa today. Peter Hain's father was a listed communist. Now he comes to South Africa, visits his old suburb, and drives around Pretoria. The Press takes photographs of him and interviews him. He travels quite openly to see Dr Danie Craven, has a long talk with him, during which very intimate matters are discussed. However, the Government is totally in the dark as far as Peter Hain is concerned. I believe that the Government did know about this. [Interjections.]

They knew that the unbanning of the SA Communist Party and the ANC was in the pipeline. Therefore, if these friends of the Government are going to help them to create a new constitution for the so-called new South Africa, it is not surprising that they allowed Peter Hain to enter South Africa.

The Government is hampering the work of the officials of Home Affairs and our security forces. I submit that a government which acts so foolishly and hampers the work of its civil servants is a danger to the country. [Time expired.]

330

Mr P G SOAL: Mr Chairman, on a point of order: May I ask whether the hon member is referring to Peter Hain or to Peter Hein? They are two different individuals.

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! I cannot accept that as a valid point of order. [Interjections.]

*Order! The time allocated for dealing with interpellations is extremely limited. I cannot allow hon members who are talking to be shouted down and have their time wasted in the process. I am therefore going to be very strict about interjections.

Mr S S VAN DER MERWE: Mr Chairman, if there is a way not to get South Africa back into world sport, then it is to continue to vilify and persecute the likes of Mr Peter Hain. It would be infinitely better to lift the spiteful visa restriction imposed on Mr Hain and many others, and to engage them in a constructive debate on how sports contact can contribute to move South Africa out of the apartheid era. If this is to be a matter for parliamentary debate at all, then let us be bold and honest enough to ask ourselves who or what has been responsible for our isolation, who or what has pulled Mr Hain from obscurity on to the world stage of politics and sport.

It was none other than Dr Verwoerd's statement about the inclusion of Morris in an All Black rugby team at Loskop Dam. It was none other than Mr Vorster's attitude to Mr Basil D'Oliveira in a British cricket side. It was none other than long decades of obsession with making sport also the slave of an apartheid policy. This is something which has to this day not been properly terminated and for which the NP and CP must take the blame squarely. Let us put the wasted years behind us. Let us work towards reconciliation in this country and let us put our sportsmen and women back into the international competition which they so richly deserve.

*THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS: Mr Chairman, the unbanning of the SA Communist Party and the ANC has nothing to do with the fact that Peter Hain entered South Africa illegally. Peter Hain knew he was not welcome. He deliberately changed his surname. This was nothing but a deliberate play to get into the country with deceitful motives and make a derogatory film about South Africa. In this regard he was assisted by Granada Television.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

The names appearing in the credits of that film have not been traced here in the records. It was a clever plot to enter South Africa and to deceive South Africa in an underhand way.

Hon members will concede that if a person enters the country with such deliberate, deceitful intentions, it is extremely difficult for the immigration staff to identify these people. We are dealing here with fraud. When Peter Hain signed his arrival and departure forms, he signed as P G Weston-Hain. What did he do when he returned to England? He wrote a letter to the Ambassador and signed it "Peter Hain". He typed this letter and signed it in a completely different handwriting. He did the same on 2 January of this year. He wrote to the Ambassador:

I am writing to ask whether I can now visit South Africa as a normal British subject without the necessity to apply for a visa.

The point is that he does not even want to apply. He wants to enter the country like a lord. He wants the Government to lift his visa restriction. The hon member for Green Point is wrong. He came here and made a film in which St James was compared with Khayelitsha, in which he compared the sports fields of Pretoria Boys High with those in Guguletu, and in which he said that only R1 out of every R1 000 was being utilised for Black sporting facilities. Is that too little? These are the factors that must be taken into consideration when we consider whether such a man should be allowed to come to South Africa and whether his presence can be to the benefit of sport in South Africa. [Interjections.] [Time expired.]

*The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! The hon member for Green Point!

*Mr F J LE ROUX: Mr Chairman, everything the hon the Minister has now said confirms our suspicions about the behaviour of the Government with regard to the illegal entry of Peter Hain.

The hon the Minister himself has said what a scoundrel this man was and is. We are therefore surprised that at the beginning of January the hon the Minister made an announcement in which he said that this matter would be investigated by the Department of Home Affairs and that a decision would be taken on the matter. It is now 20 February, and we know nothing more

than what appeared in the newspapers on 3 and 4 January 1990.

The strange thing about this situation is that when we first approached the hon the Minister of Foreign Affairs about this matter, he knew nothing about it. He is usually the man who is first on the scene and dramatically announces that he has sent a note of protest to the British government, but we have not yet heard what the British government's reply is. We are forced to conclude that the Government was behind all this, because they already had it in mind to unban the SA Communist Party. [Interjections.]

The hon member for Green Point is correct—Peter Hain is going to be removed from that list, because he is now their friend. He is the man who recited the poetry at John Harris' funeral and swore not to rest until John Harris' death was avenged. Hon members know what John Harris, the station bomb murderer, was convicted of.

The Government is being condemned for not fulfilling its obligations.

*Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: Mr Chairman, the hon the Minister has in no way satisfactorily replied to our question. I want to tell the hon the Minister that he is unable to look after the interests and safety of South Africa and unable to control who enters South Africa.

It will be the likes of Peter Hain who will sit at the negotiating table with the hon the Minister in order to work out a constitution for the so-called new South Africa. I therefore want to tell the hon the Minister that the CP will be watching him more closely than ever before to see what he does and who he allows into South Africa.

*The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS: Mr Chairman, the hon member Mr H D K van der Merwe has no idea what is at issue. I could only find a single example of a person entering the country in this way in 1989. This is one out of 10 949 473 persons who entered the country. This is equal to 0,00001%. [Interjections.] Then the hon member says we have lost control! My department controls the entry and departure of 22,25 million people, and they must be checked against a stop list of 7 000.

It is a virtually impossible task, and they perform a wonderful service. Now the hon member for Brakpan says Peter Hain is our friend. Peter

Hain is no more our friend than he is the CP's friend. To tell the truth, the CP will make friends with him. [Interjections.] The only real reason for this stop list is to consider a person's motives in entering the country. Is he entering the country with an objective attitude or is he entering the country in order to denigrate it? This is the only way. Answer 20/2/90 (330)

My department will therefore continue its task, as it has in the past, despite our extensive borders. Show me any country in the world which has a 3 000 km coastline and an 11 000 km border to control. It is an impossible task to perform, and that is why we will keep on perfecting the computerised system. There will always be mistakes, but we shall take all possible steps, and in fact such steps have already been taken, to nip such cases of deceitful behaviour in the bud. My department will, therefore, do everything in its power to rectify the stop list further and, if necessary, add more names to that list; and also to refine the computerised system as much as possible. [Time expired.]

Debate concluded.

Black children accommodated in schools

2. Mr K M ANDREW asked the Minister of Education:

Whether the Department of Education and Training has taken steps to ensure that (a) all Black children wishing to attend school are accommodated and (b) the necessary books and equipment are available; if not, why not; if so, what steps?

Answer 20/2/90 B215E.INT

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION: Mr Chairman, the final date for the registration of pupils at DET schools was postponed for three days to 26 January 1990 after discussions with the National Education Coordinating Committee. This resulted in waiting lists containing a total of 30 644 names.

In five of the eight regions all pupils on waiting lists have been accommodated. Approximately 3 000 pupils have not yet been accommodated.

Consideration must be given to the fact that this group includes pupils who are over 20 years of age, pupils who have repeated standards on two or three occasions, and mothers with small children.

For this category of learner ample opportunity and accommodation is provided in the department's centres for adult education.

The provision of books and equipment is determined by projecting the anticipated enrolment for the following year in March every year. When the actual enrolment is bigger than anticipated, the distribution of books and equipment is either redirected or shortages are supplemented. This exercise is presently under way, but has to be done within the budget of the department. Answer 20/2/90

I wish to add the following: The number of Black pupils in Southern Africa has grown by an average of 6% per year over a period of 40 years. Over the past decade we have experienced an average annual pupil growth rate of 11,9% in DET secondary schools. This growth is by any standard phenomenal.

The 1990 enrolment of pupils was planned carefully and well in advance. Detailed enrolment procedures were discussed with management councils by principals.

Where it was found to be necessary, premises were acquired to relieve the pressure on the available schools. In one case three under-utilized primary schools have been rationalized in order to vacate one school to be utilized as a secondary school. Where no additional accommodation could be found, we had to introduce the platoon system, thereby utilizing one set of buildings to accommodate two schools.

During 1989, 27 new schools were completed. Extensive additions to 20 schools have also been effected. During 1990 an additional 1 192 classrooms will become available accommodating nearly 50 000 pupils.

The main point, therefore, is that the department has planned within its means to provide the necessary additional facilities. Due to a variety of factors, such as the bad Sids 10 results, the present back-to-school campaign and the squatter problem, the preparations made in certain areas are inadequate. All told, however, I am satisfied that we have been successful in providing pupils with facilities. [Time expired.]

Mr K M ANDREW: Mr Chairman, in the latter part of his reply, the hon the Minister mentioned some of the things the department had done in recent and past years. A great deal has been

Mandela passports approved

330 5 MC 20/2/90
Applications for passports for the ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and his wife Winnie have been approved.

A spokesman for the Department of Home Affairs in Pretoria said the Mandelas had applied for passports yesterday morning.

Mr Mandela indicated last week he wanted to visit the ANC leadership in Lusaka, as well as the president of the ANC, Mr Oliver Tambo, who is recovering in Sweden from a stroke. Mr Mandela has also accepted an invitation to visit Canada. — Sapa.

Once he had a passbook . . . now a



For 28 years Nelson Mandela travelled no farther than from Robben Island to Cape Town and back — often only to see a doctor. Then his world expanded to Paarl. But now, with his new passport, the ANC leader will travel the globe. ● See Pages 6 and 16.

ing last Monday —
and (SACU) managin
Dr Ali Bacher wh
agreed to cancel the
of the tour. He was
the deal — and that
the matter."

(It was also decid
meeting to cancel t
test and three one-day
"We've no intentio
ing Mr Dakin," Mr Na
"They (SACU) cann
nege on the deal. Tha
a most dishonourable
"At last Monday's

Talks on

^{Stor 20/2}
LISBON — Angolan
ond time in Luanda t
suspend the withdraw
Angolan Foreign
Dunem, said the susp
al community. Havar
out last month after

Mandela passports approved

330 5th 12/1/90
Applications for passports for the ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and his wife Winnie have been approved.

A spokesman for the Department of Home Affairs in Pretoria said the Mandelas had applied for passports yesterday morning.

Mr Mandela indicated last week he wanted to visit the ANC leadership in Lusaka, as well as the president of the ANC, Mr Oliver Tambo, who is recovering in Sweden from a stroke. Mr Mandela has also accepted an invitation to visit Canada. — Sapa.

CNA Times
20/2/90
Mandelas
to get 330
passports

PRETORIA. — Mr Nelson Mandela and his wife Winnie have been granted passports.

A spokesman for the Department of Home Affairs confirmed the passports were granted yesterday.

Mr Mandela is expected to visit the ANC national executive committee in Lusaka and the organisation's president, Mr Oliver Tambo, who is recuperating in a Swedish clinic.

Mr Mandela has also accepted an invitation from the Canadian government. — Sapa

New system to stop entry of activists

Chr Times 21/2/90
330

THE government would try to prevent people from illegally entering South Africa as anti-apartheid activist Mr Peter Hain had done recently, the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Gene Louw, said yesterday.

Speaking during question time, he said Mr Hain's entry represented 0,0001% of all entries into South Africa.

A new computerised system, which should be operational by April this year, could be used to help prevent this.

In 1969 steps were taken to prevent Mr Hain's entry into South Africa, but he slipped in by submitting the name of Peter Gerald Weston-Hain.

Mr Daan van der Merwe (CP, nominated) said Mr Hain's entry showed that the government was no longer in control of which "enemies" of South Africa entered the country. — Sapa

ISBN _____

SA exile Ernest Cole dies in New York

(330)

Sowetan
21/2/90

SOWETAN Correspondent

WORLD-ACCLAIMED South African photographer, Ernest Cole (49), of Pretoria, died of cancer at New York Hospital on Monday.

Cole, who quit South Africa in 1966 to live as an exile in America, smuggled hundreds of pictures which were shown at an exhibition by Random Houses, a leading Publishing company in the United States, showing how blacks lived under apartheid.

The exhibition was named "House of Bondage" and gave a clear picture to the Americans of various facets of apartheid and how blacks

lived and suffered under such conditions.

Cole died 48 hours after his mother, Martha Kole, flew to America to visit him on his death bed.

Cole, who was born Kole, changed his surname to obtain a coloured identification card to escape pass laws.

A friend said Cole was homesick "as most exiles are" and would have wished to have been near home during his last days on earth.

Cole, he said, had been living with the homeless people in New York shelters where he was recording life of the homeless.

Feeding home

South . 22/2 - 28/2/90

330

for home

By CHIARA CARTER

THE first ANC exiles to return home are due to arrive in Cape Town next week — marking the beginning of an anticipated stream of homeward-bound ANC members.

A massive reception is being planned for ANC veterans Ray Alexander, 76, and Jack Simon, 83, who are due to arrive at DF Malan airport next Friday afternoon after 25 years in exile.

Alexander, a former general secretary of the Food and Canning Workers' Union, is a prominent

member of the South African Congress of Trade Unions and Simon has played a key role in formulating the ANC's constitutional guidelines.

The South African Communist Party this week announced that its Central Committee had decided to send members back to South Africa to assist the SACP "core leadership"

within the country in building a strong mass-based party.

Several exiled artists will also be returning to South Africa shortly.

Cape Town-born musician Dollar Brand has indicated that he will return from exile in New York.

Musicians Russell Hermann and Mervyn Africa have also said that they will come back to Cape Town soon.



RETURNING: ANC veterans, Ray Alexander and Jack Simon at Lusaka airport. The couple are expected to arrive in Cape Town from Lusaka next week.

* See page 3 for an exclusive interview with Ray Alexander.

Thousands of ANC members are expected to return home later this year following the decision of the ANC's National Executive Committee meeting in Lusaka last week that the organisation would return to South Africa where it would operate openly.

Acting ANC president Alfred Nzo said the ANC was taking steps for an "organised return" of its members to

South Africa.

Nzo said that the ANC would also call on all exiles to return home.

The ANC is to hold its consultative conference inside South Africa on December 16.

Barney Desai, the first exiled Pan African Congress supporter to return to South Africa, arrived in Cape Town earlier this month with his family.

ANC spies speak

LUSAKA, Zambia - For thousands of ANC activists the long, hard years of political exile are all but over. They are going home, probably before year-end.

Most exiles at the ANC's external headquarters are expected to return well before a national conference scheduled for December 16, the organisation's first full-scale meeting inside South Africa since it was outlawed there in 1960.

"I can't wait to smell the coal smoke of Soweto," said Chris, an ANC mechanic in Lusaka who refused to give his full name.

The 28-year-old black South African grew up in the sprawling Soweto township where the dawn horizon is laden with smoke from tens of thousands of coal fires.

Fugitives

He said he headed a militant youth group before he fled to Zambia to escape arrest by South African police for alleged sabotage in 1979. He did guerrilla training in neighbouring Tanzania before being attached to the motor pool in Zambia to work variously as a mechanic, driver and bodyguard to top ANC officials.

Christis one of many ANC fugitives - estimates run as high as 3000 - who came to Zambia, one of Africa's poorest nations, and made their homes in run-down brick shacks in Lusaka's unkempt, decaying suburbs.

As part of a sweeping reform programme, President F W de Klerk on February 2 lifted a 30-year ban on the ANC. On February 10, he freed one of its leaders, Nelson Mandela, who had served 27 years of a life sentence for plotting the violent overthrow of the white-controlled Government.

The reforms cleared the way for the external wing of the ANC, long the target of bomb attacks and retribution, to return home and reorganise itself openly as a political force inside South Africa.

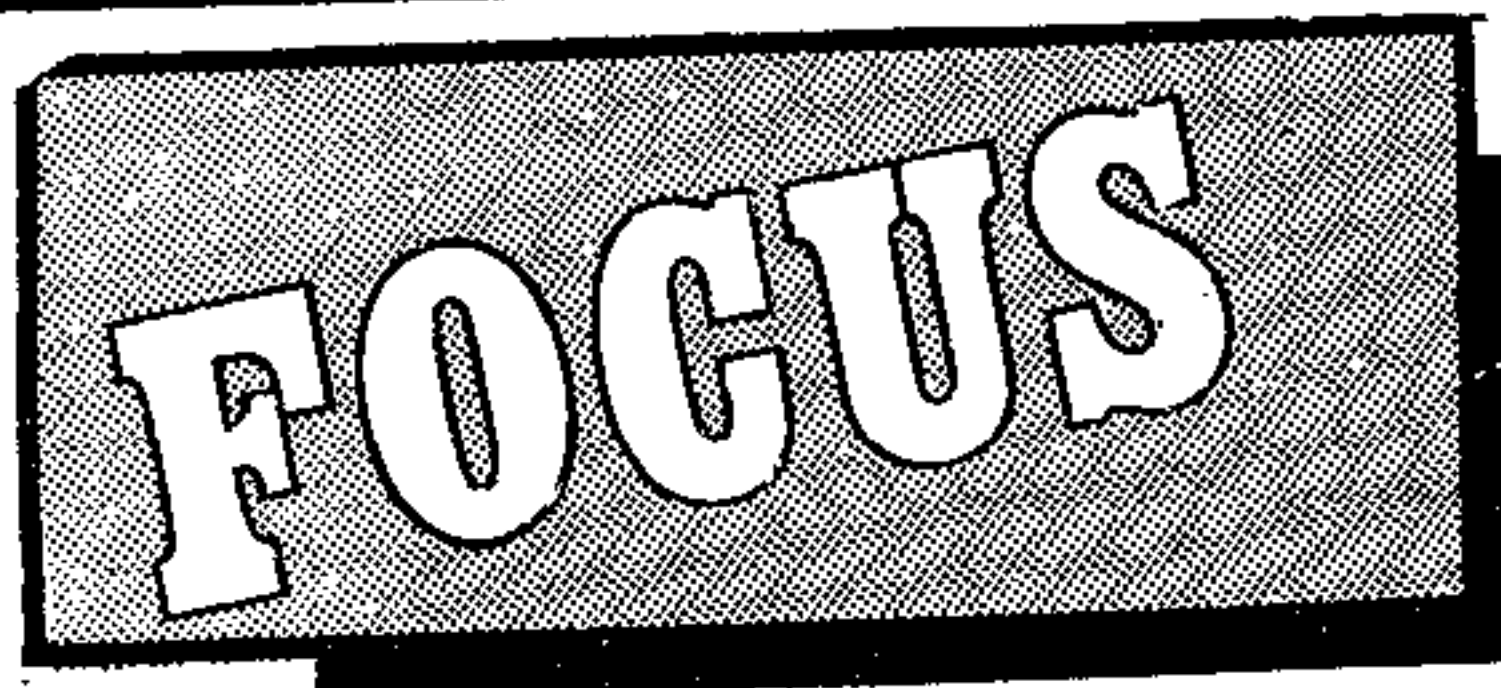
Small offices

"Everyone is extremely excited about going home," said ANC information chief Pallo Jordan. "We have lived with all sorts of threats for such a long time it would be pointless to worry about our safety now."

The exiles will be leaving behind the peeling-paint walls of a handful of small offices located on a garbage-strewn alley behind a used car lot and second-hand fur-

Anxious exiles are eager to return

Many fugitives live in squalor



niture store in downtown Lusaka.

The dingy headquarters is a far cry from the slick corridors of power in South Africa, the continent's richest nation.

A lone telex machine functions sporadically, and one of the two telephones at ANC headquarters recently was dead for more than six weeks, adding to persistent criticism of chronic inefficiency and general malaise that is ascribed to the would-be government-in-waiting.

Infiltration

The ANC says it first set up in Zambia in the early 1970s to tap its courier networks from South Africa through Botswana and Mozambique.

As the number of exiles grew - and many were in transit for military training in Angola, Tanzania and the Soviet Union - so did the threat of attacks and infiltration by South African agents.

The organisation, explains spokesman Tom Sebina, spread its living quarters around the Zambian capital so as not to concentrate its people in large groups. He believes this may have been why there were injuries but no

deaths in a score of bombings over the past decade.

Ranking political officials and guerrilla leaders were split up and assigned separate safe houses in a city where just one third of dwellings are connected to water-borne sewer systems. Few of the 35 members of the national executive committee have home telephones.

Chongela farm

Exiled South Africans opened a clinic and nursery for their families, and the ANC acquired a 3 000-acre (1 250-hectare) farm once owned by a Polish countess about 40 km north of Lusaka.

Chongela farm, near the Chongela river, aimed to but did not always succeed in making the ANC self-sufficient in corn, eggs, vegetables, meat and poultry.

When there were times of surplus, an Angolan government cargo plane collected the corn once every two weeks for distribution at ANC camps in northern Angola, Sebina says.

Sebina (52), who knew Mandela before his imprisonment, last saw his own family and the

township of his childhood in 1965.

"I have been away so long I've forgotten what I miss," he said. "When you leave, you are separated from everything you love and enjoy. That is the hard part."

Cholera

First in Senegal and then in Lusaka, Sebina and fellow South Africans found it difficult to adjust to other African cultures. In Zambia he laments the pervasiveness of "bubblegum pop music" and Japanese karate movies - as well as the fact that uncleared garbage and broken drains have left more than 70 Zambian city dwellers dead from cholera so far this year.

Like all full-time ANC officials, Sebina receives a food ration and free medical care but no salary. Instead, as a middle-level official, he gets a monthly spending allowance of about 900 Zambian Kwacha (about R88) and lives frugally in a cramped two-room township-style brick house.

The ANC's international affairs chief, Thabo Mbeki, has a rented suburban home paid for mainly by his wife Zanele, a staffer at the United Nations High Commission for Refugees, while Chris Hani, the urbane military chief of staff who holds an arts degree, shares a bungalow with two bodyguards. When militant Steve Tshwete is not roaming foreign capitals garnering support, his driver doubles as a general assistant.

As ANC leaders began preparing for their first preliminary talks with the Pretoria Government to clear obstacles to full-scale negotiations, a new conciliatory mood also emerged at Radio Freedom, the organisation's Lusaka-based station.

Realistic

Most of the hostile rhetoric has gone, says announcer Siphosiso Malata, but one signature tune, a revolutionary song calling the masses to arms and punctuated by automatic gunfire, is still beamed daily into South Africa from Zambian government transmitters.

"We are pursuing a realistic approach. We don't want to be over-zealous but we don't want to be overwhelmed by euphoria either," said Malata. - Sapa-AP.

Exiled ANC couple to return and join UCT

APR 11/90 73/2/90
Staff Reporter

THE first two ANC exiles due to return home next week, Professor Jack Simon, 83, and his wife Ray Alexander, 76, will be appointed Associate Fellows at the University of Cape Town.

Ms Alexander told the Cape Times in a telephone call from Lusaka yesterday that she and her husband were looking forward to returning home, after 25 years in exile, where they would join the Centre for African Studies at UCT.

"It will be wonderful to return to South Africa, we are very happy, we have been waiting for this a long time," she said.

UCT vice-chancellor Dr Stuart Saunders said: "The university is delighted that Prof Simon and his wife are able to return and that they will have links with the Centre for African Studies and thus contribute to scholarship."

As attention shifts to the possible return of ANC exiles, an interview with a young woman who left Soweto as a teenager during the uprisings of June 1976 and who now, for the first time in years, allows herself the luxury of thoughts of home

By GAYE DAVIS
in Lusaka

WHEN Thandi K left her Soweto home on a June morning in 1976, her mother believed that her 14-year-old daughter was off to spend the day with a friend.

And when Thandi K climbed into the car she knew would take her across South Africa's borders, she thought she was going for a brief period of training which would equip her to return to "fight the whites".

Instead, she embarked on a journey which would take her not only through the frontline states and beyond, to Romania and Russia, but to a new political understanding.

Thandi is not her real name: she agreed to tell her story on condition her real name was not used. The African National Congress might be unbanned, but her own fear — and the need to protect "people at home" — still lingers.

Her story is that of thousands who fled South Africa in 1976 and after. She was among the first generation of youngsters whose departures were motivated by the desire for revenge. Like many others, she found her life — and her attitudes — taking a radically different course.

Likewise, the influx of thousands of young exiles had an impact on the ANC itself, resulting in, among other things, the creation of its Mazimbu Centre in Tanzania, home of the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College.

Thandi describes it as "like a city — with schools, child-care facilities, libraries, a sports centre, a farm, a garment factory producing school uniforms".

When she got there, it was a transit camp: "just a few old buildings". "We helped build it," she says.

Born in Soweto "some 30 years ago" to a mother who was a trained nurse and a father who worked as a labourer, Thandi was sent to high school near Zeerust in the Western Transvaal as a boarder.

A bright pupil, she was only 14 when she entered matric in 1976. In that year, the decision was made to enforce the use of Afrikaans as the medium of instruction for some subjects in black high schools. It was the catalyst of the Soweto revolt.

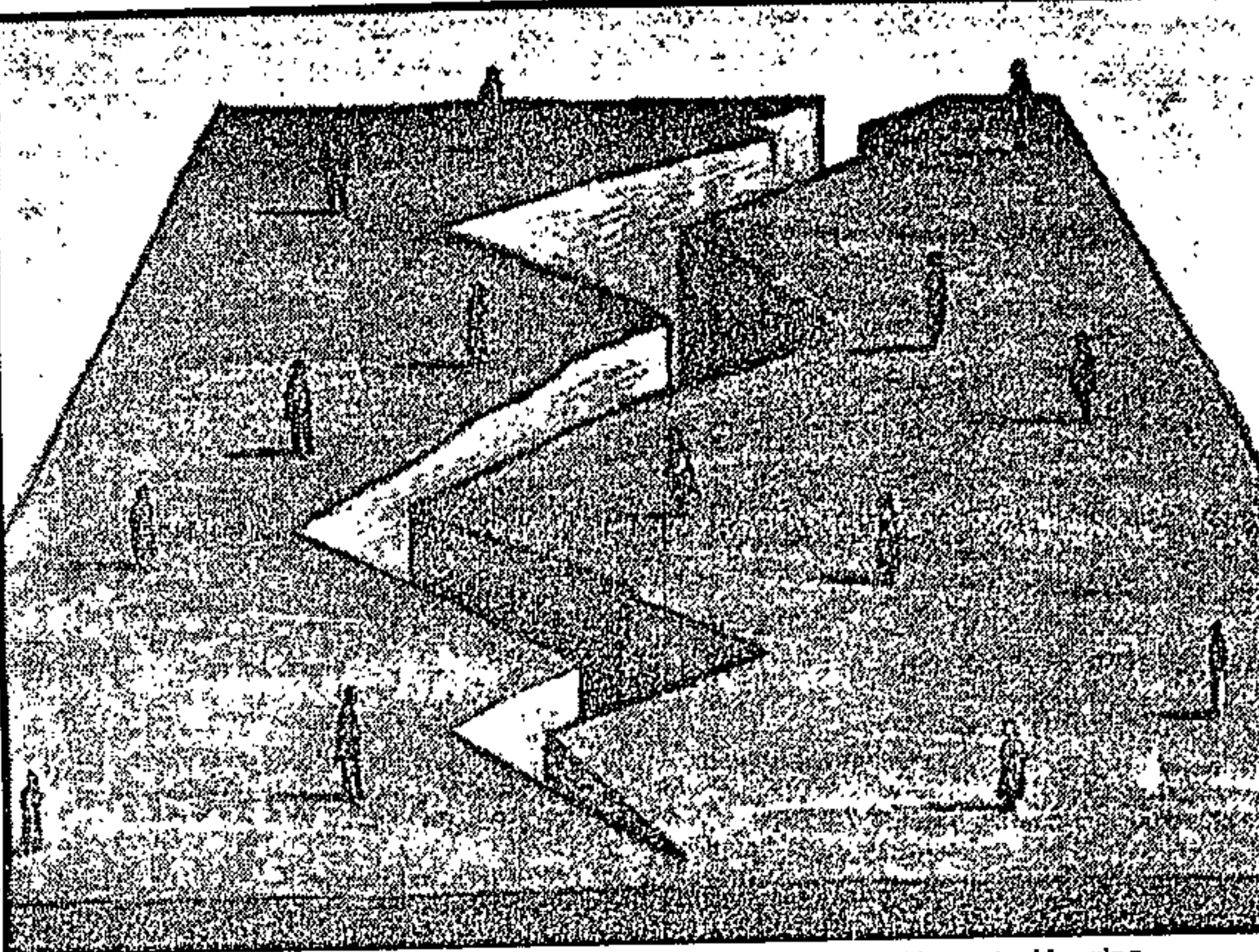
"We hated it, all the textbooks changed — we were in matric and had this new language to deal with. It made it difficult for us to study well."

"We heard what happened in Soweto on June 16, and we also started striking and demonstrating. They closed the school, and I returned home to Soweto."

"There was great excitement, but for me there was also sadness, for my sister, the last-born after me, had been stabbed and killed."

"Many terrible things were happening. A boy I'd grown up with was shot in the back — he ran to the house of a friend and fell, dead, in the toilet."

"I remember a woman who locked her two children into her coal box to keep them safe. The police fired tear-gas and when she came to them, they



The exiles: Divided from their own people by geography and fear, joined by mutual longing

I cried, my mother cried ... I said 'I'm studying somewhere, I'll phone again in three years'

Portrait of a home-sick ANC exile in Zambia

had suffocated.

"Such things made me very angry: I wanted only to leave the country and return and avenge these deaths. Most of us wanted only to go out and then come back and fight."

"I didn't know much about the ANC, except for Nelson Mandela and that it was banned. I was part of a cell set up by some people, but I didn't know then that it was a cell or that they were ANC."

"But we knew there were cars in the country transporting people, especially if you had problems with the police, charges and so on."

"My political awareness you could say was very low."

"In Soweto, everyone was leaving the country. I got to Soweto from Zeerust late in June and by September I was out of the country."

"I still remember it; it was a Saturday morning and I'd left the house with a girlfriend. When I saw the car I told her 'There's my boyfriend,' and she still said to me, 'But he's so old!' I had only the clothes I was in, my Wrangler jeans."

"The whole day was spent picking up people in Soweto and then we drove to Swaziland for a week before travelling through Mozambique to Tanzania."

"When we got there we were very angry to find that some of the people had been in exile for years and years. We thought, 'What have they been doing all this time?'"

"We went through an orientation programme where they explained ANC history and policy — and that struggle was not a question of attacking whites, but rather the system. We were told of people like Bram Fischer, who died in prison for the cause."

"Then we were given the choice of going to school or going for military training. It was up to you, but people tried to persuade the young ones to rather go to school. That's what I chose."

During the three years she spent in Tanzania, Thandi helped build the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College (Somafo), and studied. Then she came to Lusaka and worked in the women's section of the ANC, compiling articles and helping edit its publication, *Voice of Women*, before being posted to Dar-es-Salaam, over-

ing — we used to talk about those back home denied the chance to study in their own country."

"And I met people from all over the world, from Asia, Latin America, African countries, the Arab states. I made good friends there, friends I still have."

"And the subjects I studied really opened my mind — philosophy, logic ... The way we were taught was also good, not to see ourselves as better than others with less education."

The contradictions of Soviet society did not escape her.

"When I got there I expected to see a free society. All I found was bureaucracy."

The first contact she had with her family in nine years was in 1985, when she returned to Lusaka to fulfil a practical requirement of her course and worked as a cadet reporter on the *Zambian Daily Mail* and phoned home.

"I was crying, my mother was crying — they couldn't believe it was me. I couldn't tell them I was studying in the Soviet Union because the phone might have been tapped. So I only said, 'I'm going to complete my

studies — and that I'd phone again in three years."

"The Boers (police) used to trouble my people — in 1979 they detained my father and beat him up."

In 1988 she returned to Africa. "I was supposed to go on and do my Doctorate but I just couldn't. I wanted to come home, communicate with my people — you couldn't even write a letter unless you had contact with people in Western Europe."

She reported back at Mazimbu in Tanzania. "When I left there were just a few buildings, now it was like a city. I was so surprised, it was wonderful. There were schools, hostels, houses for teachers, a clinic, a library, dining halls. On the farm, producing food for everyone, were people who had graduated in veterinary science. There was a nursery for the little kids, a garment factory producing uniforms."

"There was no television in Tanzania but we had videos — films, news clips to keep us informed of what was happening. There were cultural activities, plays and so on and a recreation centre for sports."

After four months she was posted to ANC Headquarters in Lusaka, where she has been ever since.

Sometimes during those years an image of her mother would fill her mind, the mother she left without bidding farewell, at a time when she was still mourning the loss of Thandi's younger sister.

"When that picture enters my mind, I don't want to communicate with anyone. I just lock myself up in my room, and I cry."

Now, for the first time in 14 years, she is allowing herself the luxury of thoughts of returning home.

"There are many problems in exile: for one, you are not at home. When we left, many of us were still very young, still under the protection of our parents."

"We grew up without our childhoods. Even as students we were always giving talks about the political situation in South Africa."

"We have lived knowing we could be killed at any time. In a way we have sacrificed our lives, trying to build a better system."

"Even now, I wonder whether it is enough. There is a lot to be done to help people understand."

"When I hear about the white rightwing, it conjures up in my mind images of the rise of fascism in the 1930s."

"I can understand those fears. Now we have a lot of work to do to help those people adjust to the situation."

"I don't want them to leave the country, the Afrikaners. Where can they go? They were born there."

"For me, the most important thing is for right to be done by all. Because by cheating anyone, we would only be cheating ourselves."

OKAVANGO TOURS & SAFARIS

PLACES STILL AVAILABLE ON OUR 30 MARCH, 12 APRIL DEPARTURES

Shop 23 Galleria Mall
cnr Cradock & Biermann Ave
Rosebank. Telephone 011 788-5549
Telex 422302
Fax 7886575
Johannesburg

Back among friends and family

By GAYE DAVIS in Lusaka ³³⁰
AFTER a quarter of a century in exile, veteran African National Congress members Jack Simons and Ray Alexander are returning home.

When their flight lands in Johannesburg next Friday, the couple will be the first ANC cadres to re-enter the country with the blessing of both the ANC and the government.

"We have been separated from our children, grandchildren and friends for 25 years," Simons said yesterday.

"We have been committed to ending apartheid for the past 60 years. Now we feel there is a new mood in South Africa. It doesn't mean that it will happen overnight, or even next year, but we're on the way to bringing about a non-racial, democratic South Africa."

Her husband added: "Don't think it's all one way. We think there are great dangers lying ahead — there may be a backlash, there could be repression even worse than before."

"But we don't want to sit here and see things unfold. We want to be a part of it."

Their request for permission to return home early — made immediately after the unbanning of the ANC earli-

er this month — was readily granted by the ANC's national executive committee. *W/Man 23/2 - 1/3/90*

The couple have been offered honorary fellowships at the University of Cape Town, which will allow them to continue with work they have in progress.

Simons intends writing a book, *The Common Society*, which will document black and white conflict in South African history.

Alexander, an honorary life president of the Food and Allied Workers Union, intends continuing with the task she set herself in 1940: establishing a single union for food workers and "organising the unorganised".

For Simons, it will be "a return to my roots".

He lectured in African government and law at UCT from 1937 until 1965 when a banning order imposed by then Minister of Justice, BJ Vorster, forced him to stop work and barred him from writing for publication and attending public gatherings.

Alexander, the first national secretary of the Federation of South African Women and a founder of the Food and Canning Workers' Union, was banned from trade union activity in 1953.

Communists will return home and work above ground in SA

W/Mant 23/2-11/3/90

330 By EDDIE KOCH
and GAYE DAVIS

EXILED leaders of the South African Communist Party plan to quit their clandestine role and come home to build an above-board socialist movement inside the country.

Emigre communists — together with cadres who run the party's internal underground — hope to build a democratic party that will "provide a home for all socialists who accept its policies", SACP secretary general Joe Slovo told the *Weekly Mail* this week.

A delegation from the refashioned party will ask for a meeting with President FW de Klerk — separate to that planned by the African National Congress — as a matter of urgency.

The SACP homecoming, after being outlawed for 40 years, was decided at a special meeting of its central committee in Lusaka and spelled out in a statement released on Tuesday.

The news comes at a time when a range of Marxist and socialist groupings (in the trade union movement, the black consciousness movement and academic circles) have been holding ardent debates about the SACP's new political direction.

Consultations were already underway this week between the party leadership and its underground structures to discuss the logistics of the move, said Slovo.

The Communist Party, like the ANC, would set up a leadership core inside the country but would not immediately move all its cadres into open political work inside the country — "although hopefully our return will not be a matter of years".

SACP members inside the country will form the core of the new party and exiled leaders will be despatched to strengthen it. Names will be announced shortly.

Slovo last month urged the party to turn its back on its Stalinist past and move in the direction of democratic socialism. His vision of local *glasnost*, now accepted by the SACP executive, was outlined in a discussion paper called "Has Socialism Failed?"

The document, drafted in a bout of collective soul-searching during the wave of revolutions that swept Eastern Europe, committed the party to multi-party democracy long before this was adopted in the Soviet Union.

"Where a single party is in place and there is not even democracy and accountability in the party, it becomes

a shortcut to a political tyranny over the whole of society. And at different points in time this is what happened in most socialist states," the document says.

It insists on the need for an independent press, freedom of speech, religious rights for all and an independent trade union movement that has the right to strike.

These ideas have opened the way for independent socialists, who feared that SACP policies were outmoded and tainted by Stalinism, to throw in their lot in with the party.

Last week Moses Mayekiso, general secretary of the powerful Metalworkers Union of South Africa, said the time was right for all socialist groupings in South Africa to unite.

And yesterday a delegation from the black consciousness movement, fresh from a visit with Nelson Mandela to talk about closer ties with the ANC, welcomed the return of the new-look party.

"If what is being said by the leadership of the SACP today is not rhetoric and if they will be committed to democracy, then we see the party playing a major role for all leftwing socialists in a post-apartheid South Africa," said the BCM.

But there are aspects of policy that have not yet been clarified for individuals and organisations that would consider joining or backing the SACP.

● Will the CP abandon the classic vanguard role it has chosen for itself now that it is committed to a multi-party democracy?

● Will it open its ranks to all those who want to join after it sets up office in South Africa? Will such members be able to influence policy decisions and elect new leaders?

● How will an internal wing that uses open and democratic methods relate to the leaders and cadres that will retain elements of clandestine organisation if they remain underground?

● How will the SACP relate to independent trade unions? Will it remain completely autonomous or seek a formal relationship, like that which exists between workers' parties and labour federations in Europe, whereby unions fund the party and have a say in choosing its leaders?

The central committee statement issued this week dealt only partially with these questions and they will continue to be hotly debated in the weeks to come.

Home! Sings Mama Afrika

ROME. — There was no sleep the night a free Nelson Mandela telephoned to thank South African singer Miriam Makeba for her life-long battle against apartheid.

The soft-spoken 58-year-old Makeba, exiled 30 years ago from the land she symbolises to millions of admirers worldwide, chuckled when asked whether her singing contributed to his release.

"You tell me. I spoke to him last night and he told me he was very proud of me. He told me I'd been an ambassador for my people. After that I just couldn't sleep," said Makeba, known fondly as Mama Afrika to her fans.

And on returning to the country she holds as home in her heart, she said she would be "on the first on the plane home" — when the time is right.

Reflecting on that special telephone call, she said it had made her feel that the years of exile, and the hostility to her marriage with black militant Stokely Carmichael which drove her out of the US where she had sought refuge, were not in vain.

"Mandela was so kind. I feel that if he says that to me, and if all the people at home think as he does, then it was all worth it."

Makeba, the first black South African singer to gain international fame, said she "just fell to my knees and cried" when she first heard Pretoria had announced a

Mandela phones Makeba with a warm thank you

firm date for the black nationalist leader's release.

Makeba began her singing career with protest songs in school and church choirs in South Africa before being taken to the United States in the late 1950s by West Indian singer Harry Belafonte.

She found immediate success there and her international hit "Pata, Pata" (Touch, Touch) started a dance craze.

But when her mother died in 1960, Pretoria cancelled Makeba's passport to prevent her returning home and she has not been allowed back since.

She doggedly continued to sing out against Pretoria's policy of racial segregation, although her records were banned at home. She has said she would like to die on stage "because I will be dying like a soldier on the battlefield".

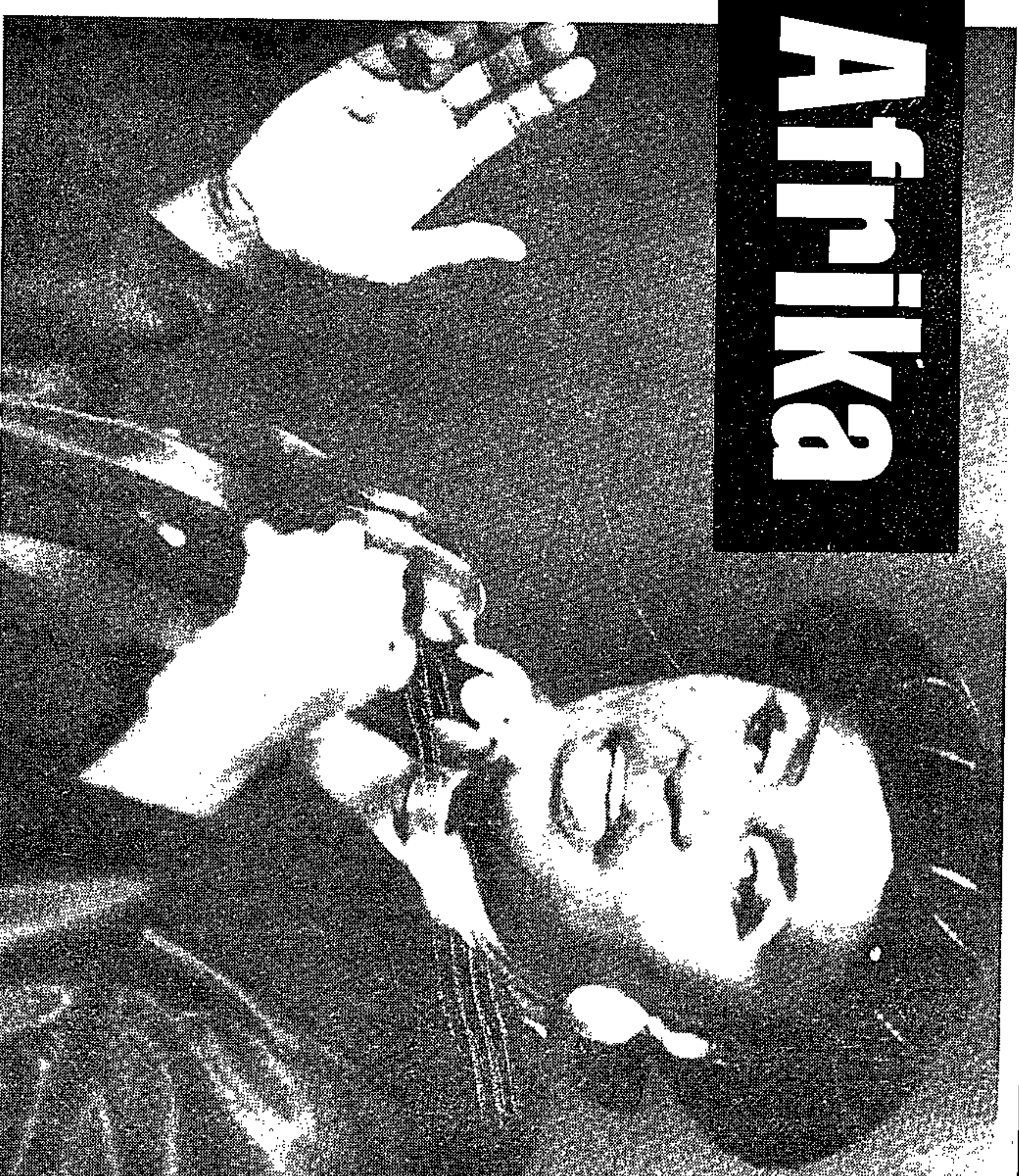
"I live to sing and I don't sing politics, I sing truth," she said, the first South African singer to take the tight harmonies and township melodies of her country's stirring folk music to an international audience.

Makeba was critical of American singer-songwriter Paul Simon and white South African singer Johnny Clegg.

"Simon goes to South Africa, makes *Graceland* with black artists there, and then people say he made his music known to the world. That really gets me.

"Clegg may be selling more records than me, but he's allowed to speak out and go in and out of South Africa. I'm the one who carried the cross."

Makeba said her first song calling for Mandela's release was in the 1960s, shortly after he was jailed.



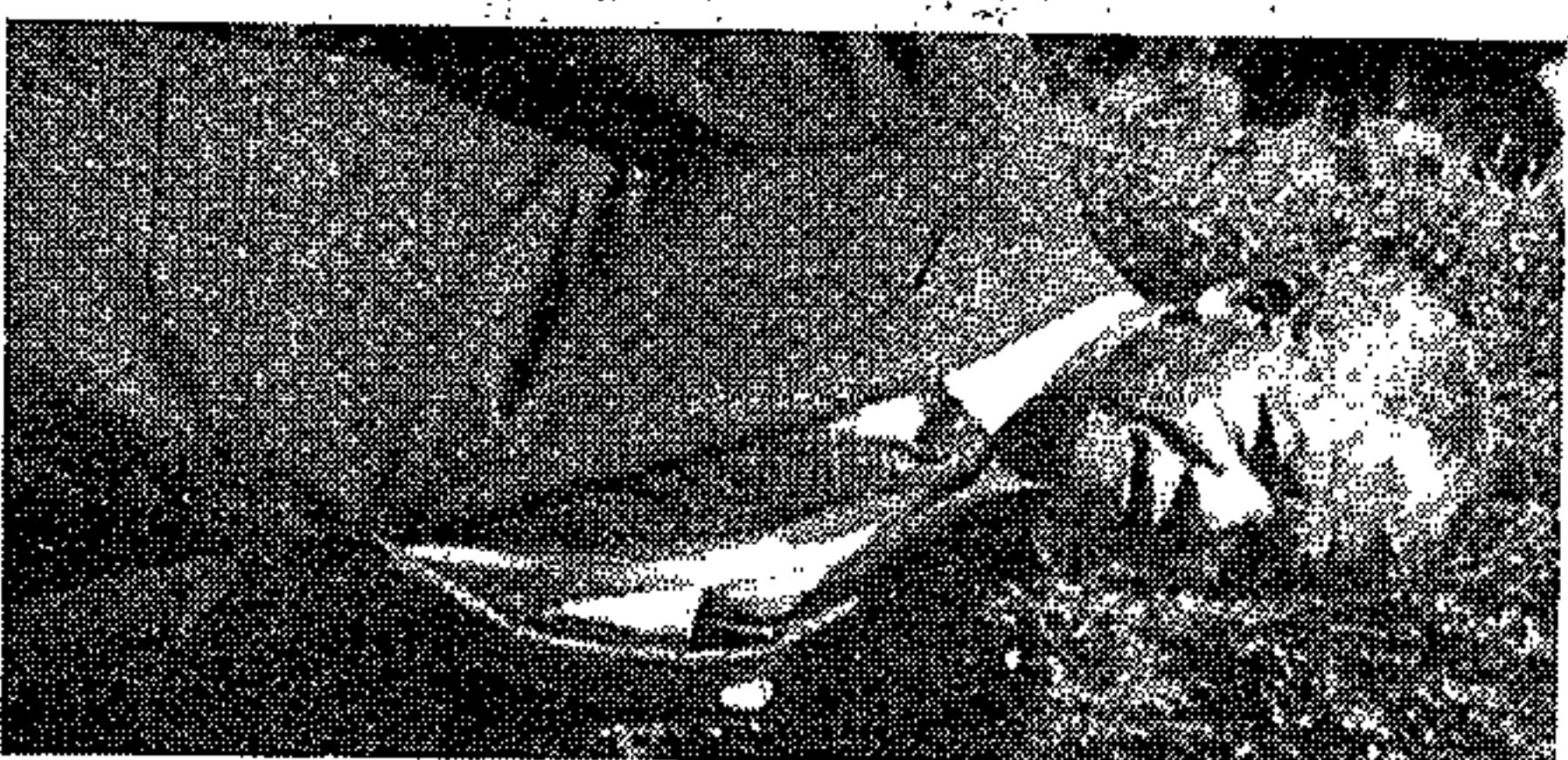
In addition to her singing career, Makeba has become a roving ambassador, making diplomatic and cultural trips from her adopted home in the West African state of Guinea, where she settled in 1968 and which she represented at the United Nations in the mid-1970s.

For Makeba, the release of Mandela is only a first step: "Apartheid's still there. There are many more political prisoners still in jail. But maybe this is the beginning of the end."

That "end" for her will be coming home and she be-

lieves reforms in South Africa have made that more likely.

And when Mama Afrika arrived on her own soil? — "I'll kneel at my mother's grave and tell her: 'I'm back.'" — Weekend Argus Foreign Service and Sapa-Reuters.



ANC leader Mandela

Plea over 'people's poet' passport

THE ANC office in Sweden has sent an SOS to Nelson Mandela to intervene in attempts to secure a passport for "people's poet" Mzwakhe Mbuli.

Mbuli is to appear at the Globe Theatre in Stockholm soon after Mandela's arrival there.

Mbuli has been struggling to get a passport to travel overseas, where he has been invited to perform a series of concerts. In October several European embassies sponsored a concert for Mbuli to highlight his struggle to obtain a passport, but the government has persistently refused to offer him one.

C. P. 25/2/90 330

but nobody accepted their ex- expense

Trevor Wentzel gets passport at sixth attempt

ARCUS 28/2/90
330

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Staff Reporter

IT'S a case of sixth time lucky for former Robben Island prisoner Mr Trevor Wentzel who has received a passport after having five applications turned down.

He is happy he is able to travel abroad, even if his passport is valid for a year only.

Mr Wentzel leaves for Europe shortly to do a short course in labour relations.

"I'll be back before May because I want to be present when my wife Livvie gives birth to our first child," Mr Wentzel said.

He was released from Robben Island in March 1986 after a successful appeal against a five-year sentence for terrorism.

"I have applied for a passport since my release. Each application was rejected," said Mr Wentzel, who recalled that he once went to Durban to

apply for a passport. "This didn't work."

However, he was encouraged by the changes announced in parliament on February 2 by President De Klerk.

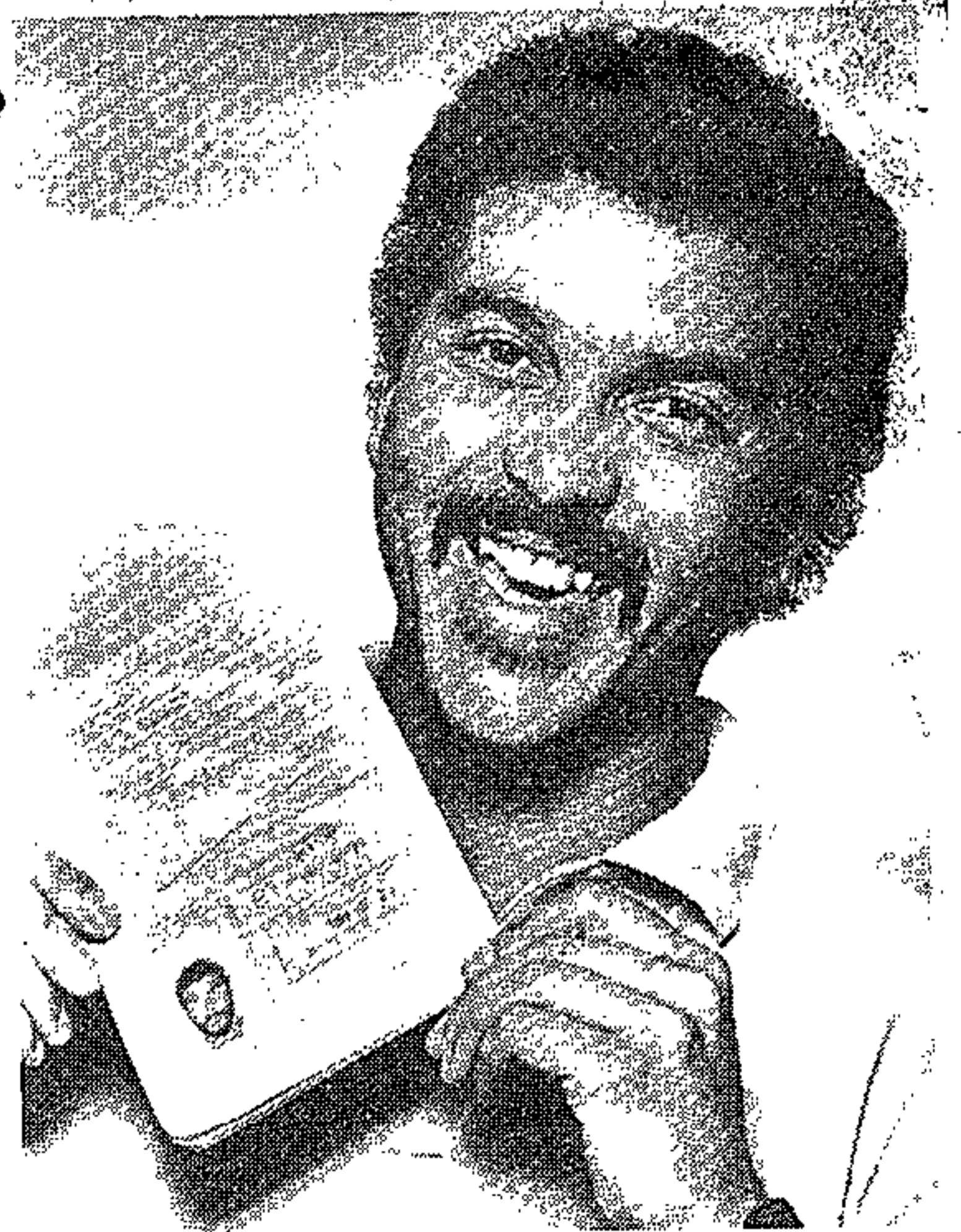
"I thought the situation was fluid and that one should take advantage of it."

He handed in his application on February 8 and was told not to pay the prescribed fee of R15 because it might be turned down again and he would have to wait three months before the Department of Home Affairs would refund him.

He checked with the department last Friday and was told to call back a week later.

"I thought if some people could get passport in three days why should I wait so I called them on Monday." However, he was told to wait.

Late on Monday afternoon he received a call and told to collect his passport the next day.



Picture: BRENTON GEACH, the Argus.

AT LAST: Trevor Wentzel with his passport.

CP-745 1/3/90
Denard not
to leave yet 330

Political Staff

FRENCH mercenary
Colonel Bob Denard is to
remain in South Africa
until elections are held
in the Comoros.

Foreign Minister Mr
Pik Botha said last night
that after consultations
with the Comoros and
French authorities, it
had been decided that
Colonel Denard should
remain in South Africa
for the time being.

His return to France
now might be a disturb-
ing factor in the prevail-
ing Comoros political
climate.

Rachel Rachel -
solution: drop out
individualistic

Church will assist exiles

CHURCH bodies will assist exiles expected to return to South Africa in the coming months, following the unbanning of the African National Congress and other organisations.

A South African Council of Churches (SACC) Dependents' Conference staff-worker said the question was "receiving a lot of attention".

However, many of the returnees were members of the now unbanned organisations, not primarily of the churches.

"Therefore, we first need to liaise with the organisations involved," he said.

The Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference (SACBC) secretary general, Brother Jude Pieterse, said the Catholic Church would "very definitely give as much assistance as it is able, working closely with the SACC and other bodies".

The UN's High Commissioner for Refugees, the ANC and the PAC estimate up to 50 000 refugees.

Course in Islam at UWC

THE University of the Western Cape (UWC) hopes to offer a course in Islamic Culture and Civilisation from next year, according to its Arabic Studies lecturer, Mr Y Mohamed.

It could not be offered this year as the university is still awaiting approval for the course from the House of Representatives.

In the meantime, Arabic has been

Religion in Focus BY NOEL BRUYNS

approved as a school subject.

Mr Mohamed said he hoped the subject would be introduced at schools next year.

The inter-disciplinary course will deal with Islamic beliefs, practices, philosophical and theological developments, Sufism, law, political thought and social ethics.

It is designed to provide a comprehensive overview of both continuity and change within the Islamic culture.

Lutherans welcome release

THE Human Rights and Social Affairs Committee of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa (Cape Orange Diocese) has added its voice to those welcoming the release of Mr Nelson Mandela.

Meeting in Port Elizabeth recently, the committee members reiterated the demands made in the Harare Document which the government has not yet addressed.

Mandela and ANC exiles hammer out strategy

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

If he does reach the stage of sitting around the negotiating table, there will be a relatively powerful government with enormous resources. Our strength will be the people on the ground."

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

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

● Comment: Page 8

COMING HOME ...

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

Picture: OBED ZILWA



Emotional welcome for exiled ANC pair

By ANDRE KOOPMAN

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

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

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

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

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

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

under the Suppression of Communism Act.

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

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

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

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

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



BACK HOME: SACP and ANC stalwarts, Mrs Ray Alexander and her husband, Professor Jack Simon, were met by UDF president Mrs Albertina Sisulu (right) and Rivonia trialist's wife Mrs June Mlangeni (left) at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday.

● Photograph: Stephen Davimes.

Exiled stalwarts return after 25 years

TWO stalwarts of the South African Communist Party and African National Congress, Mrs Ray Alexander (76) and her husband Professor Jack Simons (83), were yesterday the first exiles to return to South Africa after the recent unbanning of the organisations.

After 25 years in exile the couple were greeted at Jan Smuts Airport by about 400 supporters including the United Democratic Front's president, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, UDF publicity secretary, Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota and activists Mr Raymond Suttner, Ms Barbara Hogan and old SACP comrades Mr and Mrs Bill Hepner, who had last seen them in 1937.

**PAT DEVEREAUX
and SUE OLSWANG**

In a statement the couple said: "President de Klerk's decision on February 2 to unban the ANC and SACP and other organisations was a courageous act that heralds the advent of a new era.

"The lifting of the ban makes it possible for us to return. Others will follow."

The pair flew to Cape Town later yesterday afternoon where they said they had been offered associate fellowships by the Centre for African Studies based at the Uni-

versity of Cape Town.

Lithuanian-born Ray came to this country in 1929. She is a former general secretary of the Food and Canning Workers Union, a founder member of the Federation of South African Women and is still an active member of the ANC Women's League. She was banned soon after the Suppression of Communism Act in 1950. Her husband was an academic at the University of Cape Town's African Politics Department.

The couple co-wrote a book on South African politics titled "Class and Colour in South Africa 1850 to 1950" and have played an active role at the ANC's Lusaka-based offices for the past 25 years.



WELCOME home ... Veteran unionist Ray Alexander is welcomed at D F Malan Airport by United Women's Congress leader Mrs Dorothy Zihlangu. Picture: Benny Gool

Don't join CP Alexander urges white workers

By KURT SWART

RETURNED ANC exile Ray Alexander praised the "working men and women, students, religious organisations", and the defiance campaign for paving the way for her come home.

Speaking at a press conference yesterday the veteran trade unionist said: "The working class of South Africa is responsible for bringing us back." Ms Alexander, 76, and her husband, high ranking ANC and Communist Party member Professor Jack Simons, arrived in South Africa on Friday after 25 years in exile to enthusiastic and emotional welcomes in Johannesburg and Cape Town from thousands of ANC supporters.

Future

"We are terribly excited to be back home. I always believed we'd come back," said Miss Alexander. "I remember saying goodbye to the Food and Canning Workers Union on 7 October 1953. Comrade Oscar (Mpetha) was there with me. I said: 'I regret having to leave you, but I feel confident that the workers will bring us together again.' This has come true."

"For instance the tight control of the white officials at the airport, and the police who came with their dogs to attack the people that came to welcome us.

"The planes were full of fat, solid and complacent whites — fat boere who turned their backs and cold-shouldered us just as they did when we left."

He said the couple had been given the right to stay only three months.

"We are being treated like illegal immigrants. On the other hand the tremendous enthusiasm of our reception was beyond our wildest dreams."

Prof Simons admitted that President De Klerk's unbanning of the ANC had come as a great surprise.

"We thought — what is he after? Is it a trap? Are we going to be put in prison or gathered together and shot. We decided, okay, we'll go back and test the water," he said to applause.

He also spoke out against sexual discrimination, and praised "martyrs" who had died in the struggle for democracy.

She said South Africa was "truly blessed with a leadership here and in exile that is truly unique".

She announced plans to arrange meetings with white trade unions and to speak to white workers.

"I appeal to the white working class — don't go to the CP, and the AWB. The future for you lies in the mighty ranks of Cosatu."

In a fiery speech, Prof Simons said some things had not changed during his exile.

S/Tw 4/13/90

330



ANC veterans Rachel Alexandra and her husband Prof Jack Simon flanked by Albertina Sisulu (right) and Rivonia trialist's wife June Mlangeni.

■ Pic: TLADI KHUELE

Big welcome as first two ANC exiles return

By LULAMA LUTI

cl/press

4/3/90

330

PROMINENT ANC members Rachel Ester Alexandra and husband Prof Jack Simon were on Friday given a tumultuous welcome as they arrived at Jan Smuts Airport after 25 years in exile.

They are the first ANC exiles to return to South Africa since the organisation was unbanned by President FW de Klerk on Feb-

ruary 2, and have declared their intention of working at building up the ANC in the country.

As Alexandra emerged from the terminal she was handed a bouquet by Transvaal UDF president Albertina Sisulu.

Simon, 83, was a lecturer in African government and law at the University of Cape Town from 1937 to 1965 before being banned.

In terms of the banning, Simon was prohibited from writing for publication and attending public meetings and the couple left South Africa soon afterwards.

Alexandra was banned from trade union activities in South Africa in 1953.

They will be reunited with their two daughters, Mary and Tania, grandchildren and old friends, many of whom they have not seen for nearly 25 years.

Revered veteran returns

Ray Alexander comes back home

By SIZAKELE KOOMA

WHEN the world celebrates International Women's Day tomorrow South Africa will also laud veteran human rights campaigner Ray Alexander, who returned home on Friday after 25 years in exile.

Alexander, among the first of the exiles to trickle back, and her husband Professor Jack Simons, were welcomed at Jan Smuts Airport by about 200 people including recently-released United Democratic Front publicity secretary Patrick Lekota, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, Mrs Caroline Motsaedi and women from the Federation of Transvaal Women and Women Against Repression.

Amid freedom songs and chants, Alexander told the crowd that racism and white supremacy had to be destroyed. She said the unbanning of political organisations and the release of some political prisoners led to hopes of a democratic society.

Her frail form belies the fervour that still burns passionately in her heart and the energy she has, all her life, devoted to the emancipation of women and the fight for equal rights for everybody.

Built trade unions

Alexander was a key initiator of several trade unions in the country, including the Food and Allied Workers Union. She was also a member of the Federation of South African Women.

"She concentrated on building strong and stable unions among the worst-paid and most exploited sections of the working class, and on developing leadership and political awareness among women of all national groups," read a statement written on behalf of the two returning exiles.

A member of the South African Communist Party, Alexander continued her work after she emigrated to Lusaka in 1965 after "the apartheid regime had issued orders prohibiting us from pursuing our respective careers and imposing onerous restrictions on our freedom of movement, association, research and writing of publications". She was a member of the ANC Women's League and always assessed the role of women within the organisation.

Alexander and Simons will be working from the University of Cape Town. Alexander will be the main speaker at an International Women's Day rally to be held at the Wits Great Hall at 6pm tomorrow.



Ray Alexander walks arm-in-arm with Albertina Sisulu, while chatting to a bystander at Jan Smuts airport on her return.



LIBRA: September 23 - October 23

Emotionally and materially, you'll feel more contented because your wishes are due to pan out in most instances to your liking. Close relationships ought to add to your security, friends readily backing your plans.

SCORPIO: October 23 - November 23

You are almost certain to make progress, no matter what your aims and interests, because fate will invariably play into your hands. Even circumstances which appear to be unfavourable should gradually pan out well.

SAGITTARIUS: November 23 - December 22

Your own aspirations may stagnate while current events contrive to involve you in the activities of other folk. However, you can play an important part as a mediator in their affairs or could guide them to safety.

CAPRICORN: December 22 - January 21

You can certainly accomplish a great deal this time around, probably in areas where your hopes have been stymied hitherto. A fresh application of old techniques could do the trick. Enhanced vitality helps immensely.

AQUARIUS: January 21 - February 20

Go all out to speed up business matters and to improve monetary arrangements. On no account must you be prepared to put up with interminable delays and frustrations during this potentially profitable yet tricky round.

PISCES: February 20 - March 21

With your psychic and spiritual powers becoming sharper than usual, you will undoubtedly make some exciting discoveries, should manage to accurately anticipate several happenings. You'll be well prepared for action.

LIBRA: September 23 - October 23

A potentially tricky period, so stay well clear of risky business. Dubious dealings and gambling could dent your resources. Make certain that your accounts are paid up to date before spending money on luxurious things.

SCORPIO: October 23 - November 23

You are almost certain to make progress, no matter what your aims and interests, because fate will invariably play into your hands. Even circumstances which appear to be unfavourable should gradually pan out well.

SAGITTARIUS: November 23 - December 22

Your own aspirations may stagnate while current events contrive to involve you in the activities of other folk. However, you can play an important part as a mediator in their affairs or could guide them to safety.

CAPRICORN: December 22 - January 21

You can certainly accomplish a great deal this time around, probably in areas where your hopes have been stymied hitherto. A fresh application of old techniques could do the trick. Enhanced vitality helps immensely.

AQUARIUS: January 21 - February 20

Go all out to speed up business matters and to improve monetary arrangements. On no account must you be prepared to put up with interminable delays and frustrations during this potentially profitable yet tricky round.

PISCES: February 20 - March 21

With your psychic and spiritual powers becoming sharper than usual, you will undoubtedly make some exciting discoveries, should manage to accurately anticipate several happenings. You'll be well prepared for action.

If today is your birthday:

You are certain to get speedy and satisfactory responses to any requests you make at this time; a most favourable term for establishing important and useful contacts at top level, so set up interviews and meetings.

Recipes

ROYAL TIPSY PRUNE PUDDING

250g prunes
1x300g packet Royal hot sponge pudding, vanilla flavour
100 ml water
1 egg
125 ml brandy or rum
Cover prunes with water and soak overnight. Preheat oven to 200 degrees Centigrade. Prepare hot sponge pudding sauce as directed on the packet and spread over the base of an 180 - 200 mm oven-proof dish which is at least 80 mm deep. Gently arrange prunes in the custard sauce. Prepare pudding mix according to packet directions, using 100 ml water and egg. Gently spread batter over custard and prunes. Combine juice in which prunes were soaked with the brandy or rum, adding water to make up to 250 ml. Pour over pudding and do not stir. Bake for 35-45 minutes and serve warm.

Wynberg regional court on a charge of R200 000. The case was postponed to March 28.

Passports for Namibia

WINDHOEK. — South African and Namibian citizens will need passports to travel between the two countries after June 30.

ANC census to count up the exiled thousands

The first step in the ANC plans for returning exiles is to find out how many there are, reports-
GAYE DAVIS in Lusaka

FACED with the huge task of bringing its members back home, the African National Congress is to conduct a census to find out exactly how many there are outside the country.

A special committee has been appointed in Lusaka to carry out the count and investigate ways of handling ANC members' return, according to Pallo Jordan, secretary for information and publicity.

Conservative estimates put the number of ANC members in exile at between 10 000 and 30 000, but the real figure is probably much higher.

According to ANC representative Tom Sebina, members in Lusaka, home of the ANC's headquarters for the past 23 years, number about 1 200. The bulk of exiles are based in Tanzania and Uganda, where the ANC has military camps and support-projects such as schools, clinics and farms, but there are also exiles living elsewhere in Africa, in Western and Eastern Europe, Scandinavia, India, Japan and other parts of the world.

"People have been coming out since 1960," said Jordan. "There are so many contingencies to calculate regarding peoples' return."

"The fact that someone came from a certain place doesn't necessarily mean he'll be able to return there: forced removals have meant that some places don't even exist any more."

Some exiles have been trying to make contact with their families, only to find that telephone numbers and addresses have changed.

Indications are that every effort will be made to provide a roof over the head of every returning exile. Whether this will mean a roof of their own, or a collective one in a relocation camp until accommodation can be found, remains to be seen.

According to Jordan, the pace and quality of ANC members' repatriation will depend on whether or not patriation will depend on whether international agencies and non-government organisations play a role.

"Usually, issues of resettlement are handled by agencies which specialise in that kind of work," he said.

The ANC is unlikely to have the necessary funds to pay for such an operation.

In the speech he made on his arrival in Lusaka last week, Nelson Mandela said the unbanning of the ANC, "as welcome as it is, has brought us a host of problems ... which we cannot address without resources".

He may have had the cost of bringing home thousands of exiles in mind when he went on to appeal to the international community "to provide us with capital and other resources".

For the ANC, one of the implications of its transition from exiled liberation movement to internal political party will be the likelihood of foreign governments cutting funds for fear of being accused of interfering in the domestic political process.

But they are unlikely to recoil from taking part in an international effort to assist the return and re-integration into society of ANC exiles, according to Sir Shridath Ramphal, outgoing secretary of the Commonwealth.

"At the request of the ANC, the Commonwealth would look very closely at its ensuring the smooth process of the return home," he said.



Returning exiles Ray Alexander and Jack Simons greet old friend Francis Baard at the airport

Picture: ANNA ZIEMBSKI, Amapix

Euphoria as the Simons' come home

By GAVIN EVANS

VETERAN communists Jack Simons and Ray Alexander became the first exiles to return to South Africa last Friday, and have already returned to action within the country.

Alexander, 76, a national executive committee member of South African Congress of Trade Unions and former secretary of the Federation of South African Women and member of the Women's Secretariat of the African National Congress, addressed an International Women's Day rally yesterday.

Her husband, Jack, 83, has had a lower profile, but has also played a prominent part in the liberation movement since the 1930s.

Wits senior law lecturer Raymond Suttner, who has known the couple for 30 years, said Simons "was in great demand as a lecturer to (Umkhonto weSizwe) cadres in the camps". W/Mail 9/3-15/3/90

An anthropologist who completed an economics PhD at the London School of Economics, he was chairman of the Communist Party when it was banned in 1950. For 27 years he lectured in African Government and Law at UCT, until a banning order forced him out of his job.

"Often we would attend his lectures and would emerge exhilarated through having developed new powers and insights that he helped us make our own," said Suttner.

Reform or not, the Sash still has plenty of work

W/Mail 9/3-15/3/90

By FRANZ KRÜGER

THE Black Sash ended its annual conference in Grahamstown with a clear commitment to continuing its independent role regardless of political changes in South Africa.

According to newly-elected president Jenny de Tolly, there had been members who had asked whether the prospect of political change would mean that the Sash would disband.

"But listening day after day to the accounts of advice offices, and things like pensions, there is a massive amount of work to be done," she said.

"We are living in quite difficult and dangerous times," De Tolly said the conference had been "optimistic about a possible political resolution, but very cautious about the tremendous amount of work that needs to be done to construct a new South Africa."

"The legacy that South Africa is inheriting, of so many years of dispossession, and particularly the last 40 years of apartheid, is going to take a long time to unravel."

One of the campaigns to be embarked on will be one looking at what dismantling apartheid really means. It would aim at educating members, and the white public as a whole, what change would mean, and what was involved in "redressing injustice".

Outgoing president Mary Burton, in her opening address, set the tone for the conference by looking at length at the Sash's own role in the light of political changes.

She said the Sash's commitment to non-racialism made the mass democratic movement "our natural allies", but its "commitment to democracy and freedom makes us recognise too the value and the rights of other groupings."

The task of monitoring and protecting human rights made absolute independence essential. Members might decide to belong to the African National Congress, but the Sash itself should remain independent, supporting issues rather than parties, Burton said.

There was a need not only for "first generation civil and political rights", but also "second generation rights" like social security, education and adequate wages, as well as "third generation rights" to peace, a healthy environment and opportunities for development.

The conference also decided to launch a campaign around black pensions. — Albany News Agency

VINTAGE COLLECTION • DOUGLAS GREEN VINTAGE COLLECTION • DOUGLAS GREEN

DOUGLAS GREEN 1986 VINTAGE

Does one drink it by the bottle? Or the glass?

Douglas Green '86 Sauvignon Blanc is a superbly well rounded wine.

But wine lovers expected little else from this vintage. A vintage distinguished by its exceptional, healthy Sauvignon Blanc grapes which delivered little free run juice but outstanding quality.

The result? A crisp, full wine with an alcohol volume of 12.10%, an acidity of 6.13 g/l, a pH balance of 3.23 and a natural sugar content of 2.85 g/l. Perfect for ageing in European oak. The subtle grassiness is so well supported by the delicate wood flavour.

Douglas Green '86 Sauvignon Blanc is not plentiful. But its rewards will be bountiful — for a number of years to come.

That is if you're able to resist the temptation of its exquisite potability right now.

Douglas Green



DOUGLAS GREEN VINTAGE COLLECTION • DOUGLAS GREEN VINTAGE COLLECTION • DOUGLAS GREEN

DOUGLAS GREEN VINTAGE COLLECTION • DOUGLAS GREEN VINTAGE COLLECTION • DOUGLAS GREEN

The soft revenge of fighter Albie

W/Mail 9/3/90 - 15/3/90

330

ALBIE SACHS would like to meet the man responsible for placing the bomb which mutilated him in Maputo 13 months ago — but retribution is not what he has in mind.

While recovering from the blast which lost him his right arm, the partial sight of one eye and shattered his body, he received a letter from a "comrade" promising the attack would be avenged.

"I thought a lot about that," Sachs said in Lusaka this week. "The idea of an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, an arm for an arm — to avenge me — was awful.

"I thought, is that freedom? Is that what we want in South Africa — people walking around without limbs?"

For Sachs, the real vengeance or, as he terms it, the "soft vengeance", would be "democracy; to achieve what we set out to do".

Another part of that "soft" vengeance would be to meet his assailant: "To show him I'm a person, a human being rather than just a target. It would be my way of disarming him."

Sachs has never lost the conviction that he would return — "but it's one thing to live with an expectation which is all very serene in your head and then be faced with the reality ... joy can be destabilising.

"It's not just the physical thing of taking your body across a border ... A friend phoned me after the African National Congress was unbanned and asked me how I felt and I found myself holding back — I've got to learn how to speak freely on the phone again.

"My worry is that a lot of these things associated with resistance, survival, not being detected, not being caught, can serve us badly in the new phase where we really have to open up ...

"We have to have a very broad vision, a vision of a whole country with all its facets and characteristics, where we're not only working within our framework of shared goals and ideals but working and collaborating with people who have very different outlooks."

Like other exiles, Sachs is asking himself where he'll live, what he'll do — and pondering the adjustment to a much broader world.

He is pleased with the ANC leadership's step-by-step approach, based on consultations with its entire membership. "If you follow good democratic processes you usually come to better solutions — also, everyone feels they've had their say."

Bitterness and anger don't feature in Sachs' emotional repertoire.

"Perhaps the reason I don't feel bitter is that when I entered the political struggle I knew there were risks, so I can't feel that fate has been unkind to me."

Of the 10 days he spent in hospital in Maputo — "they saved my life" — he

After decades as a political non-person, unseen and unheard by most South Africans,

Albie Sachs has quickly established himself a formidable reputation as an ANC thinker who is taken seriously even by the movement's foes. Here he speaks to **GAYE DAVIS** in Lusaka

remembers the tenderness and care with which he was nursed, the sense he had of "the whole city rooting for me".

When he was flown to London for further treatment, it was the first time he had travelled first-class. Not that he remembers much of the flight: one of his lungs collapsed en route.

But the "joy and elation" he felt on finding he had survived have never left him, despite the dark hours of an early morning "when the painkillers wore off and I felt just a mass of fractures and

studying law at the University of Cape Town, he joined the Modern Youth Society, closely aligned to the ANC, which at that stage had only African members.

"I couldn't believe that all the dreams I'd had, my training and education, were just directed towards a date on Saturday night," Sachs says.

So, he took part in the Defiance Campaign in 1950 and attended the Congress of the People at Kliptown in 1955, the year in which his first banning order was imposed.

A second banning order came in 1963, by which time he was a young advocate, immersed in political and civil rights cases.

Later that year he was detained under the notorious "90 days" Act: on his release he ran from Cape Town's Caledonian Square police station to Clifton beach, several kilometres away, and plunged, fully clad, into the water. "I'd never run anything like that distance before," he recalled. "My joy carried me."

He was again detained, this time for three months, in 1966 — an election year. One of his interrogators came to him with a ballot paper. "I can remember him saying, 'Mr Sachs, this is a democratic country — here is your vote'."

Later that year Sachs left for England where he was to spend 11 years studying and teaching law. A visit to Mozambique in 1976 convinced him it was where he wanted to be. He spent 11 years in that country too.

His experience in formulating a new law for an independent Mozambique is invaluable to the ANC: he is part of a legal team working on constitutional questions.

"We have to adjust to being on the side of authority — not challenging laws but making them.

"If one envisages a constitution as a compact rather than a product of horsetrading — solemnly entered into by people coming from different viewpoints but wanting the best for the country — then the defence of the constitution becomes the business of everybody and where you get conflicts of interest you have the courts and parliament to sort them out."

For Sachs the process of defining a constitution should "involve everyone, from Gatsha Buthelezi to the AWB". It was for the ANC leadership to decide how this should be achieved, but people "who are going to be governed by the law must have a hand in making it".

"We should be speaking not about retribution or punishment, but about scrapping apartheid, creating universal suffrage and a society in which the very rich cultural variety of our country can be recognised and encouraged."



Sachs ... after the car bomb which mutilated him

bruises".

In a book to be published in Britain and the United States later this year, Sachs tells the story of "what it was like to be blown up" and his subsequent healing, a recovery he sees as paralleling that of anti-apartheid organisations inside South Africa, when new ways of operating were learned despite the ravages of successive States of Emergency, detentions and harassment.

"As I was learning to walk again, people were picking themselves up, learning to do things differently."

He has titled the book *The Soft Vengeance of a Freedom Fighter*, and describes it as "an echo" of *The Jail Diary of Albie Sachs*, which recounts his 168 days of solitary confinement in 1963.

Born in Cape Town in 1935 to parents who were both politically active, Sachs shunned politics as a youth. But while

ADDIS ABABA. — Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday called on the international community to provide funds to resettle thousands of returning South African exiles.

In a speech to diplomats and representatives of international organisations, he said he hoped conditions will soon be created for the exiles' return.

"We will need tremendous resources to find jobs and accommodation for thousands of exiles and political detainees still in South African jails," the ANC leader said. "We rely on the international community, particularly the African states, to provide them."

Mr Mandela said his visit to Ethiopia had a two-fold purpose — to thank the African people and states for

SA exiles: Mandela calls for world aid

their assistance to South African blacks and to ask them to tighten sanctions against the Pretoria government.

Mr Mandela called President F W de Klerk a "man of integrity and honesty" and said he was complemented by the ministers of Justice and Constitutional Affairs (Mr Kobie Coetsee and Dr Gerrit Viljoen). "The three men are the most enlightened and progressive," he said. — Sapa-AP

CAT-
71-75

10/3/90

330

Received
11/1/90

He's back!

Reunited with his woman after 13 years in exile

By SANDILE MEMELA

THE first PAC member to return from exile to the Transvaal was reunited with his girlfriend after 13 years this week.

Sipho Mngomezulu, 47, is the second PAC member to return to South Africa after Barney Desai, a central com-

mittee member of the organisation.

In 1977, Mngomezulu - a former township taxi operator - was forced to leave his girlfriend, a nursing sister at Baragwanath, and his son Si-phiwe - then a three-year-old - now in standard eight.

"I do not regret the de-

cision as what I did was for the best for our own people, including my woman and child.

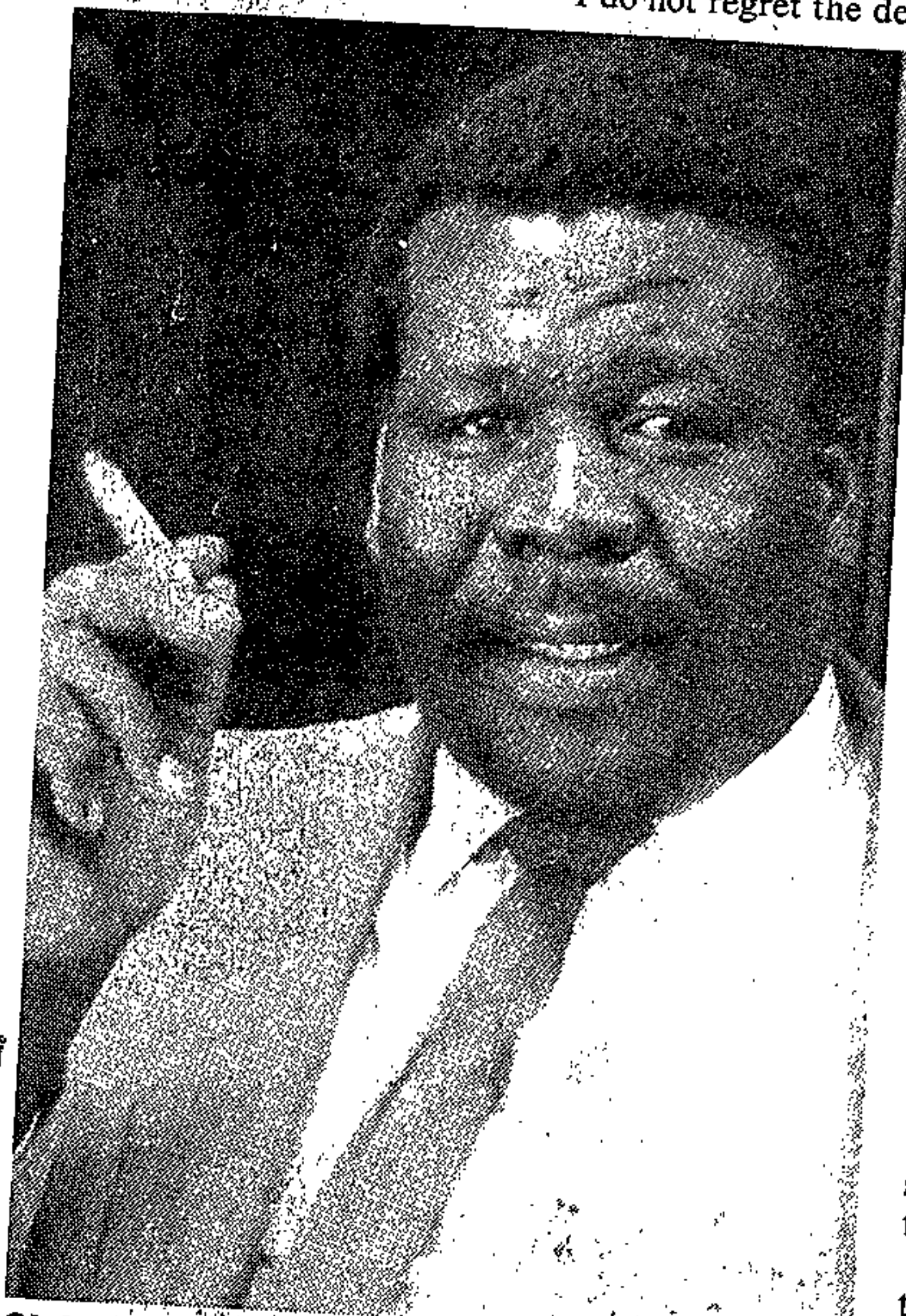
"It is good to be back in the country and be reunited with my woman - with whom I have shared so much pain for the people of Azania. The political scenario in the country has now changed and we must come back to assume our rightful places," said Mngomezulu.

He left the country at the height of student unrest, going into exile with thousands of students who had opted for the armed struggle after the turmoil of June 1976.

A lawyer acting for Mngomezulu will dispatch letters to Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok to inform him of Mngomezulu's return.

Mngomezulu's girlfriend, who asked not to be identified, said the years of waiting and separation were hard on their relationship "but in hindsight, one realises all that was needed was space for our men to pursue their political aspirations. It is vital for women who have lost men through the struggle to exercise patience and show faith.

"History has proved that my man was right and the sacrifice was worthwhile," she said.



Sipho Mngomezulu

■ Pic: GIDEON NHLAPO

330
C/PRESS 11/3/90

Exiles will face some problems back home

Press 11/3/90

330

WHAT next, Mr Mandela? This was the question posed to the newly-elected ANC deputy president by a member who demanded to know when exiles would start returning home. Mandela, who addressed a closed meeting of the ANC's rank and file members in Lusaka last week, obtained a first-hand assessment of the real mood among members in exile.

Mandela said plans for the exiles' return were being worked out. "It is not easy," he admitted.

According to ANC spokesman Tom Sebina, Mandela advised exiles that it would be naive to send people to South Africa immediately because most of them would not know where to go.

"We want to integrate them properly," said Sebina, who indicated that the return of exiles was one of the ANC's most important considerations.

The organisation was working around the clock on plans to have the exiles "smoothly repatriated", said Sebina.

But Mandela said those who knew where they could go to find shelter without undue problems could do so. Said one senior official who attended the meeting:

"We don't want to return to South Africa only to be caged in transit camps while waiting to be resettled."

The Zimbabwe and Namibian experience was a good lesson and the ANC wanted to avoid similar inconvenience to that suffered by Zimbabweans and Namibians who had to wait in transit camps after their return to their motherland.

"We want to go back home as heroes and not be subjected to another form of confinement — dehumanising treatment even if it is done by your own people," Sebina said.

Most of the ANC's 16 000 exiles in countries around the world want to return home as soon as possible.

There are about 2 000 exiles in Zambia, between 4 000 and 5 000 in Tanzania, a few hundred in Zimbabwe and other African countries and the balance scattered around the world — from the United States to the Soviet Union.

A special committee headed by ANC veteran Walter Sisulu is sorting out how and when people should start returning to South Africa. In Zambia a similar committee has been established under the chairmanship of Jackie Selebe, leader of the ANC youth wing. The majority of exiles are young people, some of them with families.

"All these issues must be taken into account. We cannot just dump these people in South Africa and tell them to find their own way," said Victor Moshe, a member of the ANC's foreign affairs department.

A major question facing the ANC is what to do with the exiles once they return to South Africa. At present the ANC runs several subsistence farms and other projects in countries like Tanzania and Zambia.

"We have been looking after our people in exile," said Sebina. "But the question is how do we care for them once they are back in South Africa?"

Even foreign governments have expressed concern about the repatriation of exiles.

Outgoing Commonwealth secretary-general Sir Shridath Ramphal said in Lusaka that the international community must assist the ANC.

"I will go myself to member states and ask their governments for financial assistance. Now is the time for the international community to show their solidarity



Nelson Mandela . . . seeking answers for exiles. by providing the capital to assist these people resettle in South Africa," he said.

During last week's NEC summit, the ANC resolved to set up structures inside South Africa as soon as possible. Mandela will spearhead the administration and the formation of the ANC headquarters in Johannesburg.

The ANC will have to obtain more than 80 million US dollars to re-establish itself inside South Africa.

Part of this money would be used to find employment and accommodation for ANC exiles who had lost track of their relatives and homes.

Overcoming the remaining obstacles — mainly the lifting of the state of emergency the release of all political prisoners and unconditional indemnity for all exiles — will undoubtedly be the signal for the thousands of exiles to start their journey back home — ANO.

Exiles campaign

EXILED South African war resisters are to campaign to be allowed to return home. 330

A group of more than 100 exiled conscientious objectors, who met in London earlier this month, decided to launch an international campaign for their safe return to South Africa.

The campaign will be spearheaded by the Committee of South African War Resisters (Cosawr).

Cosawr will also campaign for the release of objectors presently in prison in South Africa and for a moratorium on objector trials. South 15/3-21/3/90

The ANC recently announced there would be no conscription under an ANC government.

SACP veterans seek citizenship

By LINDA VERGNANI

330

FORMER Communist exiles Professor Jack Simons and his wife Ray Alexander have filed a Supreme Court application against the minister of home affairs seeking to restore their citizenship.

The couple, who last month became the first ANC exiles to return to South Africa, lost their citizenship after a 1977 amendment to the Suppression of Communism Act, under which they had been banned.

The couple, who were given three-month visitors' permits after their arrival in Cape Town from Lusaka, say they never intended renouncing their citizenship after they left South Africa in 1965.

"When we left the country after my banning order effectively paralysed me, we did so legally," said Simons.

He said thousands of exiles were in a worse situation, as they had left illegally without any documents.

"We are testing the water putting our toes in for those still in exile. There is a difference between the De Klerk regime unbanning us and officials taking the necessary steps to ensure that we get back our South African citizenship."

Simons and Alexander are currently working as associate fellows in the University of Cape Town's School of African Studies.

11th-hour go-ahead for film

W/E AG 17/3/90 330

By TONY JACKMAN

Weekend Argus Reporter

A BRITISH film director has been given 11th-hour permission to make a documentary on how people in the Karoo are responding to change.

Richard Taylor, 56-year-old brother of satirical folk-singer/TV presenter Jeremy, received his filming visa this week, only days before the expiry of a deadline set by impatient BBC executives.

They had said if permission was not forthcoming by the end of next week, the film's budget would be used for another production.

Commissioned

Taylor was commissioned five months ago by the BBC to produce a documentary programme for *Under the Sun*, a BBC series on people in their environment, and selected the people and town of Carnarvon, near Prieska, as his subject.

However, his first application for a filming visa, made in October last year, was turned down with no reasons given.

His five-month battle for permission included a long sojourn in South Africa when he met representatives of the Department of Home Affairs and the Bureau for Information, but by the time his visitor's visa expired a week ago, permission to film had still not been granted.

"Speaking from the heart, we're in a situation where anybody of goodwill today does want the initiative of the South African government to be a success and this film will be a contribution to that.

"It doesn't mean it isn't going to have criticism in it, a down side, but it will hopefully help the debate that must take place in this society if there is going to be a real change of heart, and not just a change of strategy.

Returns next week

"People have got to start talking to each other, and this film, hopefully, will contribute to that."

Taylor will return to South Africa next week, and hopes to complete filming in Carnarvon next month.

The completed documentary is to be screened by the BBC on June 28



Richard Taylor ... allowed back to film in South Africa after a visa was granted at the 11th hour.

and Taylor would be delighted if the SABC were to buy it.

In the official permission Taylor received this week, the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Gene Louw, said Taylor should film "in a responsible manner, bearing in mind the government's current initiatives and the already announced policy changes, as well as the search for a new South Africa".

Controversial film

Taylor believes the authorities' original reluctance to grant the visa stemmed from a controversy over a film he made in 1982 called *South Africa — Sport and the Boycott*.

Representatives of the South African Embassy in London were invited to the Press preview and were highly offended. The then ambassador, Mr Marais Steyn, even threatened to take legal action to stop the film being screened.

By the time the 65-minute film was broadcast in peak viewing time, the controversy and ensuing publicity ensured that the film had a larger audience than it would have had otherwise.

BLO
ing
have
past
Th
nors
been
arou
Al
Wes
scre
redu
"T
ticul
leth
dire
"I
bly

N
way
Cap
que
tur
risl
F
tho
per
are
/
the
I
tes
sur
an
an
vir
pa
Se
be

di
I
st
fo
of
d

C
a
w
p
t
t
b
A
a
k
r

Brave hero takes on 10 men

Early return of SA exiles on the cards

B/PCW 19/3/90

330

MIKE ROBERTSON

CAPE TOWN — The first meeting between government and the ANC on April 11 is expected to pave the way for the tabling of legislation allowing the early return of exiles.

It can also be expected to lead to a series of prisoner swaps involving SA agents like Odile Harrington imprisoned in Frontline states and key ANC political prisoners.

But, according to senior officials here, a general amnesty for all political prisoners can only be expected at the end of the negotiation process rather than at the outset.

ANC vice-president Nelson Mandela arrived back in SA on Saturday after his trip overseas. However, it emerged at the weekend that government decided to announce the date of the meeting on Friday, thereby overshadowing its highly publicised Press conference to release details of its R3bn plan to eradicate backlogs brought about by apartheid, because it had been struggling for more than 10 days to pin the ANC down on a date.

Once agreement was reached, it wanted the date of the meeting made public immediately.

While it had been expected that the composition of the ANC delegation was a matter delaying the talks, President F W de Klerk said on Friday government had not attempted to prescribe to the ANC whom it could include in its delegation.

At this stage it seems one issue which could emerge as a stum-

bling block in the initial talks is the continued state of emergency.

While the ANC continues to insist that the emergency be lifted as a pre-condition to negotiations, De Klerk said on Friday it could not be a feature of the negotiating process.

Government, he said, had committed itself to lifting the emergency but that decision would be determined by the law and order situation.

Whereas in the past government spokesmen have been quick to finger the ANC as being behind unrest, they now perceive regional variations.

Violence

The Natal situation, they believe, has deteriorated to a point where warlords are operating independently of any organisation.

In Gazankulu, however, they insist that the ANC is both behind and actively instigating outbursts of violence.

In the Ciskei, on the other hand, they acknowledge that UDF officials have played a prominent role in preventing continued looting and violence.

While acknowledging that the ANC has had barely six weeks to organise itself since being unbanned, ministers say the thing that has surprised them most since February 2 is the remarkable fluidity in black politics. In the Eastern Cape, in particular, they detect a strong swing to the PAC.

They also find it surprising that organisations like the UDF, in particular the Western Cape branch, have chosen to remain independent of the ANC.

Government spokesmen have been reluctant to comment on Nelson Mandela's call in Sweden for total isolation of SA and stepped up sanctions. They feel every such statement contributes to exploding the myth built up around him while he was in prison.

There is, nevertheless, concern that the fact that he felt it necessary to make such statements is an indication that hardliners in the ANC, among whom they include NUM general secretary Cyril Rampahosa, continue to hold considerable sway in the movement.

Despite these concerns ministers are on the whole satisfied that developments since February 2 have gone as well as could be expected.

A factor which bodes well for the success of negotiations is the realisation by both government and the ANC that results have to be achieved quickly.

Mandela, talking on Swedish radio last week, echoed these sentiments when he said he expected immediate results from the April 11 meeting.

"Our strategy is that the very first meeting must produce a result if we are to continue talking. We have no intention of allowing the existing situation to be as it was in Namibia for 12 years," he said.

● Comment Page 8

Early return of SA exiles on the cards

B/day 19/3/90

330

CAPE TOWN — The first meeting between government and the ANC on April 11 is expected to pave the way for the tabling of legislation allowing the early return of exiles.

It can also be expected to lead to a series of prisoner swaps involving SA agents like Odile Harrington imprisoned in Frontline states and key ANC political prisoners.

But, according to senior officials here, a general amnesty for all political prisoners can only be expected at the end of the negotiation process rather than at the outset.

ANC vice-president Nelson Mandela arrived back in SA on Saturday after his trip overseas.

However, it emerged at the weekend that government decided to announce the date of the meeting on Friday, thereby overshadowing its highly publicised Press conference to release details of its R3bn plan to eradicate backlogs brought about by apartheid, because it had been struggling for more than 10 days to pin the ANC down on a date.

Once agreement was reached, it wanted the date of the meeting made public immediately.

While it had been expected that the composition of the ANC delegation was a matter delaying the talks, President F W de Klerk said on Friday government had not attempted to prescribe to the ANC whom it could include in its delegation.

At this stage it seems one issue which could emerge as a stum-

MIKE ROBERTSON

bling block in the initial talks is the continued state of emergency.

While the ANC continues to insist that the emergency be lifted as a pre-condition to negotiations, De Klerk said on Friday it could not be a feature of the negotiating process.

Government, he said, had committed itself to lifting the emergency but that decision would be determined by the law and order situation.

Whereas in the past government spokesmen have been quick to finger the ANC as being behind unrest, they now perceive regional variations.

Violence

The Natal situation, they believe, has deteriorated to a point where warlords are operating independently of any organisation.

In Gazankulu, however, they insist that the ANC is both behind and actively instigating outbursts of violence.

In the Ciskei, on the other hand, they acknowledge that UDF officials have played a prominent role in preventing continued looting and violence.

While acknowledging that the ANC has had barely six weeks to organise itself since being unbanned, ministers say the thing that has surprised them most since February 2 is the remarkable fluidity in black politics. In the Eastern Cape, in particular, they detect a strong swing to the PAC.

They also find it surprising that organisations like the UDF, in particular the Western Cape branch, have chosen to remain independent of the ANC.

Government spokesmen have been reluctant to comment on Nelson Mandela's call in Sweden for total isolation of SA and stepped up sanctions. They feel every such statement contributes to exploding the myth built up around him while he was in prison.

There is, nevertheless, concern that the fact that he felt it necessary to make such statements is an indication that hardliners in the ANC, among whom they include NUM general secretary Cyril Rampahosa, continue to hold considerable sway in the movement.

Despite these concerns ministers are on the whole satisfied that developments since February 2 have gone as well as could be expected.

A factor which bodes well for the success of negotiations is the realisation by both government and the ANC that results have to be achieved quickly.

Mandela, talking on Swedish radio last week, echoed these sentiments when he said he expected immediate results from the April 11 meeting.

"Our strategy is that the very first meeting must produce a result if we are to continue talking. We have no intention of allowing the existing situation to be as it was in Namibia for 12 years," he said.

● Comment: Page 8

SPY STOPS

CMC-
19/3/90

330

Political Staff

THE first meeting between the government and the ANC on April 11 is expected to pave the way for legislation to be tabled allowing for the early return of exiles.

It is also expected to lead to a series of prisoner swaps involving South African spies, like Odile Harington, imprisoned in frontline states and key ANC political prisoners.

But, according to senior officials in Cape Town, a general amnesty for all political prisoners can be expected only at the end of the negotiation process rather than at the outset.

It emerged at the weekend that the govern-

ment decided to announce the date of the meeting on Friday — thereby overshadowing its highly publicised press conference to release details of its R3-bn plan to eradicate backlogs brought about by apartheid — because it had been struggling for more than 10 days to pin the ANC down on a date.

Once agreement was reached it wanted the date of the meeting made public immediately.

While it had been thought that the composition of the ANC delegation was the matter delaying the talks, President F. W. de Klerk said on Friday that the government had not tried to prescribe to the ANC whom it could include in its delegation.

Contact with the ANC is taking place directly with officials inside South Africa, over the telephone to the organisation's head office in Lusaka and through intermediaries.

Stellenbosch academic Professor Willie Breytenbach has been mentioned in this regard.

At this stage it seems that one issue which could emerge as a serious stumbling block in the initial talks is the continuing state of emergency.

While the ANC still insists that the emergency should be lifted as a pre-condition for negotiations, President De Klerk insisted on Friday that it could not be a feature of the negotiating process.

The government, he said, had committed itself to lifting the emergency but that decision would be determined by the law-and-order situation.

Whereas in the past government spokesmen have been quick to finger the ANC as being behind unrest, they now perceive regional variations.

The Natal situation, they believe, has deteriorated to a point where warlords are operating independently of any organisation.

In Gazankulu, however, they insist that the ANC is both behind and actively instigating violence.

In Ciskei, on the other hand, they acknowledge that UDF officials have played a prominent role in preventing continued looting and violence.

An area where this co-operation between government and the ANC has gone even further is in attempts to end the teachers' strike. The government is understood to have been in regular contact with people like Mr Walter Sisulu.

To page 3

From page 1

ANC talks

While acknowledging that the ANC has had barely six weeks to organise itself since being unbanned, ministers say the one thing that has surprised them most since February 2 is the remarkable fluidity in black politics.

In the Eastern Cape, in particular, they detect a strong swing to the PAC.

They also find it surprising that organisations like the UDF, in particular the Western Cape branch, have chosen to remain independent of the ANC.

The government spokesmen have been reluctant to comment publicly on Mr Nelson Mandela's call in Sweden for total isolation of South Africa and stepped-up sanctions, believing that every such statement contributes to exploding the myth that built up about him while he was imprisoned.

However, there is deep concern that the fact that he felt it necessary to make such statements is a pointer to how much the hardliners in the ANC, one of whom they identify as being NUM general secretary Mr Cyril Rampahosa, continue to hold sway in the movement.

Despite these concerns, ministers are on the whole satisfied that developments since February 2 have gone as well as could be expected.

A factor which bodes well for the success of negotiations is the realisation by both the government and the ANC that results have to be achieved quickly.

Ministers realise that if they are to prevent a drift towards the Conservative Party they need to produce something tangible soon.

Mr Mandela, speaking on Swedish radio, echoed these sentiments when he said he expected immediate results from the April 11 meeting.

"Our strategy is that the very first meeting must produce a result if we are to continue talking. We have no intention of allowing the existing situation to be as it was in Namibia for 12 years," he said.

CMC-
19/3/90

330

Mandela's biographer to visit SA after 22 years

Argus 21/3/90
The Argus Foreign Service
LONDON. — Mary Benson, author of the first biography of Nelson Mandela, has been granted permission by the South African government to return to the country of her birth after an absence of 22 years.

She will arrive in Johannesburg on Saturday for a two months' visit.

RESTRICTION ORDER

She left South Africa in 1966 after being placed under a five-year restriction order, including house arrest, but was allowed to return for one month in 1968 because her father was dying.

Born in Pretoria, Mary Benson was educated at Pretoria Girls' High School.

The restriction order was served on her after she had re-

ported political trials in the Eastern Cape for the Observer and sent material on apartheid to United States congressmen.

She and the Rev Michael Scott founded the Africa Bureau in 1952, and in 1958 she published her first book, a biography of Chief Tshekedi Khama of the Bamangwato tribe in Bechuanaland who had been exiled to England by the British government.

Suffering from arthritis, she returned to South Africa and became secretary of the defence fund of the 1956-59 treason trial.

In 1961, at the suggestion of the writer Anthony Sampson, she began research in South Africa on the history of the ANC, but later used the material to write Mandela's biography, which was published in 1986 and has just been reissued in

updated form.

Then she wrote her autobiography, *A Far Cry — The Making of a South African*, describing how she changed from being a prejudiced white to a firm supporter of the black liberation movement.

The autobiography has been reissued by Penguin, and the Penguin edition will be on sale in South Africa when Miss Benson arrives there, as will the Mandela biography which was at first banned, then allowed into libraries a few months ago, and is now freely available.

During her visit, Miss Benson will travel to Ciskei to see the birthplace of her mother who was of 1820 British settler stock and the house of her great-grandfather in Grahams-town.

Star 22/3/90
230

Author of Mandela biography back after 22 years

By Stanley Uys

LONDON — Mary Benson, author of the first biography of Mr Nelson Mandela, has been granted permission by the South African Government to return to the country after an absence of 22 years. She will arrive in Johannesburg on Saturday for a two-month visit.

She left South Africa in 1966 after being placed under a five-year restriction order, including house arrest, but was allowed to return for one month in 1968 because her father was dying. Born in Pretoria, Ms Benson was educated at



Mary Benson ... in exile since 1966.

Pretoria Girls' High School.

The restriction order was served on her after she had reported political trials in the Eastern Cape for The Observer and sent material on apartheid to United States Congressmen. She wrote a novel about the trials.

She and the Rev Michael Scott founded the Africa Bureau in 1952, and in 1958 she published her first book, a biography of Chief Tshekedi Khama of the Bamangwato tribe in Bechuanaland who had been exiled to England by the British government. She was secretary of the defence fund of the 1956-59 treason trial.

In 1961, at the suggestion of the writer Anthony Sampson, she began researching the history of the ANC and later used the material to write Mr Mandela's biography, which was published in 1986 and has just been re-issued in updated form.

She then wrote her autobiography, "A Far Cry — The Making of a South African", describing how she changed from a prejudiced white to a firm supporter of the black liberation movement.

The autobiography has been re-issued by Penguin, and will be on sale in South Africa when Miss Benson arrives as will the Mandela biography, which was at first banned, then allowed into libraries and is now freely available in South Africa.

During her visit Ms Benson will go to Ciskei to see the birthplace of her mother and to the house of her great-grandfather in Grahamstown.

Sactu decides to dissolve

THE exiled South African Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu) is to be phased out and Sactu members integrated into Cosatu. ~~1989~~ ~~3007~~

This decision was taken at a historic meeting held on Monday, March 19. Sactu's national executive committee was led by its general secretary, John Nkadameng, and the Cosatu delegation had representatives from 14 unions led by Cosatu's general secretary, Jay Naidoo, and vice-presidents, Chris Dlamini and John Gomomo.

South 22/3 - 28/3/90

The meeting agreed to establish a "facilitating committee" of 5 delegates each from Cosatu and Sactu to oversee the phasing out of Sactu.

The committee is to assist with the return of Sactu cadres living in exile and the integration of Sactu members into Cosatu and its affiliates.

It will also organise a visit by the Sactu NEC to South Africa where Sactu will report on its activities since it went underground in the early 1960s. ~~1989~~ ~~330~~

A statement released after the meeting said that the Sactu-Cosatu leadership had noted that Sactu had played a "vanguard role in the trade union movement".

It said that both Sactu and Cosatu were committed to the concept of one country, one federation and that Sactu did not see itself re-emerging in South Africa.

CML Times 22/3/90

Parliament and Politics

330

**SA Namibians
stay S African**

SOUTH AFRICANS who acquired their citizenship by birth and now live in Namibia will retain their citizenship after Namibian independence, in terms of a bill tabled in Parliament on Tuesday.

The SA Citizenship at Attainment of Independence by Namibia Regulation Bill provides that SA citizens who had SA citizenship by naturalisation and who now live in Namibia will lose their South African citizenship. — Sapa

First top ANC official returns

THE first prominent African National Congress official to return from exile since the organisation was legalised has arrived in South Africa, ANC activist Albertina Sisulu said yesterday.

She confirmed that senior ANC political and military council member Jacob Zuma had arrived from Zambia on Wednesday to prepare for preliminary negotiations with the De Klerk Government.

Control

The council exercises control over the black nationalist movement's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation).

The Government lifted a 30-year-

old ban on the movement on February 2 in one of a series of sweeping political changes aimed at creating the climate for talks on ending apartheid and giving political rights to the voteless black majority.

Officials

Zuma, who is in his late '40s and spent 10 years on Robben Island for sabotage, flew to South Africa on a South African Airways plane with two other ANC officials.

ANC sources in Lusaka said he would be followed at the weekend by senior members of the movement, including national executive committee official Steve Tshwete (52). - Sapa-Reuter.



ALBERTINA SISULU

*The exciting new way
to say "CHEERS"*

**HUNTER'S
GOLD**

Report to Lusaka team by 'scout' unfavourable

Security fears delay ANC exiles' return

Political Staff and The Star's
Africa
News Service

An expected visit by a top-level delegation of African National Congress leaders was postponed at the last moment yesterday after an "unfavourable" security report by national executive member Mr Jacob Zuma.

Mr Zuma visited Johannesburg last week to "test the waters" ahead of the arrival of the main delegation preparing for preliminary talks with the Government on April 11.

According to an official of the National Reception Committee, the delegation did not arrive yesterday due to "security problems".

The non-arrival of the delegation yesterday caused consternation among a crowd of about 300 people, some in ANC colours, who gathered at Jan Smuts Airport to welcome them.

The delegation from Lusaka was expected to include Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) chief of staff Mr Chris Hani and MK commander Mr Joe Modise.

The Government is expected this week to clarify the position of exiled ANC leaders wishing to return to South Africa to take part in exploratory talks. A spokesman for the Ministry of Law and Order said that no ANC member entering the country to take part in the April 11 talks or preliminary discussions would be arrested.

"Temporary exemption has already been granted to exiles specifically with the April 11 meeting in mind," he said.

This is only a temporary grant, he stressed. But no line would be drawn between those who could return and those who could not.

At Jan Smuts Airport yesterday, UDF publicity secretary Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekotha was present to meet the delegation.

About 45 minutes after the SAA plane had touched down at Jan Smuts Airport, he entered the customs hall accompanied by police. A few minutes later, he informed the disbelieving crowd that he had satisfied himself that the men had not arrived.

According to ANC sources the timing of yesterday's visit was never officially confirmed and always depended on what Mr Zuma found "on the ground".

It has been suggested here that some of the ANC delegation members may stay on inside the country when the visit finally materialises.

They would be the first legal "returnees" from exile in almost two decades. The aim might be to improve communication between the internal ANC and its long exiled leadership.

UDF assistant publicity secretary and National Reception Committee member Mr Murphy Morobe today told The Star he did not know anything about the men's rumoured arrival, and said Mr Lekota had probably gone to the airport because of intense media speculation last week that the ANC leaders were due yesterday.

The chairman of the ANC's Internal Leadership Corps, Mr Walter Sisulu, told The Star this morning that the men's arrival had been postponed. He would not say when they were expected to arrive.

"Their arrival has been postponed. The only man who did arrive yesterday was ... no, even that one I won't tell you," said Mr Sisulu.

ANC stalwart and former Rivonia trialist Mr Ahmed Kathrada blamed it all on the media which, he said, circulated unfounded rumours.

"Only the media expected them," he said. "We certainly did not."



HOME ... Mr. David Kitson and his ex-wife Norma after their arrival in Durban yesterday.

ANC man Kitson back in SA

Mr. Kitson 26/3/70
Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Former long-term political prisoner Mr. David Kitson and his ex-wife, Mrs. Norma Kitson, arrived here yesterday from exile in Zimbabwe — but Mrs. Kitson has only been given a two-day visa.

Mr. Kitson, a member of the ANC, was convicted in 1964 at the "little Rivonia trial" for sabotage, preparing for guerilla warfare and furthering the interests of communism.

An ANC activist, Mrs. Kitson campaigned for the release of political prisoners after leaving South Africa in 1966.

Both come from Durban. They flew in from Harare, where they have been living for 16 months after moving from London.

Mr. Kitson said last night that they intended to see how conditions had changed in South Africa and whether they would find it acceptable to stay.

After serving his 20-year sentence, he was released unconditionally in 1984 and left for London. He moved to Zimbabwe in 1988.

The couple were divorced in 1968 but Mrs. Kitson retained the name. They were reunited after

his release and are now "inseparable".

● An advance group of ANC officials due to return to South Africa from exile yesterday failed to arrive in Johannesburg after a hitch in travel arrangements.

ANC sources in Lusaka said the 19-strong group heading for exploratory talks with Pretoria could not get seats on South African Airways' Lusaka-Johannesburg flight and had to postpone the trip until mid-week.

One of the 19 is Mr. Chris Hani, chief of staff of the ANC military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Exiles return

AFRICAN National Congress exile Mrs Norma Kitson (56), who returned home to Durban from Harare yesterday, will know by noon tomorrow whether she will be allowed to settle in South Africa. (330)

Kitson and her husband David (70) arrived at Louis Botha Airport on a direct flight from Harare.

Both of them arrived on British passports.

Free pass for ANC peace party

ARGUS

26/3/90

330

TOS WENTZEL
the Presidency

STEPS to give temporary exemption from prosecution to exiled African National Congress leaders to enable them to take part in exploratory talks with the government will be announced this week.

Confirming this today, a top government source said that administrative as well as legislative steps may be necessary.

This follows a recent assurance by President De Klerk that the government would not prescribe to the ANC who should be the members of its delegation to start talks with the government on April 11.

The government's attitude up to now has been to draw a distinction between ANC members who were merely members of the movement and those who had been involved in violence.

RELEASED

In the case of political prisoners only those who were sentenced merely for being members of the movement are being released.

The government source emphasised that at this stage temporary exemption from prosecution would be given only to those coming to South Africa for the talks.

An ANC spokesman in Johannesburg said today that the reason that a group of six ANC exiled leaders, expected in Johannesburg yesterday, did not arrive had nothing to do with the amnesty issue.

They could not all get bookings on an SAA flight from Lusaka and were now expected to arrive on Wednesday.

However, another ANC source told Sapa-Reuter today that worries about security, not a failure to secure flight bookings, had forced the exiles to postpone their flight.

The Argus Correspondent reports from Johannesburg that about 300 people, some in ANC colours, gathered at the airport yesterday to welcome the delegation from Lusaka, which was expected to include Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) chief of staff Mr Chris Hani.

Other people rumoured to be in the group were MK commander Mr Joe Modise, ANC assistant secretary Mr Henry Mahgothi, political commissar Mr Steve Tshwete and political education head Mr Reg September.

About 45 minutes after the SAA plane had touched down UDF publicity secretary Mr Patrick Lekota, accompanied by a police officer, entered the customs hall. A few minutes later he informed the disbelieving crowd that he had satisfied himself that the men had not arrived.

PREMATURE

The Argus Foreign Service reports from London that British Prime Minister Mrs Thatcher was asked during an interview whether she would visit South Africa.

She replied: "I think it is a little premature. There would still be too many people who would try to say that I was pro-apartheid — totally wrong."

"We have probably done more than any other country to ensure that a non-racial government will inherit a highly prosperous South Africa."

Sapa reports from Johannesburg that ANC internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu yesterday slammed Mrs Thatcher for her role in South Africa.

In a message to a mass rally in London organised by the Anti-Apartheid Movement Mr Sisulu said: "The time has come for Mrs Thatcher to stop siding with De Klerk."

Activist slams 'absurd' curbs on return

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — ANC activist Mrs. Norma Kitson yesterday described restrictions governing her return to South Africa as "absurd".

Mrs. Kitson, 56, who returned to South Africa from Harare on Sunday with her husband, Mr. David Kitson, 70, was told yesterday she could remain in South Africa for another 10 days — but she still does not know whether she will be allowed to settle here permanently.

Although immigration officials at Louis Botha Airport cleared Mr. Kitson's entry, his wife was told she could stay only for two days unless the Department of Home Affairs extended her visa.

"The whole thing is absurd. My husband and I returned because of the State President's invitation for exiles to return. I was born here and I don't understand how my citizenship can be taken away."

Mr. Dries Coetzee, regional representative here for the department, said he had been told that Mrs. Kitson had requested a temporary visa, as she intended to stay in the country for only a short period before returning permanently.

Mrs. Kitson said that her passport was withdrawn in 1966.

Special laws for exiles

THE Government will take steps this week - possibly introducing special legislation - to make provision for a form of indemnity for ANC negotiators who may still be liable to prosecution in South Africa.

This follows the cancellation of return plans by a group of 19 senior ANC members under the leadership of Umkhonto We Sizwe (Spear of the Nation) chief of staff, Mr Chris Hani, on Sunday.

Contrary to earlier reports the reason why the group did not return to South Africa from Lusaka had nothing to do with a lack of aircraft space.

They were advised by Mr Jacob Zuma, the ANC chief of intelligence, who returned to Lusaka after three days in South Africa last week, to call off their planned return.

A senior Government spokesman said on Monday that plans were in the pipeline to rectify the situation. There was no legal provision for the granting of temporary indemnity, and the logical solution appeared to be the introduction of such legislation by the Department of Justice.

Once it was introduced - not expected to be later than this week - administrative arrangements could follow which would cover the position of ANC negotiators until the new law was passed and gazetted. As with influx control and the Immorality and Mixed Marriages Act transgressions, a moratorium could be put in place until the new law applied. - Sapa.

Govt to provide indemnity for ANC delegation

CAPE TOWN — The Government will take steps this week to provide for a form of indemnity for ANC negotiators who might still be liable to prosecution in South Africa.

This follows the cancellation of plans by a group of 19 senior ANC members under Umkhonto we Siswe (Spear of the Nation) chief of staff Mr Chris Hani to return to South Africa.

They were advised by Mr Jacob Zuma, ANC chief of intelligence, who returned to Lusaka after three days in South Africa last week, to call off the return.

Mr Zuma, who is also a member of the ANC's national executive committee, had come to prepare for talks with the South African Government on April 11.

A senior Government spokesman said yesterday that plans were in the pipeline to rectify the situation.

There was no legal provision for the granting of temporary indemnity, and the logical solution seemed to be to introduce a change through the Department of Justice.

Once introduced — expected to be no later than this week — administrative arrangements could follow which would cover the position of ANC negotiators until the new law was passed and gazetted.

It is reported from Lusaka that Mr Zuma is back in South Africa after two days of consultations with the movement's leadership. ANC sources said he had left for South Africa on Sunday. — Sapa and The Star's Africa News Service.

Sacrifice was worth it say returned exiles

330

ARC 45
28/3/90

SACRIFICES and deprivations through the years, and political changes in Eastern Europe, have not changed the views of Professor Jack Simons

and his wife, Ms Ray Alexander,

INTERVIEW

who have been staunch supporters of the Communist Party since the 1930s and who recently were the first ANC exiles to return to South Africa.

cans they are ogres; to many blacks, judging by the enthusiastic reception they had on their return, they are heroes of the "struggle".

Both firmly say that the deprivation to themselves and their family, which was caused by political persecution under successive Nationalist governments from the 1960s, was worth it. Their political ideals, they maintain, are coming to fruition.

Privilege

They now foresee the development of a non-racial democracy without conflict, following the gradual demolition of privilege and prestige attached to white supremacy. As professor Simons points out, the membership of the ANC is non-racial.

They see the return of exiles from abroad as a priority, which should be brought about without fuss. But, they say, there is apprehension among the exiles and fear that a trap is being set for them.

While remaining a committed communist — he stresses

By TOS WENTZEL of the Political Staff

that he has never made a secret of this — Professor Simons describes recent events in Eastern Europe as "a disappointment, a disaster".

For the present, he says, socialism appears to have failed to fulfil expectations.

On the other hand he maintains that there are "eternal dimensions" to the idea of public ownership and equality and that the time will come when the working people will assert their belief in a society of equals without class distinction and with an advanced form of public ownership. This ideal had not disappeared.

At present it appeared as if capitalism had succeeded and that communism had failed, but eternal verities remained and what was happening now was a cycle in history.

Ms Alexander, too, firmly states her commitment to socialism. She is upset by the impression that events in Eastern Europe imply that socialism cannot work. What had happened there was that some people had misused their powers and this mistake should not be repeated in South Africa, as socialism could still work.

In capitalist societies on the other hand the problems of poverty and lack of housing were often not highlighted, she said.

Professor Simons dismisses allegations that communists have infiltrated the ANC.

"There was a close relationship between communists and ANC nationalists from the outset because we were working for the same

objectives, we faced the same problems, we had the same enemies. That is why the ANC people are so easy with us. They do not doubt our sincerity, they do not think we are trying to grab power from them."

For Ms Alexander the deprivations of recent years included the fact that even though she was elected to Parliament as a Native Representatives in the then Western Cape seat in 1954, she was prevented from becoming a member of Parliament.

When she arrived at Parliament to be sworn in she was presented with a banning order which prohibited her from taking her seat.

Was it all worth it?

"Many comrades suffered. There was the mental suffering, the longing to come back, not seeing our children or always knowing how they were.

"On the other hand I would not change my life for anything. Through the trade union activities we managed to bring new life to thousands of people," she says.

Heartened

Now she is also heartened by what she sees as support for the Communist Party. At some of the meetings she has been to there were young people of all colours in SACP T-shirts.

Professor Simons was born in Riversdale in the Cape, where he worked as a lawyer's clerk for more than a year before joining the civil service in Pretoria, where he studied further.

He started going to ANC meetings in those days but his involvement with the Communist Party started in the 1930s when he was studying

at the London School of Economics.

He was expelled from the LSE and the fact that he was such a good rugby player led to his expulsion being lifted.

He returned to South Africa with, as he puts it, a doctorate and a Communist Party membership card, and he became Professor in the department of African Studies at UCT.

At one time he was on the central committee of the South African Communist Party.

He and Ms Alexander met soon after his return in 1937 and they got married in 1941.

Remarkable

Ms Alexander's trade union record is remarkable. In 1933 she helped to found the Commercial Employees' Union. In 1936 she organised the Oatmeal Workers' Union, the Non-European Railway Workers' Union, the Sweetworkers' Union, the Laundry Workers' Union, the Tin Workers' Union and the Shoe Repairers' Union.

In 1940 she founded the Food and Canning Workers' Union (FCWU), uniting white and black workers.

Born in Latvia in 1913 she became a communist there. She came to South Africa in 1929 and within days she had met some local communists and at the age of 16 she became involved in organising workers.

Both she and her husband were banned in the 1950s and she was later forced to give up her position in the FCWU.

She was also a founding member of the Federation of South African Women.

They left South Africa on exit visas in 1965 when they could not continue their work as a result of their bannings.

ANC exile only given short stay in SA

AN ANC exile, Mrs Norma Kitson (56), who returned home to Durban from Harare on Sunday, has been given until April 4 to stay in the country. Kitson and her husband David (70), who holds the record of serving the longest prison term by a white political prisoner, arrived at Louis Botha Airport on a direct flight from Harare. Both of them arrived on British passports and while there were no entry hitches involving Mr Kitson, who served 19 years and eight months in prison after being convicted for activities as a member of the High Command of the military wing of the ANC, Mrs Kitson was asked to wait. Mr Kitson said that eventually the immigration authorities attended to his wife and told her that they had to check with Pretoria "what procedure to adopt".

Withdrawn

"Now they have been able to contact the Department of Home Affairs and they have given my wife until April 4 to remain in the country. As British passport holders, there should be no restrictions. Besides, we are both South Africans. In 1968 when my wife was due to leave the country with our two children, a day before their departure, her passport was withdrawn and she was given an exit visa," said Mr Kitson. He said that he and his wife would return to Harare by April 4, but "in the end we will return and settle here."

He said that his wife was last in Durban in 1972 and that he was last here in 1964. "We accepted the offer made by State President Mr F W de Klerk for exiles to return. We have been living in Harare and now we want to settle here, but we will just have to wait and see what happens," said Mr Kitson. He said that his wife's family lived in Durban and this is why they entered the country through this city.

Kitsons upset by visa restriction

SA gives exile only two weeks in country

Stc 28/3/90 330

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — An African National Congress exile, Mrs Norma Kitson (56), who returned home to Durban from Harare on Sunday, has been given until April 4 to leave the country.

Mrs Kitson and her husband, David (70), arrived at Louis Botha Airport on a direct flight from Harare on British passports.

There were no entry hitches involving Mr Kitson, who served 19 years and eight months in prison after being convicted for activities as a member of the High Command of Umkonto we Sizwe, the military wing of the ANC.

But Mrs Kitson was asked to wait.

Mr Kitson said that eventually the immigration authorities attended to his wife and told her they had to check with Pretoria.

"Now they have been able to contact the Department of Home Affairs and they have given my wife until April 4 to remain in the country.

"As British passport holders, there should be no restrictions. Besides we are both South Africans."

He said that he and his wife will return to Harare by April 4, but in the "end we will return and settle here," said Mr Kitson. He said that his

wife was last in Durban in 1972 and that he was last here in 1964.

"We accepted the offer made by Mr F W de Klerk, for exiles to return. We have been living in Harare, but now we want to settle here. We will just have to wait and see what happens."

He said his wife's family lived in Durban and this was why they entered the country through this city.

Mr Kitson said that neither he nor his wife had any bitterness and that he was involved in the liberation struggle under the ANC and that he accepted that he was a casualty in this battle.

'Procedure'

A spokesman for the Department of Home Affairs said that Mrs Kitson applied for permission to stay in South Africa until April 4.

"We granted her a temporary residence permit until then and if she wants to return, she must apply for a visa from Harare."

He said that his department did not have a list of returning ANC exiles and did not know whether Mrs Kitson was on it and that officials merely followed the procedure laid down.

Exile says SA is stalling his return

80/20/3/90
By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

330

Removal of your name from the list of banned people in this time of reconciliation is no safeguard against Government harassment.

Mr Terry Bell, a South African journalist who left the country more than 20 years ago after clashing with the security forces about his political beliefs, is finding it difficult to enter the country for his mother's 80th birthday next month.

Mr Bell, holder of an Irish passport, would under normal circumstances — that is, if there were no crosses behind his name in the Department of Home Affairs's books — not require a visa to return for a holiday or family visit.

When his name was removed from the Consolidated List on February 3, the day after the unbanning of the African National Congress, he believed he could have a trouble-free reunion with his family.

It was not to be. First, he was told by the South African embassy in London, where he lives, that he would require a visa. Second, he was asked to submit a resume of his work over the last 20 years — a task he believes will take months.

Mr Bell is the editor of Africa Analysis in London, and freelances for respected publications such as The Observer and The Guardian. Before leaving South Africa, he worked for The Star

and the Rand Daily Mail.

According to his brother, Mike, who lives in Johannesburg, Terry had been detained for 54 days in the early 1960s and had skipped the country soon after.

He said Terry was "very political" and had appeared on television in several countries. He had been banned in 1964.

The Department of Home Affairs said Mr Bell's application had been received at the South African embassy on March 13 and had reached Home Affairs a few days later.

"Normal processing of the application is currently taking place, and Mr Bell will be notified about the decision as soon as possible."

Exiles waiting for call to return

NGWERERE

About the time Nelson Mandela was going to jail 27 years ago, Lenford Ganyile was heading into exile - but not before losing most of an ear and all of his teeth during a 20-month stay in a South African jail.

The teeth, he says, were knocked out by a South African policeman's rifle butt. A bayonet sliced his ear.

Ganyile said he had been arrested for leading ANC protesters in the Pondoland region near

Mandela's Transkei home.

"We were fighting one of the worst devils on earth, the Bantu Authorities Act," he said, referring to the South African discriminatory laws.

After his release, he crossed into Botswana, then went to Zambia, where the ANC is based.

Ganyile, now 68, is one of thousands of South African exiles scattered worldwide whose lives have been transformed by State President FW de Klerk's decision to lift the 30-year ban on the ANC

and other political organizations, and to release Mandela from jail on February 11.

"I am waiting for Comrade Mandela to tell me what to do next," Ganyile said recently, using the honorific common among ANC members.

The ANC says most of its exiled members would now like to return home by the end of the year.

"It is a dream to me," said Ganyile, a veteran of the Pondo rebellion in the late 1950s when scores of blacks were killed in riots protesting against South Africa's racial laws.

He is now a respected father figure at the organisation's 3 000-ha farm in Zambia's fertile, well-watered Ngwerere district, about 40 km north of Lusaka. He has a wife and three children he left behind.

"In the early years I sent them letters but had no reply," he said. "I was afraid they would get into trouble so I stopped writing."

He would occasionally hear news of his wife from newly arrived exiles, but he later lost all contact.

"The struggle became my family," he said. "I saw my ear was not there and it reminded me always that I wanted all our

people to be free."

Ganyile used his experience as a peasant farmer to teach farming to fellow exiles. At Chongela farm in Ngwerere he is a member of the collective's management committee.

The collective grows vegetables and maize, and rears cattle, including a Simmental stud herd, sheep, pigs and ducks.

Donations

A dairy, a slaughterhouse, several workshops and a motor repair shop are partly financed by foreign donations.

Leslie Ponusamy, the farm manager, said the property - three adjoining farms owned by whites before Zambia's independence in 1964 - feeds up to 1 500 of the some 2 000 ANC exiles living in the country.

"We don't produce everything for a balanced diet. We sell the surplus of one thing to buy other things we need," said Ponusamy, an Indian-trained veterinarian and one-time student activist in Natal.

The collective also teaches practical skills to young exiles posted there for varying periods by the ANC headquarters in Lusaka.

"Most of our young people interrupted their education when they left home," he said.

Bunsee (48), who left South Africa in 1968, was confirmed as adviser to the Black Section of the British Labour Party at its annual general conference held in Liverpool, England, last the weekend. - Sapa.

CC
S.F.

Exiles waiting for call to return

NGWERERE

About the time Nelson Mandela was going to jail 27 years ago, Lenford Ganyile was heading into exile - but not before losing most of an ear and all of his teeth during a 20-month stay in a South African jail.

The teeth, he says, were knocked out by a South African policeman's rifle butt. A bayonet sliced his ear.

Ganyile said he had been arrested for leading ANC protesters in the Pondoland region near

Mandela's Transkei home.

"We were fighting one of the worst devils on earth, the Bantu Authorities Act," he said, referring to the South African discriminatory laws.

After his release, he crossed into Botswana, then went to Zambia, where the ANC is based.

Ganyile, now 68, is one of thousands of South African exiles scattered worldwide whose lives have been transformed by State President FW de Klerk's decision to lift the 30-year ban on the ANC

and other political organizations, and to release Mandela from jail on February 11.

"I am waiting for Comrade Mandela to tell me what to do next," Ganyile said recently, using the honorific common among ANC members.

The ANC says most of its exiled members would now like to return home by the end of the year.

"It is a dream to me," said Ganyile, a veteran of the Pondo rebellion in the late 1950s when scores of blacks were killed in riots protesting against South Africa's racial laws.

He is now a respected father figure at the organisation's 3 000-ha farm in Zambia's fertile, well-watered Ngwerere district, about 40 km north of Lusaka.

ber the wife and three children he left behind.

"In the early years I sent them letters but had no reply," he said. "I was afraid they would get into trouble so I stopped writing."

He would occasionally hear news of his wife from newly arrived exiles, but he later lost all contact.

"The struggle became my family," he said. "I saw my ear was not there and it reminded me always that I wanted all our

people to be free."

Ganyile used his experience as a peasant farmer to teach farming to fellow exiles. At Chongela farm in Ngwerere he is a member of the collective's management committee.

The collective grows vegetables and maize, and rears cattle, including a Simmental stud herd, sheep, pigs and ducks.

Donations

A dairy, a slaughterhouse, several workshops and a motor repair shop are partly financed by foreign donations.

Leslie Ponusamy, the farm manager, said the property - three adjoining farms owned by whites before Zambia's independence in 1964 - feeds up to 1 500 of the some 2 000 ANC exiles living in the country.

"We don't produce everything for a balanced diet. We sell the surplus of one thing to buy other things we need," said Ponusamy, an Indian-trained veterinarian and one-time student activist in Natal.

The collective also teaches practical skills to young exiles posted there for varying periods by the ANC headquarters in Lusaka.

"Most of our young people interrupted their education when they left home," he said.

**KEEP WARM THIS WINTER
- AND FOR YEARS TO
COME WITH A
CITATION LEATHER
GARMENT**

* Best Quality * Best Prices
* Laybys Accepted

Citation

Johannesburg

- * 80a President Street. Tel. 337-8280
- * Cor. Pritchard and Rissik Streets. Tel. 337-2460
- * Smal Street Mall (next to Johannesburg Sun). Tel. 23-9609

Bloemfontein

- * Upper Level, Middestad Sentrum. Tel. 47-7104

S 4500

ANC veterans join UCT staff

330

Sowetan 30/3/90

RAY Alexander and Jack Simmons, the first ANC exiles to return to SA, have taken up appointments at the University of Cape Town.

The two veteran activists have taken up visiting associateships with the Centre for African Studies.

They will be carrying out archival research.

Ray and Jack left South Africa in 1965 and

By NKOPANE
MAKOBANE

lived in England and Zambia.

Ray worked for the International Labour Organisation in Zambia from 1968 to 1970, when she retired.

Jack was first a research fellow at the University of Manchester and then Professor of Sociology at the University of Zambia.

Class 1/4/90 (330)

Exiled stars come back!

Makeba, Masekela to top the bill in huge Southern Africa bash

By ZB MOLEFE



Miriam Makeba . . . international star in exile.

INTERNATIONAL stars Miriam Makeba, Hugh Masekela and Kool and The Gang will appear at a massive concert in Southern Africa in May, a local promoter announced this week.

At the time of going to Press Morris Roda was tying the loose ends of the one-day 18-hour music extravaganza scheduled for May 5 in Botswana, Swaziland or Lesotho.

Also appearing with Makeba, Masekela and Kool and the Gang will be South African stars Sipho "HosiX" Mabuse, Brenda Fassie, Yvonne Chaka Chaka, Bayethe, Mzwakhe and Lesotho group Sankomota.

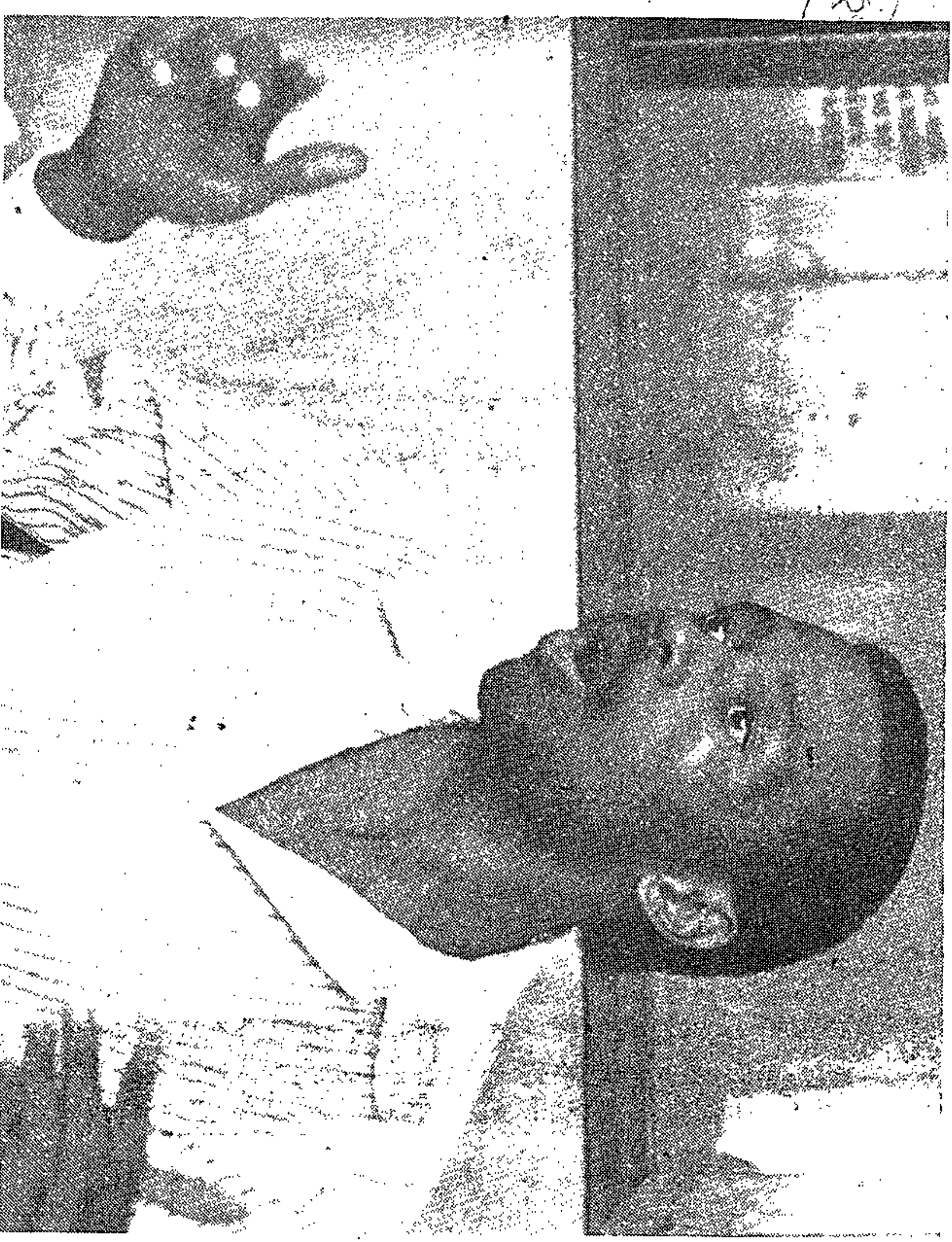
Roda, managing director of the promotion company which recently brought the Commodores on a three-week Southern Africa tour, also showed

City Press copies of contracts for the Makeba-Masekela concert.

"Already I have received tremendous support from the black community. Right now a number of people have been phoning and writing me letters of encouragement for my show," said Roda, who added the concert had the blessing of the ANC Cultural Desk.

"It is an honour for me personally to have been afforded the chance to promote the Makeba concert. Especially if you consider that suddenly there are many people out there gunning to bring her and people like Masekela home for concerts."

Roda, who first broke into serious show promoting in the Vaal 10 years ago with a Jazz Ministers concert, also pointed out that the idea of the Makeba-Masekela concert was driven by a desire to prove "that a black man can break into the showbiz big time with international acts".



Morris Roda . . . a personal honour to bring Makeba and Masekela to perform in Southern Africa.

attempt to end the violence and faction fighting between Inkath

Indemnity could ease negotiation obstacles

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — In a bold preemptive move, President de Klerk has announced far-reaching measures to indemnify people who have committed ordinary crimes in pursuit of political aims.

Mr de Klerk told Parliament yesterday that the move would promote constitutional reform. It was the Government's "desire finally to close the old books and start on a clean page".

He said that legislation would shortly be presented which would grant temporary indemnity from prosecution to people coming into the country to take part in discussions with the Government about obstacles to negotiation.

This was clearly aimed at ANC exiles intending to attend talks such as the postponed April 11 meeting.

The legislation would also empower him to grant permanent indemnity to persons or categories of persons who were guilty of common crime "in the process of conflict and pursuit of duty".

The move has been seen as a major step towards general amnesty, going a long way towards meeting one of the ANC's main conditions for negotiation — the release of political prisoners and return of exiles.

It has been hailed as a strategic

victory by the Government over the ANC — especially now that the ANC has called off the scheduled April 11 meeting with the Government.

Senior Government sources confirmed that the aim was to remove one of the obstacles to negotiation even before it came up for discussion.

The temporary indemnity would apply immediately while the permanent indemnity would only apply when the legislation had been passed.

Mr de Klerk said that as soon as the Government had decided to grant permanent indemnity to unsentenced individuals, a basis would have to be found for dealing with people already sentenced for security-related crimes.

Government sources said that these people would be dealt with under existing legislation dealing with remission of sentences.

Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee would table the new legislation shortly.

Democratic Party co-leader Dr Denis Worrall said the DP welcomed the indemnity moves.

Conservative Party law and order spokesman Mr Moolman Mentz said it was "completely unacceptable that the persons responsible for giving the orders which led to gruesome crimes — such as the Pretoria bomb — will now be indemnified from prosecution".

Govt moves to allow 'wanted' ANC men into SA for talks

MIKE ROBERTSON

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk yesterday announced new incentives for organisations such as the ANC to enter negotiations.

He said government had decided to table legislation providing temporary indemnity from prosecution and civil action to people involved in negotiations. Such indemnity would apply only to brief visits.

At a later stage, further legislation would empower him to provide permanent indemnity to people or groups who could be found guilty of common law or statutory offences.

De Klerk said as soon as it had been decided to grant permanent indemnity to unsentenced individuals a basis would be found for freeing those already sentenced for security-related crimes.

"It is our desire finally to close the old books and start on a clean page. Those who on the one hand still persist with such worn-out rhetoric as... 'the armed struggle continues' and other clichés, and on the other hand those who insist on continued domination, must realise we are deadly se-

rious about building the new SA without brutality and without unrest."

He had instructed government officials to keep in contact with the ANC in the hope of securing a new date for a meeting between the organisation and government, following the cancellation of the planned April 11 talks by the ANC.

De Klerk said after agreement had been reached for the ANC-government meeting a steering committee of state officials and internal and external ANC representatives had been set up.

This committee had finalised details for

the arrival of the ANC delegation and for the meeting itself. The ANC's problems relating to the Sebokeng shootings could have been addressed through the committee, he said.

Sapa reports Mandela arrived in Durban yesterday to tour unrest areas and, within minutes of arriving, telephoned Constitutional Planning Minister Gerrit Viljoen from the airport inquiries desk. During a short but amiable exchange, they arranged a meeting between De Klerk and Mandela on Thursday at 4pm.

'Carrot and stick'



President F W de Klerk

CMF 7/14/90
3/14/90
330

crackdown

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk yesterday declared a "carrot and stick" crackdown on the violence sweeping the country.

While making it clear that the full weight of the security forces is to be deployed, he also provided fresh incentives to opposition groups for participation in negotiations.

Mr De Klerk announced:
● An urgent four-point action plan to deploy both police and troops to clamp down on unrest and lawlessness in Natal and the rest of the country.
● A conciliatory package aimed at boosting negotiations by granting temporary indemnity to all exiles involved in talks with the government, as well as legislation allowing for permanent indemnity for certain categories of exiles and convicted security prisoners.

Addressing a joint session of Parliament, Mr De Klerk criticised the ANC's "hesitancy to fully align themselves with the negotiation process" but emphasised that "my door remains open". Government officials had been instructed to keep in contact with ANC members and report to the

Politics mauls the share market

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Stock Exchange was yesterday mauled by a combination of bearish factors, with sentiment being hardest hit by the ANC's cancellation of talks with Inkatha and President F W de Klerk.

News that the talks had been called off resulted in a wave of selling of SA shares from London. Then the second largest one-day fall of 6.6% on the Tokyo stock market caused a ripple of nervousness on the JSE.

The third negative factor in a depressing session of trading was the failure of the gold price to penetrate the \$370 level. The metal closed unchanged in London from Friday's 1989 after trading in a narrow band in feature-

the Kruggerand's premium of almost 21% on the rand gold price.

The Kruggerand closed R3 lower at R1 187. Analysts said the differential with the rand gold price of R893 was high in historical terms and indicated uncertainty and unease at the current situation in SA.

The 5.2% (103-point) plunge in the JSE all gold index to 1 857 was seen as a belated reaction to last week's slump in the price of the metal to five-month lows.

Dealers said gold shares were now at more realistic levels after showing remarkable resilience last week when share prices recovered almost all of their initial losses by the weekend in the hope that the metal would at least recoup part of its 1985 loss.

Filly fetches R425 000

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Mrs Bridget Oppenheimer paid the second-highest price for a yearling sold at auction in SA at last night's Top Sport National Yearling sales near Germiston.

Mrs Oppenheimer paid R425 000 for the El-lidior filly Fairy Garden, consigned by Oaklands stud.

The highest price for a yearling is R510 000 paid for Mr Hawaii in 1987.

Chimney's fall in UK quake

LONDON. — The biggest earthquake in Britain in

CMT 7m/5
3/4/90 330

crack

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk yesterday declared a "carrot and stick" crack-down on the violence sweeping the country.

While making it clear that the full weight of the security forces is to be deployed, he also provided fresh incentives to opposition groups for participation in negotiations.

Mr De Klerk announced:

- An urgent four-point action plan to deploy both police and troops to clamp down on unrest and lawlessness in Natal and the rest of the country.

- A conciliatory package aimed at boosting negotiations by granting temporary indemnity to all exiles involved in talks with the government, as well as legislation allowing for permanent indemnity for certain categories of exiles and convicted security prisoners.

Addressing a joint session of Parliament, Mr De Klerk criticised the ANC's "hesitancy to fully align themselves with the negotiation process" but emphasised that "my door remains open".

Government officials had been instructed to keep in contact with ANC members and report to the president on developments on the negotiation front, and he hoped the ANC "will find it possible to join those already talking".

Mr De Klerk also confirmed that arrangements had been made for a meeting later this week with Mr Nelson Mandela.

'Deadly serious'

The ANC deputy president said yesterday that the meeting would take place on Thursday — the same day Mr De Klerk will be meeting for talks about a new constitution with the leaders of the non-independent homelands and senior tricameral politicians.

Announcing the security crackdown, Mr De Klerk said South Africans who still believed in armed struggle and continued domination "must realise that we are deadly serious about building a new South Africa without brutality and without unrest".

The government had decided on "urgent steps" on four levels:

- Nationally, the police and the defence force had received instructions to without delay act firmly against incidents of unrest and violence.

This would include a greater visual presence of security forces, road-blocks, the patrolling of roads and areas with vehicles and aircraft and the stricter application of the law against "criminals, intimidation and unrest".

"Everyone must understand that these decisions can lead to an increase in the number of people detained," he warned.

In Natal, where Mr De Klerk described the destruction of life and property as "really shocking", conditions necessitated the use of the Defence Force "over a broad front and in great numbers".

The "co-ordinated security plan" for the province — implemented as of yesterday — included stepped-up police and troop action and the setting up of extra courts.

- Mr De Klerk, however, cautioned that the causes of the unrest were multi-faceted and that solutions would not be found overnight. There would thus be a special attempt to channel funds to alleviate immediately some of the socio-economic factors contributing to the conflict in the area.

- In the non-independent homelands, where "unacceptable unrest and violence is widespread", urgent investigations had been launched into security needs and steps had been implemented to stabilise the situation.

- In the case of the "independent" homelands, the SA government was in touch with the governments of the TBVC territories on ways to curb the unrest and violence in these areas.

Mr De Klerk said the steps were designed to

JOHAN
was ye
bearish
hit by
Inkath

New
results
London
of 6.6%
ripple

The
session
price
closed
\$369 a
less c

The
4% or
weaker
failed
prices

"Ma
terday
of the

Ana
ment
the s
intern

Mu
tur

HOL
age
ties"
pizz
dwell
half-
reco
box

Tu
box
radi
pass
Red
the
non-
end
hist

M
We

LIS
zam
day
ern
to
war
rea
pla

"
tak
Mr
bo
th

From page 1

"normalise" the security situation as speedily as possible and to "neutralise" those with revolutionary and radical agendas bent on creating violent conflict, unlawful mass actions, the breaking of laws and the ignoring of citizens' rights.

The measures were also aimed at preventing the development of "fifth columns" underground and at removing elements intent on ignoring the generally accepted "rules of the game".

The government was also determined to crack down on "the tendency by groups and organisations to take the law into their own hands".

However, Mr De Klerk emphasised that he did not want to restrict his announcements to stricter security measures which "should never become an end in itself".

The government's chief aim remained the creation of a new dispensation through negotiation.

"It is our desire to finally close the old books and start on a clean page," he said.

"To promote the peaceful process of constitutional renewal, the government has decided to table certain preparatory legislation which will create those very mechanisms essential to a fresh start."

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, would "shortly" table a Bill in Parliament which would "support the search for peaceful solutions" by:

- Empowering the government to lend temporary indemnity against prosecution or institution of civil proceedings, against, among others, "those who presently might be outside the country and who might be delegated to take part in discussions with the government on the elimination of any obstacles that might exist (to negotiations)".

Such indemnity would "obviously" only apply to "brief visits and discussions".

- Empowering the president to grant indemnity on a permanent basis to "persons or categories of persons who, in the process of conflict and the pursuit of duty, could perhaps have been guilty of some or other common law or statutory offence".

The legislation was not aimed at specific organisations only and the permanent indemnity would apply only after the relevant legislation had been accepted by Parliament and promulgated.

Mr De Klerk added: "Obviously, blanket indemnity is not being considered and it will only be possible to grant indemnity in terms of a policy yet to be determined."

He noted that there were also still "several hundred" people in detention who had been sentenced for security-related crimes.

"As soon as it has been decided to grant permanent indemnity to unsentenced individuals, a basis will naturally have to be found for dealing with people who have been sentenced."

Mr De Klerk said these steps were aimed at creating a favourable climate for negotiation, but warned that "at the same time there should be no doubt that violence, disorder and chaos will not be tolerated".

'Pretoria cheated me,' claims Bob Denard

AKCWS 3/4/90

330

The Argus Foreign Service

PARIS. — French mercenary Colonel Bob Denard is claiming that South Africa did not keep its promises to pay him over R10-million when he left the Comoros.

"Their promises were a set-up. I was cheated," he said in a telephone call from his residence in South Africa to another French mercenary here.

He is Patrick Ollivier, whose book "Soldats de Fortune" (Soldiers of Fortune) is to be published this week.

He told the Sunday newspaper "Journal du Dimanche" that: "Denard telephoned me from Pretoria 10 days ago and said that he has been cheated out of a huge sum of money."

Colonel Denard claimed he had made a deal with Pretoria and the French ambassador in Moroni under which the former

promised to pay 30-million francs and latter 5 000 000 francs to Colonel Denard and his men if they withdrew from the Indian Ocean republic.

The French paid 2 000 000 francs for his 30 mercenaries, equivalent to four months salary each, but Pretoria never paid its share to Colonel Denard.

Mr Ollivier explained that Pretoria considered that it had done enough for Colonel Denard in permitting him to leave Comoros "with dignity," and had no intention of giving him a cent.

Colonel Denard ended his telephone conversation with the words: "I've been had, but I shall make a comeback."

Colonel Denard, who is 62, is the main suspect in the assassination last year of President Abdallah of Comoros.

Government bars UWC's vice-rector

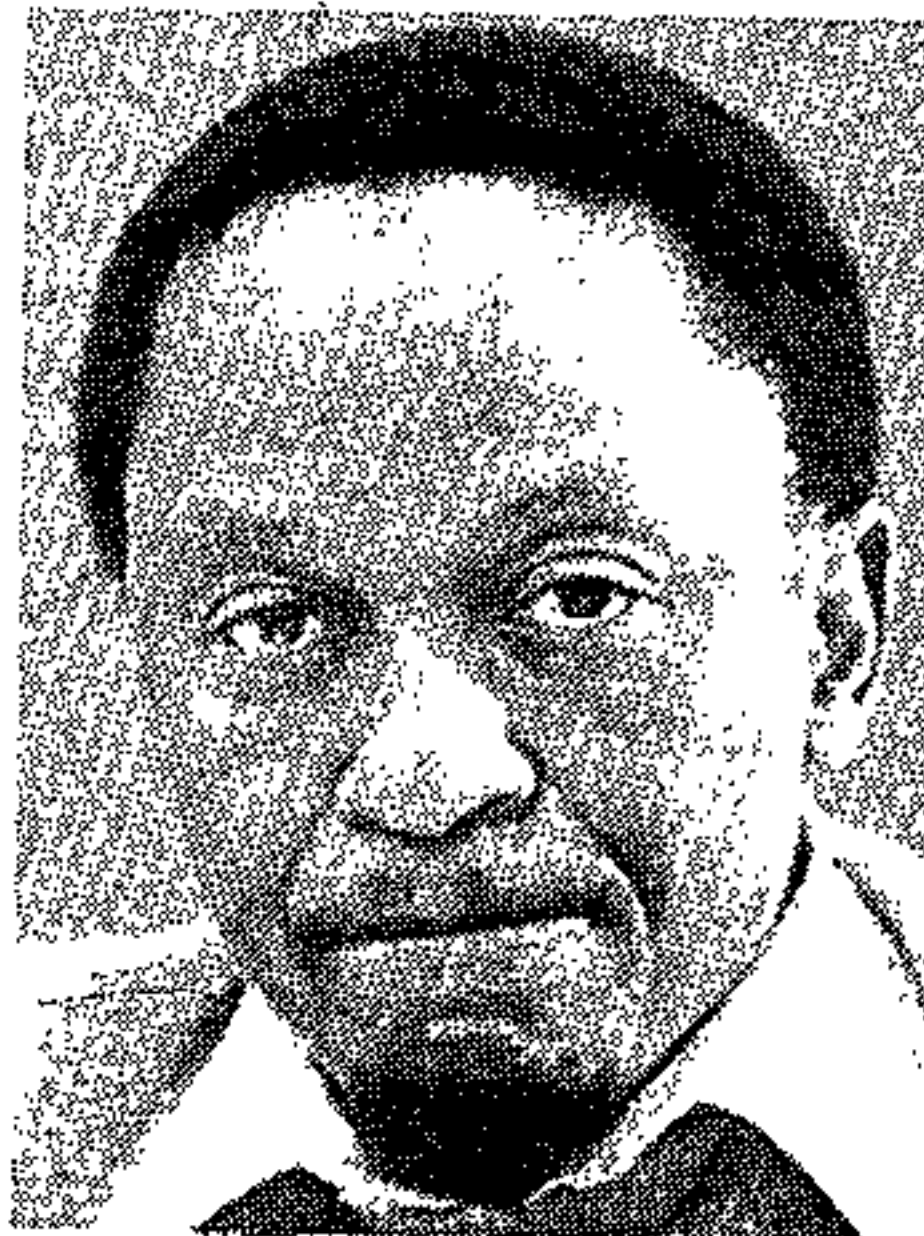
THE University of the Western Cape has reacted with anger to a shock government ruling blocking a distinguished academic from taking up a post as vice-rector at the campus.

Home Affairs spokesperson Mr Hennie van Heerden confirmed on Wednesday that vice-rector designate, Professor Njabulo Ndebele, had been refused a permit to work in South Africa. He refused to divulge the reasons or elaborate on the decision.

South African-born Ndebele, now a citizen of Lesotho, is presently pro-vice chancellor of the National University of Lesotho.

Ndebele, also national president of the Congress of South African Writers, was prevented from taking up his post at UWC in January this year because of a government delay in granting a work permit.

UWC rector, Professor Jakes Gerwel reacted with anger this week to the government ruling, saying that he had written an urgent letter to Minister of Home Affairs Gene Louw, asking for an urgent meeting.



Professor Ndebele

"Prof Ndebele is one of the most highly esteemed intellectuals in Southern Africa and we were really not anticipating that in the present political climate a person of his stature would be refused a work permit. South 4/4-10/4/90

"We must register our deepest concern at what this means for openness and negotiations towards a peaceful and prosperous South Africa," said Gerwel.

A renowned literary figure, Ndebele is author of the book, "Fools And Other Stories".

Ndebele said on Tuesday that he was not able to comment as he had not been officially notified of the situation by the university.

CAPE Town's snook and world-renowned red wine are what Reg September, the ANC NEC member and head of its department of political education, misses most about the mother city.

Despite being in exile for

ANC's Reg September longs for Cape snook

close on 30 years, September — a stalwart of the Coloured Peoples' Congress (CPC) — always knew he would return home. He is

tipped to join the ANC leadership on his return.

Even before the ANC was unbanned, September asked a Cape Town city councillor who was visiting Lusaka to make enquiries whether his home in Kenilworth Road, upper Wynberg, was still there.

September's wife, Hettie, said: "Reg still thinks our house will still be there and we will be able to live there."

Mozambique was still under colonial rule at the same time.

They returned surreptitiously to Johannesburg before leaving through Botswana to help set up the ANC's exiled mission.

Overwhelmed

When September saw the multitudes of people who had saturated the Grand Parade to welcome Mandela, he was overwhelmed with emotion.

"We will have to develop and harness those people

into organised sectors of the ANC — into branches, street committees and what have you," said September.

"Our movement has grown. In those days there weren't so many people."

He was the ANC's Western Europe representative in 1968.

In 1969, when the ANC officially opened membership to all races at the Morogoro Conference, September was elected onto the NEC for the first time. In the 1970s, he helped build the British Anti-Apartheid Movement while based in London.

Re-elected to the NEC at the ANC's 1985 consultative conference, September is also the head of the department of political education and is presently based in Lusaka.

September was born in Kenilworth in 1923 and attended Trafalgar High School.

He left South Africa in 1963, and has been in exile ever since.

E Cape ANC regional exec named

PORT ELIZABETH — The 14-member ANC regional executive committee will be headed by the president of the newly-formed Association of Former Political Prisoners, Mr Benson Fihla, who spent many years on Robben Island for ANC activities. *South 44-10/490*

The REC includes prominent trade unionists and activists from civic, youth and political structures.

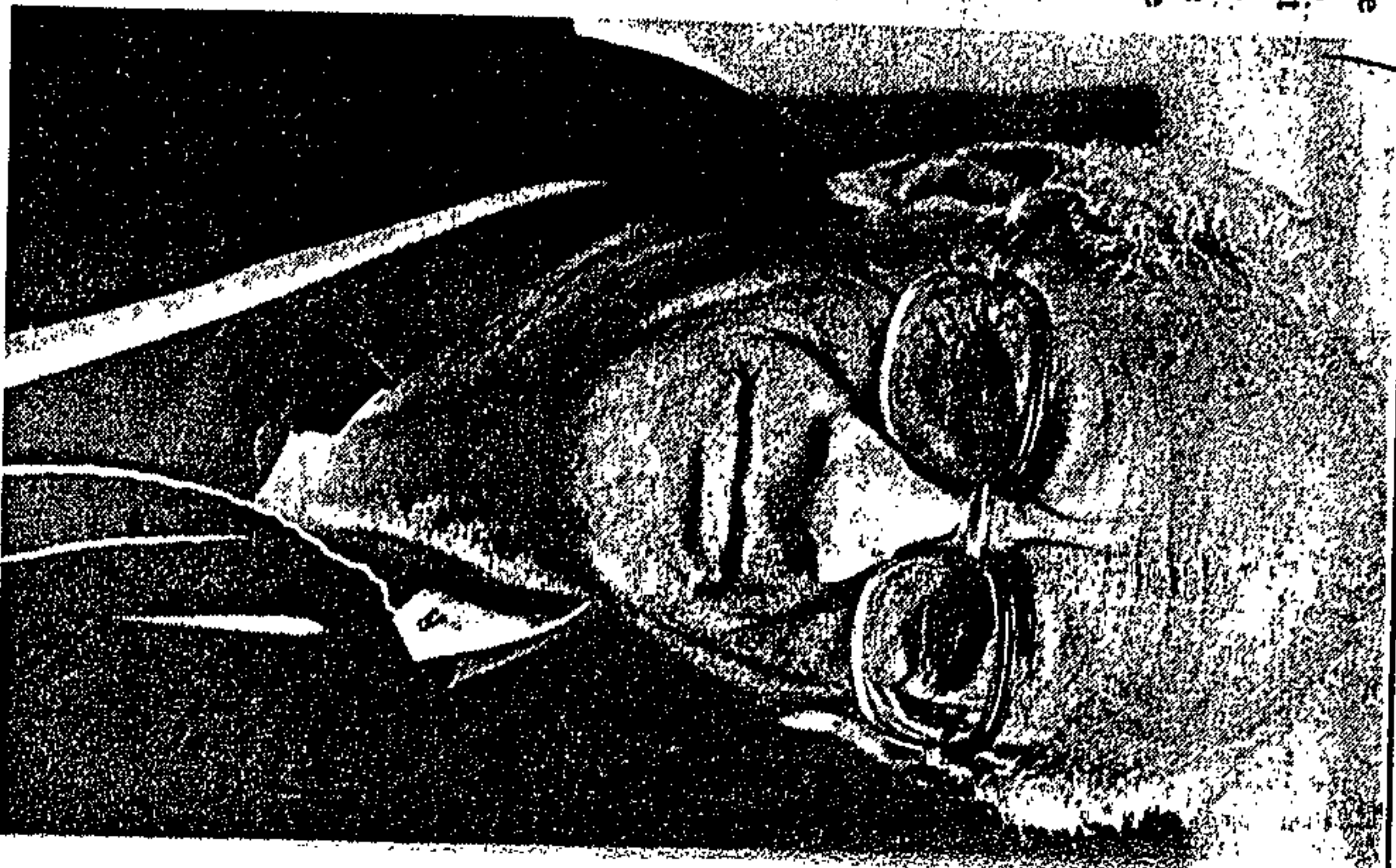
Other ANC regional members include Cosatu's second vice-president, Mr John Gomomo, UDF regional president, Mr Edgar Ngoyi, UDF regional general secretary, Mr Gugile Nkwinti, Port Elizabeth Youth Congress (Peyco) executive member, Mr Mike Xego, former UDF Natal president, Reverend Mncebisi Xundu, Rhodes University staff member, Ms Marian Lacey, Pecco member, Mr Ernest Malgas, Mr Neela Hoosein, Mr Silus Mthongana, Uitenhage Women's Organisation member, Ms Nozizwe Mabizela, Mr Ronald Ntegaard, and Mr Mbulelo Goniwe, the brother of slain activist, Mr Matthew Goniwe. — PEN

Old friends

September always wants to meet old friends.

"Oscar Wollheim — he was a good teacher. I haven't received a letter from him for some time. I wonder whether he is still alive."

"Then there are people such as Cheryl Carolus and Trevor Manuel (both of whom are on the UDF Western Cape executive).



Reggie September

Cabinet vetoes work permit for UWC professor

Cape Times 5/4/90

330

Political Staff

THE decision to refuse a work permit for the vice-rector designate of the University of Western Cape, Professor Njabulo Ndebele, was taken at cabinet level, a spokesman for the Ministry of Home Affairs confirmed yesterday.

The matter was "well considered", the spokesman said.

"He is a citizen of Lesotho.

"However, his ability to fill the post of vice-rector was at no stage in question," he added.

Professor Ndebele, 42, is at present deputy vice-chancellor of the National University of Lesotho and the national president of the Congress of South African Writers.

He told the Cape Times last night that he was not prepared to comment on the matter at this stage.

The Rector of UWC, Professor Jakes Gerwel, said yesterday that the decision not to grant Professor Ndebele a

work permit was taken at cabinet level.

This was confirmed as "accurate" by the Home Affairs spokesman.

Professor Gerwel said UWC planned to leave no stone unturned in its bid to obtain a work permit for Professor Ndebele.

"As a first step we have written a letter to Home Affairs Minister Gene Louw asking for an urgent meeting. We will plan further steps after that meeting."

The ministry spokesman confirmed that the letter had been received, but as Mr Louw had been out of office, he had not been able to study it "but he will consider it".

In his statement, Professor Gerwel said: "Professor Ndebele is one of the most highly esteemed intellectuals in Southern Africa, and we were really not anticipating that in the present climate a person of his stature would be refused a work permit."

No permit for UWC vice-rector

CAPE TOWN — Vice-rector-designate of the University of the Western Cape Prof Njabulo Ndebele has been unable to take up his post because government has refused to grant him a work permit, the university said yesterday.

Ndebele, 42, is presently pro-Vice-Chancellor of the National University of Lesotho and the national president of the Congress of SA Writers.

UWC rector Prof Jakes Gerwel said the decision not to grant Ndebele a work permit was taken at Cabinet level. He was informed of the decision on Monday.

A Home Affairs spokesman confirmed this yesterday, saying the move was "well considered".

"He is a citizen of Lesotho. However, his ability to fill the post of vice-rector was at no stage in question," he added.

Gerwel said he was informed of the decision on Monday by an official from

the Home Affairs Department.

UWC planned to leave no stone unturned in its bid to obtain a work permit for Ndebele, he said.

"As a first step we have written a letter to Home Affairs Minister Gene Louw asking for an urgent meeting. We will plan further steps after that meeting."

The spokesman confirmed that the department had received the letter, but as Louw had been out of the office, he had not been able to study it, "but he will consider it".

In his statement, Gerwel said: "Prof Ndebele is one of the most highly esteemed intellectuals in southern Africa, and we were really not anticipating that in the present climate a person of his stature would be refused a work permit."

Own Correspondent

'OR' will return once his flock is safe

THE man who is accredited with single-handedly building up the external wing of the ANC - the president of the movement, Oliver Reginald Tambo - will be the last of the exiles to return to South Africa.

Tambo, who has spent 30 years in exile, is expected to make his comeback in December and hand over to his deputy president Nelson Mandela at the ANC's first legal conference in South Africa. That will happen only if his "flock" are safely back in the country by then, sources close to him say.

But it's thought unlikely that Tambo (72), who has been a leader of the ANC for so long, will return to full-time political life.

Since he suffered a stroke last August, his health and movements have been among the ANC's most closely guarded secrets. The stroke is blamed on the overload of work on drawing up the Harare Declaration - his brainchild and the ANC's blueprint on negotiations - and an exhaustive trip around Africa to get it accepted by the OAU.

Cordon

For the four months "O R" has spent recovering from a brain spasm in a clinic south of Stockholm a virtually impenetrable cordon has been thrown around him.

ANC president Oliver Tambo is expected back in South Africa in December and will hand over to his deputy president Nelson Mandela at the organisation's first legal conference in South Africa. SARAH CROWE of the Sowetan Foreign Service reports from Stockholm.

In that time much of what he has dedicated his life abroad to has taken place - his organisation has been legalised, his closest allies, Walter Sisulu and Nelson Mandela, have been released from life imprisonment, the old triumvirate is back on top and negotiations between the ANC and the South African Government no longer seem unrealistic.

In all this not a word has been heard or read from the ANC president. That's the way the movement - and the man - want it.

Typical

"It's typical of him. He's a man of immeasurable modesty, always putting others above himself. He's always turned down awards in favour of Nelson (Mandela) and he wants him now to take over the leadership," said a friend.

In February Tambo tried to hand over the reins to Mandela and sent London representative Mendi Msimeng to Lusaka to relay his wishes. But the national executive committee voted: "Tambo for president" - again.

The ANC has gone to great pains to make sure that its president is as well as a stroke-victim

could be expected to be before he is put under the strain of public scrutiny.

The chief representative to Sweden, Billy Modise, zealously guards Tambo like an angry bear with its cubs. Armed guerillas from Umkonto we Sizwe - including one who once trained a latter-day budding boxer, Nelson Mandela - are at his side around the clock. A full-time Swedish guard is posted in the corridor outside his small private ward and the Swedish police patrol the area around the clinic regularly.

Even the constant stream of flowers and well wishes from foreign embassies and individuals

is carefully scrutinised by the ANC office before being passed on.

His recovery is said to be impressive. Photographs and recent BBC TV footage (shot by the ANC) of his meeting with Mandela seem to back that up. Members of delegations from South Africa have been well pleased with his state of health and have taken instructions from him as though nothing had happened.

Progress

Tambo's son, Dali (33), said: "It's been tremendous to see the quiet victories he's achieved - getting back

his speech and then his old eloquence, and walking again. He's really come far."

During his time in Sweden, Tambo has overcome the paralysis of his left side with the help of physiotherapy and the country's top neurologist.

A "clean-living" man who used to be known as "The Christian" and has never drunk or smoked, Tambo is kept on a strict, meatless diet. He's a slimmer man now and his sideburns have been re-

placed by a soft greying beard.

The ANC leader is apparently more involved in day-to-day politics than might be expected. He gets daily briefings and faxes and is in constant contact with Mandela and Sisulu in particular and also the national executive committee in Lusaka. Away from politics Tambo dabbles in watercolours, goes for walks and listens to classical and South African choral music.



OLIVER TAMBO

Teachers in unity pledge

WESTERN Cape teachers resolved at a mass meeting on Wednesday night to build teacher unity and fight against poor working conditions and victimisation of teachers.

Mr Dullah Omar of the ANC's Internal Leadership Core who chaired the meeting, said the ANC regarded the building of unity in action as a "prerequisite" and an "important facilitator" for liberation in South Africa. *South 1114-1814190*

"Headquarters asked that I convey to you the good wishes of the movement and urges that unity be accomplished without further delay," he said.

Cosatu's national education officer,

Mr Chris Scoposengwe, criticised the poor attendance at the meeting. Fewer than 300 teachers were present.

He said Cosatu was formed after four years of discussion. Teacher unity was being discussed for almost three years already.

National Education Union of South Africa president, Mr Curtis Nkondo, said teachers had been silent for more than 40 years.

"The time has come for us to form a national teachers' union which will work with Cosatu, the UDF and other political organisations," Nkondo said.

arresting people. They were charged with attending an illegal gathering and released on R50 bail the next day.

Determined

Olifant said residents decided at a meeting on Friday to continue the consumer boycott until they received a "decent" response from the municipality.

Two people were arrested in Robertson this week when the community took to the streets to protest against the municipality's response to their demands handed to the mayor at a protest march on March 24.

Ignatius Davids was arrested on a charge of assaulting a police officer on Monday night and Chris Adams, 18 was arrested on Tuesday night on charges of arson.

Barred UWC man speaks out

South 1114-1814190
BARRED UWC vice-rector-designate, Professor Njabulo Ndebele cannot understand the government's refusal to grant him a work permit in view of the changing political situation in South Africa.

The refusal by the Department of Home Affairs to grant a work permit to the exiled Ndebele to take up his UWC post will be discussed at a meeting between home affairs minister, Mr Gene Louw, and Professor Jakes Gerwel, rector of the university, this week.

Speaking from his home in Roma, Lesotho, Ndebele said he found it difficult to understand the government's decision.

"Within the context of Nelson Mandela's release, the unbanning of political parties and attempts to normalise the political situation, it is somewhat difficult to understand why they should refuse me a work permit at this point," he said.

"On the one hand, the government is still uncertain about how far they really need to go. I don't think that granting a work permit for a vice-rector at UWC is more significant than the release of Mandela.

"If the government went that far, I don't see why they can't take a lesser step."

When asked whether he thought the

refusal had anything to do with his changing his South African citizenship, he said it was a technicality.

Explaining the reasons for revoking his citizenship, Ndebele said: "Apartheid itself was ultimately the reason I left."

Ndebele, who is an internationally-respected literary critic and author, said he had been compelled to take up citizenship of another country to pursue his career.

A spokesperson for the department of home affairs said "no further comment" would be made on the reasons for the refusal until after the meeting with Professor Gerwel.

330

THE Cape Town Press Club has applied to the Director-General of Home Affairs for permission to allow senior African National Congress member Mr Thabo Mbeki into the country.

ANC Director of Information, Mbeki, is due to arrive in Cape Town tomorrow and will speak at a Cape Town Press Club lunch the following day.

He was originally due to have travelled to South Africa with other ANC members based in Lusaka for talks with the Government today.

The ANC suspended the talks in protest against police shootings in Sebokeng.

However, the talks are on again after a meeting between President FW de Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela last week.

Had the ANC not suspended today's talks, Mbeki and other exiles would have been indemnified from prosecution.

There are fears in ANC circles that Mbeki could be arrested if he arrives in Cape Town today.

Cape move to protect Mbeki

Cape Town Press Club chairman Mr Alan Duggan said yesterday he had applied to the Director-General of Home Affairs, Mr P M

Kotze, for permission to allow Mbeki into South Africa.

"I'm optimistic that he's coming," Duggan said.

RABIE NEW INFORMATION CENTRE

Golden Walk Shopping Centre
GERMISTON Entrance No. 3
Conrad Marjorie (011) 456-2710

rabie



PROPERTY
DEVELOPERS

EASTER SPECIAL

SA/LIAT A

ANC 'mutineers' want to return

9/19/88 15/4/90

330

SEVEN former South African guerrillas who claim they were tortured by ANC commanders as mutineers said yesterday they were anxious to return home after seeking sanctuary in Kenya earlier this year.

"We're still waiting for word when we can go," said Luvo Mbengo, 28, one of the ANC recruits. "But we still don't know what our future is."

The seven, aged between 28 and 33, also say they fear for the fate of 100 to 120 fellow ANC dissidents being held against their will at guerrilla training camps in Angola and at Mbarara, south-west Uganda.

The seven dissidents seeking passage home were attached to the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe

(MK), in Angola after being trained in East Germany and the Soviet Union in the early 1980s.

They said they mutinied against their leaders in 1984, were held in detention centres and Angolan prisons for years and then moved to a Dakwa camp in Tanzania, Kenya's southern neighbour, after being freed on "humanitarian" grounds.

They said they left MK in Tanzania last December and fled to Nairobi. The ANC says they were "isolated" for four years after a rebellion against guerrilla commanders, but were pardoned and freed in 1988.

The exiles say they were detained and tortured along with other dissidents at two punishment camps in Angola known as Pango and Quatro.

They told reporters they were tied to trees and flogged with whips, locked in metal transport containers that were left out in the searing sun and were beaten and kicked by ANC commanders and their jailers.

Mbengo said that after he tried to escape from his captors in Angola he was punished by having melted plastic sheeting dripped on to his body. He carries these scars along with wounds from bird-shot fired by South African police during demonstrations in South Africa in 1987.

Amos Maxongo, a former student who left for guerrilla training in 1977, said the recruits directly accused MK commander Chris Hani of murdering dissident fighters in Angola.

They also alleged that Hani and other guerrilla chiefs were involved in smuggling stolen cars from South Africa and diamonds from Angola.

Most of their criticism was directed at MK's special security section called Mbokondo (the rock that crushes) which allegedly committed most abuses, including torture.

- Sapa.

Mandela to plead with exiles to return home

16/4/90 The Star Bureau

330

LONDON — Mr Nelson Mandela is to appeal to ANC exiles — black and white — now living in Britain to return home.

The exodus would include about 1 000 members of the ANC and their families, and is likely to be followed by the return of hundreds of whites who fled South Africa, many to avoid conscription.

Mr Mandela, who arrived in London yesterday with his wife, Winnie, for a pop concert at Wembley Stadium tonight, is to hold a series of private meetings with ANC members over the next two days. He is likely to call for an "orderly return".

The movement has already decided, in principle, that its members should go back to South Africa. But although black leaders want their colleagues to participate in the

political struggle at home, they want to avoid the burden of a mass arrival on local activists already working in the townships.

Mr Pallo Jordan, the ANC's secretary for information, said: "The return must be organised. They can go once proper arrangements for work have been made. We do not want our people ending up in 'refugee camps'. White war-resisters are considering chartering a jet aircraft to support Mr Mandela's call."

● It was reported at the weekend that on the eve of Mr Mandela's visit to Britain, Downing Street had tried to arrange a meeting between him and Mrs Thatcher.

It was claimed that Mrs Thatcher, who returned home on Saturday from a summit with US President Mr George Bush, was prepared to break her weekend work schedule at Chequers for talks.

But ANC spokesmen have insisted that Mr Mandela will have no public engagements other than the pop concert.

The Sunday Correspondent said in an editorial that Mr Mandela should see the Prime Minister on this visit.

"In Britain briefly, he should see those who wish to see him, including the Prime Minister. He is not vulnerable to manipulation, or the cynical exploitation, political or commercial, of those older and less idealistic than the thousands at the concert.

"So far he has been statesmanlike and conciliatory. He has saved the negotiations with Mr de Klerk. He has made moves to bring together dissonant groupings. It remains to be seen how he will handle the 'other' ANC leadership when it returns home".



Mr Mzwandile Cecil Hoyi

PAC man's documents confiscated

By Kaizer Nyatumba

A former member of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) who returned to South Africa late last year fears he might be deported with his Kenyan wife and two children.

Mr Mzwandile Cecil Hoyi (40), who left the country soon after the Soweto riots in 1976, said security officials were reluctant to return the family's World Authorities Service passports, which were confiscated when he and his family re-entered South Africa from Botswana at Zeerust.

Mr Hoyi told The Star local security officers had advised him to return to Botswana and make arrangements from there to return to South Africa.

"We came back home peacefully and did not infiltrate the country, now I don't know why we are being treated like this," he said.

Mr Hoyi said after a month-long security interrogation in Zeerust on his return last year, he was made to fill in an application form for a new identity document and was told the passports would be sent to him.

A spokesman for the SAP in Pretoria, Lieutenant-Colonel D van Rooyen, confirmed Mr Hoyi's story, saying "his facts are basically correct". He said the security police had interrogated him in the hope that he had information about PAC operations in the country.

"We are not interested in him any more. It would seem his problem is that of citizenship, because his wife and children are Kenyan. That is a Home Affairs issue."

At the time of going to press, Colonel van Rooyen was still trying to trace the passports.

ed the main road... a and the Zim- ing colds themselves, the time well, but physically exhaust... distance away... Picture by Reuter.

3 exiled ANC leaders to return this month

Star 18/4/90 (330)
The Star's Africa News Service
LUSAKA — The first three of the African National Congress's leaders in exile will move to South Africa permanently within the next two weeks, sources here say.
The three — Mr Henry Makgoti, Mr Steve Tshwete and Mr Reginald September — are expected to leave Lusaka ahead of the ANC delegation selected for the three-day "talks about talks" with President de Klerk, starting in Cape Town on May 2.
Their job will be to expand the organisation's internal structure.

They are likely to be based in Johannesburg to begin with.
Mr Makgoti (63), is deputy secretary-general of the ANC and head of its national secretariat. Mr Tshwete (49), is co-ordinator of the internal political committee and a member of the military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.
Mr September (65), is secretary of the ANC's department of political education and a member of the political-military council and the national working committee.
Mr Tshwete has been in exile since 1985, the other two considerably longer.

US protest over kwaZulu 'poisoning'

Star 18/4/90
The Star Bureau
NEW YORK — Environmental protest groups demonstrated outside the American headquarters of Thor Chemicals at Norwalk, Connecticut, yesterday, accusing the company of environmental racism by threatening the health of rural populations in kwaZulu

by poisoning a river with dangerous chemicals.
The demonstration was organised by the international environmental protection group, Greenpeace, to coincide with what its organisers said was a larger protest at the company's mercury reprocessing plant in Cato Ridge, Natal.

and the second pilot was seriously injured when aircraft on a busy autobahn, where it was rammed by an oncoming car. About five people were slightly injured on the ground.

● Picture by Reuter.

3 exiled ANC leaders to return this month

The Star's Africa News Service

LUSAKA — The first three of the African National Congress's leaders in exile will move to South Africa permanently within the next two weeks, sources here say.

The three — Mr Henry Makgoti, Mr Steve Tshwete and Mr Reginald September — are expected to leave Lusaka ahead of the ANC delegation selected for the three-day "talks about talks" with President de Klerk, starting in Cape Town on May 2.

Their job will be to expand the organisation's internal structure.

They are likely to be based in Johannesburg to begin with.

Mr Makgoti (63), is deputy secretary-general of the ANC and head of its national secretariat. Mr Tshwete (49), is co-ordinator of the internal political committee and a member of the military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Mr September (65), is secretary of the ANC's department of political education and a member of the political-military council and the national working committee.

Mr Tshwete has been in exile since 1985, the other two considerably longer.

US protest over kwaZulu 'poisoning'

The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — Environmental protest groups demonstrated outside the American headquarters of Thor Chemicals at Norwalk, Connecticut, yesterday, accusing the company of environmental racism by threatening the health of rural populations in kwaZulu

by poisoning a river with dangerous chemicals.

The demonstration was organised by the international environmental protection group, Greenpeace, to coincide with what its organisers said was a larger protest at the company's mercury reprocessing plant in Cato Ridge, Natal.

Vice-rector row between UWC, government

By JOHN YELD, Education Reporter

A STALEMATE has developed between the government and the University of the Western Cape over the appointment of noted critic, author and academic Professor Njabulo Ndebele.

Professor Ndebele, an exiled South African who is now a Lesotho citizen heading the English department at the University of Lesotho, is the national president of the Congress of South African Writers.

UWC wants to appoint Professor Ndebele to the post of second vice-rector of the university, but the government has refused to grant him a work permit.

In 1988 he was refused a visa after UCT invited him to give a six-week course in the department of English.

Yesterday UWC rector Professor Jakes Gerwel and vice-rector Professor Jaap Durand met Minister of Home Affairs Mr Gene Louw to discuss the issue.

Mr Louw explained that the government's decision had been taken at Cabinet level and he could not divulge reasons for the refusal, according to a statement issued by the UWC delegation afterwards.

"It was, in turn, explained to the minister that the university would have difficulty in accepting governmental barring of a scholar and university administrator whom senate and council had found eminently suited for the post," the statement said.

The university's council was scheduled to meet tomorrow and a further course of action would be discussed, it said.

"There is no likelihood of UWC filling the post with another candidate. The university will pursue all avenues to have the candidate of its choice installed in the position."

Professor Ndebele said he found it difficult to understand the government's decision.

Secretariat

19/4/90

330

ANC leaders set to move to SA soon

Lusaka - The first three of the ANC's leaders in exile will move to South Africa permanently within the next two weeks, sources here say.

The three - Henry Makgoti, Steve Tshwete and Reginald September -

are expected to leave Lusaka ahead of the ANC delegation selected for the three-day talks about talks with President F W de Klerk, starting in Cape Town on May 2.

Their job will be to expand the organisation's internal structure. They are likely to be based in Johannesburg to begin with.

Makgoti, aged 63, is deputy secretary general

of the ANC and head of its National Secretariat.

Tshwete, 49, is coordinator of the Internal Political Committee and a member of the military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

September, 65, is secretary of the ANC's department of political education and a member of the Political-Military Council and the National Working Committee.

New moves on barred academic

THE University of the Western Cape is continuing its efforts to pressure the government to grant its exiled vice-rector designate a work permit.

Rector Professor Jakes Gerwel and vice-rector Professor Jaap Durand met Home Affairs Minister, Mr Gene Louw, on Tuesday to discuss the government's refusal of a work permit to Professor Njabulo Ndebele, an exiled South African resident in Lesotho.

Ndebele had been appointed to the post of second vice-rector at UWC.

According to a spokesperson for UWC, Louw explained the decision not to grant the permit had been taken at cabinet level. He said he was not in a position to divulge reasons

for the refusal.

Gerwel and Durand explained to Louw that the university would have difficulty in accepting governmental barring of a scholar and university administrator whom their senate and council had found "eminently suited" for the post.

The UWC spokesperson said the university's council would meet on Thursday to discuss a future course of action.

"There is no likelihood of UWC filling the post with another candidate," he said.

"The university will pursue all avenues to have the candidate of its choice installed in the position."

Cabinet kept academic out of country

Cat Trip 19/4/90

330

Staff Reporter

THE cabinet took the decision to bar noted Lesotho critic, author and academic Professor Njabulo Ndebele from entering the country to take up an offered post as UWC vice-rector.

The Minister of Home Affairs and National Education, Mr Gene Louw, said last night that the government had refused Prof Ndebele a residence permit to which "his application for a work permit is linked".

Prof Ndebele, an exiled South African, is head of the English department at Lesotho University.

Mr Louw met UWC rector Prof Jakes Gerwel and vice-rector Prof Jaap Durand on Tuesday to discuss the issue.

In a statement last night, Mr Louw said the refusal had nothing to do with academic competence.

"Prof Ndebele and Mrs Ndebele's visa exemptions have been withdrawn a number of years ago and their names have been placed on the visa and entry stop list," he said.

It was "not customary" for the government to give reasons why persons' names appear on the stop list.

He said government attempted "to be accommodating within all reasonable limits" but it could not be "expected to simply submit to all requests from parties who obviously do not possess all the facts".

PASSPORT REFUSALS

W/Mail 20/4 - 26/4/90 (330)

A total of 158 applications for passports were refused last year and five people had their passports withdrawn, while 289 494 passports were issued last year, according to the annual report of the Department of Home Affairs.

CENSORSHIP

Academic refused permit to live in SA

By SHARON SOROUR
Staff Reporter

EXILED South African author and academic Professor Njabulo Ndebele was refused a residence permit by the government "and not a work permit as such".

The Minister of Home Affairs and National Education, Mr Gene Louw, said this after a stalemate developed between the government and the University of the Western Cape this week over the appointment of Professor Ndebele to the post of second vice-rector by the university's council.

In a statement, Mr Louw said Professor Ndebele's application for a work permit was linked to his residence permit application.

"The application which has been refused is therefore essentially for a residence permit and not for a work permit as such."

The decision, taken at Cabinet level, "had absolutely nothing to do with Professor Ndebele's academical competence", and neither Mr Louw nor the government would interfere with the deci-

sion of the autonomous university council, the statement said.

Professor Ndebele — a Lesotho citizen heading the English department at the University of Lesotho — is the national president of the Congress of South African Writers.

Mr Louw emphasised that he was involved not in his capacity as Minister of National Education but that of Home Affairs.

He said applications for temporary residence and work permits "from persons who are not South African citizens" were thoroughly investigated and their desirability depended on various aspects.

VISA EXEMPTIONS

Professor and Mrs Ndebele's visa exemptions were withdrawn "a number of years ago and their names were placed on the visa and entry stop list long before the appointment offer".

UCT vice-chancellor Dr Stuart Saunders condemned the barring of Professor Ndebele.

"This has serious implications for the entire university system and for academic freedom," he said.

UWC requests De Klerk meeting

Staff Reporter

SAF TWF 20/4/90

330

THE University of the Western Cape has requested a meeting with President F W de Klerk over the government's refusal to grant a work permit to Professor Njabulo Ndebele, who has been appointed second vice-rector of the university.

Mr Nazeem Howa, co-ordinator of UWC's media office, said last night that a request for a meeting with Mr

De Klerk was sent to the State President's office yesterday, after the decision was taken at a UWC council meeting yesterday. There had been no response to the request so far.

He said the decision not to allow Prof Ndebele, an exiled South African and now a citizen of Lesotho, a work permit, seemed to have been an "arbitrary decision, taken about one of the most highly esteemed intellectuals in Africa".

32	1							
71								
10								
32								
19	2							
35								
33								
31								
0								
1								

Exiles

330

LUSAKA - The African National Congress said yesterday it would carry out a census of its exiled members and supporters to prepare for their return to South Africa.

sonet
23/4/70

- (2) whether he or his Department has investigated the (a) economic and (b) juridical implications of these steps; if not, why not; if so, what are these implications, in each case? B718E

THE MINISTER OF MINERAL AND ENERGY AFFAIRS AND PUBLIC ENTERPRISES:

- (1) No. A final decision regarding the granting of mining rights will be taken after the completion and evaluation of the environmental impact assessment which is presently being undertaken.

(a) and (b) Fall away.

(2) Falls away.

*20. Mr R M BURROWS — Administration and Economic Co-ordination. [Question standing over.]

GST on prescribed medicines: revenue

*21. Mr M J ELLIS asked the Minister of Finance: *17/4/90*

What was the total amount of revenue received by the Government from general sales tax on prescribed medicines for the 1988-89 financial year? B738E

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE:

Inland Revenue does not require registered vendors to furnish the particulars of sales tax collected on each type of commodity as this would place an unreasonable administrative burden on the business sector. For this reason separate statistics of collections on prescribed medicines are not available. The Pharmaceutical Society of South Africa has estimated that the sales of prescribed medicines for the 1989 calendar year amounted to R1 040 million. If one assumes that sales tax was payable on the whole of this amount the revenue collected would amount to R120 million. These figures exclude prescribed medicines supplied by medical practitioners and hospitals.

GST on prescribed medicines: abolition

*22. Mr M J ELLIS asked the Minister of Finance: *17/4/90*

Whether consideration is being given to abolishing general sales tax on prescribed medicines; if not, why not? B739E

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE:

No. Representations have on numerous occasions been made for prescribed medicines to be exempted from general sales tax and careful consideration has been given to the matter. It is, however, essential, particularly in the case of an indirect tax such as sales tax, for the base to be as wide as possible. If an exemption was granted in respect of prescribed medicines it would not only open the door for exemptions in respect of other equally meritorious cases, but would mean that the loss of tax would have to be recovered by an increase in the rate of tax.

Colonel Bob Denard: residence permit

*23. Mr L FUCHS asked the Minister of Home Affairs: *17/4/90*

- (1) Whether a temporary or permanent residence permit has been issued to Colonel Bob Denard; if so, (a) for how long and (b) why; B740E

(2) what is the total anticipated cost to the State of providing refuge to Colonel Denard; 330

- (3) whether he will furnish details on the present whereabouts of this person, if not, why not; (a) where is he residing at present and (b) at whose expense is he residing there?

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

- (1) A temporary residence permit has been issued to him. An extension will be required from 1 May 1990. Colonel Denard's residence in South Africa must be seen against the background of the turbulence which occurred in the Comores in December 1989. On occasion my colleague, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, has made public statements on the events. It boils down to the fact that both the former government of the Comores and the French Government have requested South Africa to accommodate Colonel Denard. The South African Government was initially not in favour thereof, but after repeated appeals by the two aforementioned governments, the government, for the promotion of peace and quiet in the Comores, agreed to be of assistance. In the meantime discussions

with the French Government regarding Colonel Denard's position and future are being conducted.

- (2) None. *17/4/90* 330
- (3) No. He is being housed privately and it is not deemed expedient to furnish details.

Mr Lennox Sebe in SA

*24. Mr L FUCHS asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

- (1) Whether Mr Lennox Sebe is currently residing in South Africa; if so, (a) under what conditions has he been granted permission to do so and (b) at what total anticipated cost to the State; B741E
- (2) whether he is to be granted political asylum; if not, why not; if so, for what reasons? *17/4/90*

THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

(1) Yes.

- (a) Under circumstances where he left his country as Head of State and where a coup d'état was carried out in his country during his absence. He was not unwilling to return to the Ciskei. After consultation with the South African Embassy in the Ciskei and the National Council of the Ciskei, he was advised not to return to the Ciskei for the time being in the interest of the promotion of peace and quiet in the Ciskei, which is at the same time in the interest of South Africa. Further, Mr Sebe is receiving medical treatment in South Africa.
- (b) He and his spouse are being accommodated in a house which was available. He pays for their upkeep himself.

- (2) No request for political asylum has been received.

Retirement annuity funds: extension of retirement age

*25. Mr H H SCHWARTZ asked the Minister of Finance: *17/4/90*

Whether any consideration has been given to extending the age of retirement in respect of

retirement annuity funds beyond 70; if so, what conclusion has been arrived at; if not, why not? *17/4/90* B743E

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE:

Yes. It was concluded that the age limit should not be extended as the purpose of allowing a deduction in respect of contributions to retirement annuity funds is to permit a person to defer tax on a portion of his income during his productive years until after his retirement. Very few people remain productive after attaining the age of 70 years, and it appears that any raising of the age limit would mainly benefit those senior citizens fortunate enough to have more than sufficient income to meet their needs, and who merely wish to further defer the payment of tax.

Durban prison at Westville: emergency detainees

*26. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (1) Whether any persons are being detained in terms of the state of emergency at the Durban Prison in Westville; if so, how many; *17/4/90*
- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter? B744E

THE MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) Yes, 18 persons on 17 April 1990.
- (2) The detention of these persons is as a result of the conflict situation in Natal and is in the interests of the maintenance of law and order, the public safety and the termination of the statement of emergency.

Minister/Mandela: meetings outside prison

*27. Adv S C JACOBS asked the Minister of Justice: *17/4/90*

- (1) (a) On how many occasions did he meet Mr Nelson Mandela outside prison premises and (b) (i) where and (ii) when did each such meeting take place; B752E
- (2) whether he was accompanied by any other Cabinet Ministers at these meetings; if so, by what Ministers;
- (3) whether the constitutional future of South Africa was under discussion at any of these meetings; if so, at which meetings?

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

ANC exiles indemnified from prosecution

SA 25/4/90

By Peter Fabricius, 330
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The African National Congress exiles entering South Africa for talks with the Government next week will be indemnified from arrest and prosecution, even if the enabling legislation is not passed by then.

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said this last night after tabling the Indemnity Bill yesterday which empowers the State President to grant temporary immunity or permanent indemnity from arrest, detention and prosecution to political activists who might face criminal charges.

The aim of the temporary immunity was to exempt persons who might serve in negotiation delegations, Mr Coetsee confirmed.

He stressed that the indemnity provided for in the Bill would apply only to acts committed before the exemption was granted.

The Minister also confirmed that the aim of the permanent indemnity clause of the Bill was to grant permanent exemption from arrest or prosecution to persons who had "perhaps" committed offences "in the process of conflict and in the pursuance of a cause".

POLITICS

Bill tabled to give exiles indemnity

B/day 25/4/90

CAPE TOWN — With the first talks to the ANC a week away, government yesterday tabled a Bill which will grant exiles temporary immunity or permanent indemnity against arrest.

The preamble of the Indemnity Bill of 1990 says for the sake of reconciliation and the pursuit of peaceful solutions it has become necessary to grant immunity or indemnity to people who might have been guilty of certain criminal offences in the past.

Once passed by Parliament, the Act will empower the President — if he deems it necessary for the promotion of peaceful constitutional solutions or the unimpeded and efficient administration of justice — to grant either conditional or unconditional immunity to those exiles who participate in negotiations.

The Bill stipulates that no proceedings, either civil or criminal, will be instituted or continued against any person granted such immunity for actions carried out by him prior to his being granted immunity.

MIKE ROBERTSON

Immunity will apply for certain short periods.

In addition to this, the Act will empower the President by notice in the Government Gazette to grant indemnity "to any person or category of persons, either unconditionally, or on the conditions he may deem fit, in respect of any event or category of events specified in the notice".

~~330A~~ Cease 330

The President will be entitled to make further additional regulations regarding matters covered by the Act if he considers it necessary.

Sections of the Act will cease to have effect a year after their commencement but this will not effect any immunity or indemnity granted in that period.

The President will be able to extend the life of these sections for a year at a time provided he has the concurrence of all three Houses of Parliament.

PAC man, 5 slain

*Sowetan
25/4/90*

330

**Exiled
family
is shot
dead**

AN exiled member of the Pan Africanist Congress and his family of four, their nightwatchman and a dog were gunned down in Botswana before a powerful bomb blasted their house.

Botswana police yesterday confirmed the death of Mr Sam Chand, his wife Hajira, his sons Redwan (26), Amina (23) and Imran (17). The identity of the nightwatchman is not yet known.

The police were, however, tight-lipped about the attack and would

By THEMBA MOLEFE

only say the explosion occurred at 2.20am on Monday at Sikwane village in the Kgatleng district, 40km north-east of Gaborone.

They would not say whether or not the attack was politically motivated except that they were investigating.

PAC internal publicity secretary Mr Benny Ntoele said the attack was the work of "imperialists" and that similar incidents would escalate.

The house in which Chand lived and an adjoining trading store were reduced to rubble by the explosion.

Radio Botswana said yesterday it had been told by a witness, who was

not named, that she had seen the attackers approaching the house about 2am and had escaped through the back window.

She heard repeated gunshots before the building was blown up.

A relative of the family, who asked not to be named, said yesterday the killers first shot the three sons before shooting the parents.

It is understood the police did not arrive until long after the shooting even though the house is not far from the border post between Botswana and South Africa, where police are based.

Police said six bodies, including that of the nightwatchman, were recovered from the remains of the devastated house.

ANC exiles detained - Page 3

ANC exiles return to SA

80 we fem 25/4/90

330

By ISMAIL
LAGARDIEN

A HANDFUL of ANC dissidents arrived at Jan. Smuts Airport yesterday and were whisked away by police for questioning under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

Colonel Steve van Rooyen yesterday confirmed that the six men, two women and two children would be detained until they had been debriefed.

No special arrangements have been made for the children nor have their ages been disclosed.

"At this stage they are being kept with their



WALTER SISULU

parents," Van Rooyen said.

The group arrived about noon from Lilongwe, Malawi, and were arrested as they stepped out of the aircraft.

They are originally from Tanzania, Van Rooyen said.

Journalists, who had been waiting in the international arrivals hall, were delightfully sur-

prised when ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu and his wife, Albertina, walked through the arrivals gate.

The couple arrived on a Transkei Airlines flight from Umtata, minutes before the Malawi aircraft landed.

They and Mr Nelson Mandela had visited their ancestral and family homes in Transkei.

They were just as surprised to see the journalists.

Commenting on the arrests, Sisulu suggested they were merely a cover-up for the State's obligation to protect the dissidents who were allegedly

tortured by Umkhonto we Sizwe as South African Government spies who had infiltrated the ANC.

"There is really nothing to the arrests.

"For sure they will be assisted by the State to set up a political opposition against the ANC," he said.

Sisulu was in good spirits about his visit to Transkei and said the place was "absolutely fantastic".

He said the leaders and chiefs in the area said they would "take over" from the youth and rally support for the ANC themselves.

Diplomats

ANC Refugees

330
Cape Town
25/11/90

**Own Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — A group of ANC dissidents who flew into South Africa from Malawi were detained on arrival at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday.**

A police spokesman said the group of 10 — six men, two women and two children — were being held for questioning under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

The refugees arrived on board an Air Malawi aircraft after fleeing from Tanzania amid claims

that they were tortured by the ANC. Last week another group of five dissidents — who recently gave details of alleged torture against them in ANC camps to British newspapers — flew into SA but were not detained.

Embarrassment

They told British newspapers of plastic being melted on to a prisoner's skin, of rocks being thrown at faces and of guerrillas jumping on the heads of ANC members who had criticised the military leadership.

The deputy president of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela, admitted two weeks ago that mem-

bers of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), had been tortured. But he added that those responsible had been disciplined and expelled from the movement.

"Unfortunately it is true that some of these people who were complaining were in fact tortured," Mr Mandela said.

Political observers believe the arrival of the dissidents has been an embarrassment to the ANC. It has also been speculated that the dissidents would start an anti-apartheid movement in SA opposed to the ANC.

The detentions took place as a draft law allowing President F W

To page 2

de Klerk to grant immunity from prosecution to ANC guerrillas returning from exile was tabled in Parliament.

The bill said "temporary or permanent indemnity against arrest, detention, prosecution and legal process" was necessary for the sake of reconciliation and for the finding of peaceful solutions.

The tabling of the amnesty bill had been widely predicted to ensure the safe return of former guerrillas and Umkhonto we Sizwe commanders for next week's talks between government and the ANC.

The ANC delegation includes Communist Party head Mr Joe Slovo, who is also a former chief of staff of the ANC's military wing, and Mr Joe Modise, head of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

A police spokesman confirmed that the 10 detained at Jan Smuts yesterday were being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act last night.

He said said there

would be no automatic indemnity for returning exiles as the President would look at individual cases.

Police could not say how long the group would be detained.

"If they were not seen to be a threat, arrangements would probably be made for their permanent residence in SA," the spokesman said.

He said that "being a member of the ANC is no longer illegal, but knowing nothing about them, it would be silly to allow them free access into the country".

An ANC spokesman said the organisation had no comment to make on the arrival or detention of the 10.

A spokesman for Archbishop Desmond Tutu said that as reports were sketchy, it was unclear whether the group included any of the people the archbishop saw in Nairobi last month.

Archbishop Tutu had asked the All Africa Conference of Churches (AACCC) to help the group of five former members of Umkhonto to return from Nairobi to SA.

He said in Cape Town early this month that he had been approached by the group in Nairobi last month.

The refugees were accusing the ANC of brutal treatment.

He had referred the matter to the refugee desk of the AACCC.

From page 1

Cape Town 25/11/90 (330)

CAPL 7/11/15 25/4/90 (##) (330) (22)

Indemnity for exiles?

Political Staff

WITH the first talks with the ANC a week away, the government yesterday tabled a bill which will grant temporary immunity or permanent indemnity against arrest and prosecution to exiles.

The preamble of the Indemnity Bill of 1990 says that for the sake of reconciliation and the pursuit of peaceful solutions it has be-

come necessary to grant immunity or indemnity to people who might have been guilty of certain criminal offences in the past.

Once passed by Parliament, the Act will empower the State President, if he deems it necessary for the promotion of peaceful constitutional solutions or the unimpeded and efficient administration of justice, to grant either

conditional or unconditional immunity to those exiles who participate in negotiations.

The bill stipulates that no proceedings, either civil or criminal, will be instituted or continued against any person granted such immunity for actions carried out by him prior to being granted immunity. Such immunity will apply for certain short periods.

Churches to help exiles

By HENRY LUDSKI and MBULELO LINDA

CHURCH bodies will hold a major conference in South Africa to deal with the repatriation and resettlement of thousands of exiles.

They decided this at a consultation in Lusaka on April 21 and 22 when 37 church leaders and representatives of service organisations met representatives of the ANC's executive committee and others

from various ANC departments and a team of theologians of the movement's Department of Religious Affairs.

The SACC, SACBC and MJC will constitute an ad hoc committee to convene the meeting to solicit broad support and to seek the opinion of the democratic movement on repatriation of South African exiles.

The meeting will discuss the possible presence of the UN High Commission for Refugees inside the country.

Logistics

An UNHCR representative was also present at the meeting, which covered all aspects of the return of an estimated 50 000 exiles from 35 countries.

Sheikh Faalx Ganieldien, MJC chairperson, said the council committed itself to assist on a provincial level.

"There are a lot of logistics to be sorted out before people are able to return, and the church bodies have undertaken to assist," said Ganieldien.

The mammoth task of resettling the returning exiles, an issue which the churches now seem have "adopted", includes looking for jobs, housing, schooling, integration into communities and the setting up of reception centres for returning exiles and their families.

In a recent interview in Lusaka, ANC general secretary, Mr Alfred Nzo, said the ANC was working "fervently" with a number of internal organisations

and governments on the issue of the return of exiles and had already been offered some assistance.

However, he added that it was the ANC's "full political conviction" that the return of exiles was above all a South African concern.

He said it was important to ensure that there was an orderly return of cadres — not an aimless drifting back of refugees.

Mammoth

"The employment, housing and general orientation of these returning cadres are bound to be a mammoth task."

The UNHCR, 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 up to 20 000 people, and the PAC accommodates 2 500 people.

The ANC's director of international affairs, Mr Thabo Mbeki, said his organisation's Repatriation Sub-Committee had already started working on a census of the people to be repatriated.

Indemnity

The sub-committee's coordinator and ANC NEC member, Mr Jackie Selebi, said his organisation's delegation to meet State President F.W. de Klerk next Wednesday would demand the granting of indemnity and a declaration of a general amnesty to the returnees and political prisoners held in South African jails.

Alfred Nzo



rest and negotiations. The consultation was sponsored by the ANC's Department of Religious Affairs.

W E C T U
Western Cape Teachers Union

SHAWCO
(W.C. 002)
Khayelitsha

Search for ANC exile

From PATRICK GOODENOUGH
PORT ELIZABETH. — Relatives of an exiled ANC member are praying for a breakthrough which will make it possible for him to attend the funeral of both his parents this weekend. *330*

They not seen Mr Mbuyiselo Madaka, believed to be in Tanzania, since he left South Africa on May Day, 1979, and have now approached the movement in Lusaka to contact him. *South 26/4 - 2/5/90*

A young woman engaged to Madaka when he left, Ms Thobeka Pama, said this week his relatives were desperate to see him.

Pama said Mbuyiselo and his brother, Topsy, were the deceased couple's only immediate children, and relatives hoped Madaka would be able to see his parents' bodies before they were buried.

Topsy disappeared in 1982 with the chairperson of the Port Elizabeth branch of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas), Siphiwo Mtimkhulu.

Pama said an ANC official in Lusaka had said he would contact Madaka in Tanzania, and ensure the necessary arrangements would be made for him to attend the funeral.

Exiled ANC leaders return

● Photograph: Stephen Davimes.

CAPE TOWN — "We have come in a spirit of reconciliation, but not as petitioners. We have come as claimants on behalf of the people who have been kept down for too long."

With these powerful and emotional words by SA Communist Party chief Joe Slovo, the African National Congress leaders in exile yesterday touched down on South African soil for the first time in nearly 30 years to attend next week's watershed talks with the Government.

Back door

"For those of us who left by the back door and are now entering by the front door, it is a remarkable feeling," said Mr Slovo, who fled into exile in 1963.

He was speaking at a press conference at Cape Town's DF Malan Airport moments after arriving on a Zambian Airways charter flight from Lusaka.

With him were several other exiles who had not seen South Africa for decades and who will form part of the delegation for next week's talks — ANC general secretary Alfred Nzo; head of international affairs Mr Thabo Mbeki; Mr Joe Modise, commander of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe; and national executive committee member Mrs Ruth Mompati.

And though Mr Slovo talked of reconciliation, it was immediately obvious that the ANC delegation would take a

PETER FABRICIUS
Political Correspondent

tough line at the three-day talks in Cape Town starting on Wednesday. Mr Mbeki indicated that the agenda should be limited to the lifting of the state of emergency and the release of political prisoners.

Asked whether he shared the Government's view that there should be give and take in the talks, Mr Mbeki said: "There is nothing to give from our side because we are not holding NP members, nor have we proclaimed any state of emergency, and we have not passed any Internal Security Act."

He indicated that the talks agenda should be limited to finding ways of allowing all to take part equally in the political field.

This seemed to rule out the possibility of what the Government is sure to demand: a real commitment to peace by the ANC in exchange for the lifting of the state of emergency and the release of political prisoners.

Mr Mbeki expressed the hope that the talk would achieve results.

His father, Mr Govan Mbeki — the Rivonia trialist released from prison in 1987 — welcomed his son and other exiles in an emotional address.

He said: "For the first time in more than a century we are coming here to be involved in discussions.

"In welcoming you, we also wish the Government well. It is willing, after over a century, to sit down with us to discuss the problems of this country and we hope very sincerely that it will have the backing of the overwhelming majority of whites in this country."

There were emotional scenes at the airport as the returning exiles were embraced by local ANC leaders.

Co-operation

Outside the terminus building, a small crowd of supporters toyi-toyed, chanted and held placards aloft.

A large contingent of policemen maintained strict security and the occasion was filled with irony as SAP and ANC marshals co-operated closely to control the crowd.

Down the road to the airport building a larger crowd of several hundred flag-waving ANC supporters waited to greet their returning leaders. Many more were turned away by the police.

Sitting at the centre of the delegation, Mr Nzo said their task was to "explore with the apartheid regime the possibility of removing certain obstacles to enable the negotiation process to take place".

That was the delegation's mandate

● TO PAGE 2.

Exiles 330

FROM PAGE 1.

from the ANC national executive committee and it would discuss all related matters.

He assured white South Africans that they had "nothing to fear from a democratic South Africa. They, like everyone else, would be expected to contribute to the building of this new, democratic South Africa," he said.

Mr Nzo stressed that the ANC would continue to call for boycotts and the isolation of South Africa until the new South Africa was reached.

He said the country's present position had been reached "through struggle, and that struggle equally must continue until apartheid is no more".

UDF spokesman Mr Mohamed Valli Moosa announced that the internal members of the ANC delegation — including delegation chief Mr Nelson Mandela, the ANC's deputy president — would arrive tomorrow for consultations about next week's talks.

Tomorrow Mr Mandela, Mr Nzo and Mr Slovo will address a rally in Mitchell's Plain in the Cape and on Monday the full ANC delegation will consult with UDF and Cosatu lead-

ers. 28/4/90

Mr Thabo Mbeki's answer to the crucial question of give and take in the talks was:

"I don't know what you can give and take about political prisoners. They are either inside or outside."

"What can you give or take about the legislation that put them in prison?"

"The issues have to do with the creation of a situation where all political formations and parties will have an equal opportunity (to take part.)"

"So far as we know, there is not a National Party member in prison for political offences nor have NP political meetings been banned under the state of emergency."

"All the issues we will discuss have to do with creating a situation of equal opportunity for everyone."

"Let's all agree that we proceed from the same basic rules."

"So there is nothing to give from our side because we are not holding NP members, nor have we proclaimed any state of emergency and have not passed any Internal Security Act."

"Let's clear this ground and perhaps beyond that it may be appropriate to pose a question about give and take."

C/Press
29/4/90

Exile - or certain death

Stark choice for refugee kids who fled homes to find peace

LITTLE Nzuzo Gasa, 4, and his 10-year-old sister Lindiwe were among the eight Natal refugees I met in Zambian capital Lusaka this week.

When they stepped out of a minibus after arriving at the headquarters of the ANC to be interviewed, Nzuzo clung to his sister's hand.

Tears came to my eyes because these two little children know all about suffering, fear and hunger. They survived the killing in Natal.

Both arrived in Zambia earlier this month as part of a group of 150 youths who fled the violence to seek refuge with the ANC.

For about eight days they trekked through Swaziland before they reached Mozambique, from where they were taken to Lusaka.

Nzuzo and Lindiwe managed to escape the death and destruction caused by the war which has been raging for three years between Inkatha and the UDF, Cosatu and ANC alliance.

But they know nothing about politics.

"Both children are fine now and in good hands. They are being well looked after," said Jane Msoni, 21, one of the older refugees looking after the children. There are 181 Natal refugees already in Lusaka.

"Lindiwe and Nzuzo were sent with us because their parents could not hide while the children were still with them," she explained.

During the interview Nzuzo watched me closely. He was sitting next to Sibusiso Mdabe, 27, the oldest of the Natal refugees.

"There are still many of our people in Swaziland and Mozambique who decided to flee the violence in Natal, and still more are preparing to cross the border into Swaziland," said Mdabe.

Jane, wearing a T-shirt with "Nkosi Sikele I'Africa" printed on it, left her family behind when the body count in Natal began to reach frightening numbers.

"Here in Lusaka we now experience peace for the first time in many months. We can even close our eyes at night and sleep without any fear - something that was impossible back home."

Mdabe said the violence in Natal will not be stopped easily.

"As soon as it gets dark vigilantes go out in the townships to hunt us down. They kill any youths.

"It is the young people that support the UDF. If you ask what is happening, the only answer you get is a bullet or a knife in the chest."

This is why youths have fled their homes. And the number is likely to increase.

"It was not easy for us to decide to leave Natal and our families behind. Our parents did not want us to go but they finally realised that if we did not go we would be killed," said Jane.

"In 1988 a group of youths left their homes and lived for about two months in a sugarcane field. Several pregnant women and small children like Nzuzo

accompanied us," recalled one of the younger boys.

The refugees are housed by the ANC at a special facility in Lusaka where they have undergone medical examinations. They have been given food and clothes.

ANC spokesman Tom Sebina said plans are underway to involve the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) to assist with the refugees.

"The children are arriving in Swaziland at a rate of about 10 a day," he said.

But why did the refugees come to the ANC in Zambia?

"We believe the ANC is the only organisation that can look after us and liberate us. We also believe the ANC really wants peace in Natal," explained Mdabe.

And how are the refugees kept busy during the day?

Mdabe and one of the younger boys explained: "We play soccer, volleyball or table tennis. Sometimes we watch videos and the ANC provides political classes.

"We talk about home a lot and also about political developments in South Africa and the rest of the world. We never had time to go to school. Now at least we can learn something."

■ This week 37 South African church leaders and representatives from community-based organisations were invited by the ANC to witness the exodus of child refugees from Natal.

Chairman of the South African Council of Churches' refugees committee and Bishop of the Methodist Church of South Africa, Dr Khoza Mgojo, described the situation as shocking.

"I have never seen such a thing in my life - children aged from 4 to 17 years forced by circumstances to flee their homes and travel as far as Zambia.

"This means the situation is very serious and the healing will take a long time because these children are going to carry wounds in their hearts for years."

"Tell our parents we are safe and free from prosecution and harassment," one of the youths pleaded to the visitors.

The ANC has undertaken to trace all the families of the youths and to inform them about the whereabouts of their children. They will also provide accommodation, shelter and education for the youths. The first batch of youngsters has been transferred to Tanzania to pursue their studies.



A youth surveys one of the houses wrecked during the three-year war in Natal. Now hundreds have crossed borders to seek refuge with the ANC.

SACP chief Joe Slovo tells rally

Victory is ours

Sowetan 30/4/90

330



SACP general secretary Joe Slovo.

NEWLY-arrived ANC and Communist Party exiles received a tumultuous welcome in Cape Town yesterday when they addressed a political rally attended by thousands of people in Mitchell's Plain.

Mr Joe Slovo, South African Communist Party general secretary, and Mr Alfred Nzo, ANC general secretary, who arrived in South Africa on Saturday to take part in talks with the Government on Wednesday, told the crowd that the battle to end apartheid will be won.

Slovo said the working people of South Africa were today better organised than at any other time in the history of South Africa.

"It is you, the youth, the young lions who have and are still prepared to struggle in the face of death, who refuse to bow down before race domination, who

South African Press Association

made it happen."

He said the ANC wanted the Government to know that "we know only one kind of democracy - a democracy in which every adult has an equal vote and equal say in running South Africa."

"We'll win a united South African homeland," he told the crowd.

This homeland would not be in the bantustans "but in every square metre of South Africa from Cape Point to the Limpopo and from the mouth of the Orange River to the Indian ocean."

He said it was his moment of greatest joy at last being back in this beautiful country but it was a moment tinged with sadness.

Slovo said he was also filled with sadness because some of the finest martyrs in the struggle were buried in South Africa's soil and some far away killed by death squads.

"They should have had the first place on this platform. Their blood fertilised the tree of defiance, the tree of resistance and this tree cannot be cut down," he said.

Apartheid was in the throes of a crisis from which it would not recover and although the ANC appreciated the boldness of President F W de Klerk, the struggles of the peoples had made the Government see reason, ANC general secretary Nzo said at a rally at Lenteguer in Mitchell's Plain yesterday.

Change

"We have returned and our presence here today is a reflection of the change and changing position in South Africa," he said.

"Ours is a society in transition to a new order," he said.

He also said that Oliver Tambo, President of the ANC, had made remarkable progress recently since his illness last year.

Nzo urged the ending of the state of emergency and the release of all political prisoners and said this was a right.

Sharing the stage with

* To Page 2

More pupils held in police swoops

A WAVE of detentions under the State of Emergency has hit Western Transvaal townships and while a number of cases are confirmed by police, scores of other people have gone missing.

Activists say the areas affected are Klerksdorp, Orkney, Stillfontein and Hartbeesfontein, where a consumer boycott is in progress.

Monitoring organisations and activists put the figure of detainees as high as 300, consisting mostly of young people aged between 14 and 20.

A Klerksdorp attorney, and member of Lawyers for Human Rights, Mr Mohammed Motale, could confirm only those cases in which he had received instructions from families of the detainees.

By SONTI
MASEKO

He confirmed about 60 cases in Klerksdorp, six in Schweizer-Reneke and 18 at Hartbeesfontein.

However, he said he could not confirm several cases where either full or proper names were not used.

Report

Motale said it was difficult to establish the right number of detained people because several families did not know where to report detentions.

He said about 50 schoolchildren travelling in three minibuses were arrested in Klerksdorp on their way from a funeral at Schweizer-Reneke on April 7. This was reported

to him last week.

"The Western Transvaal has been worst hit with detentions," he said.

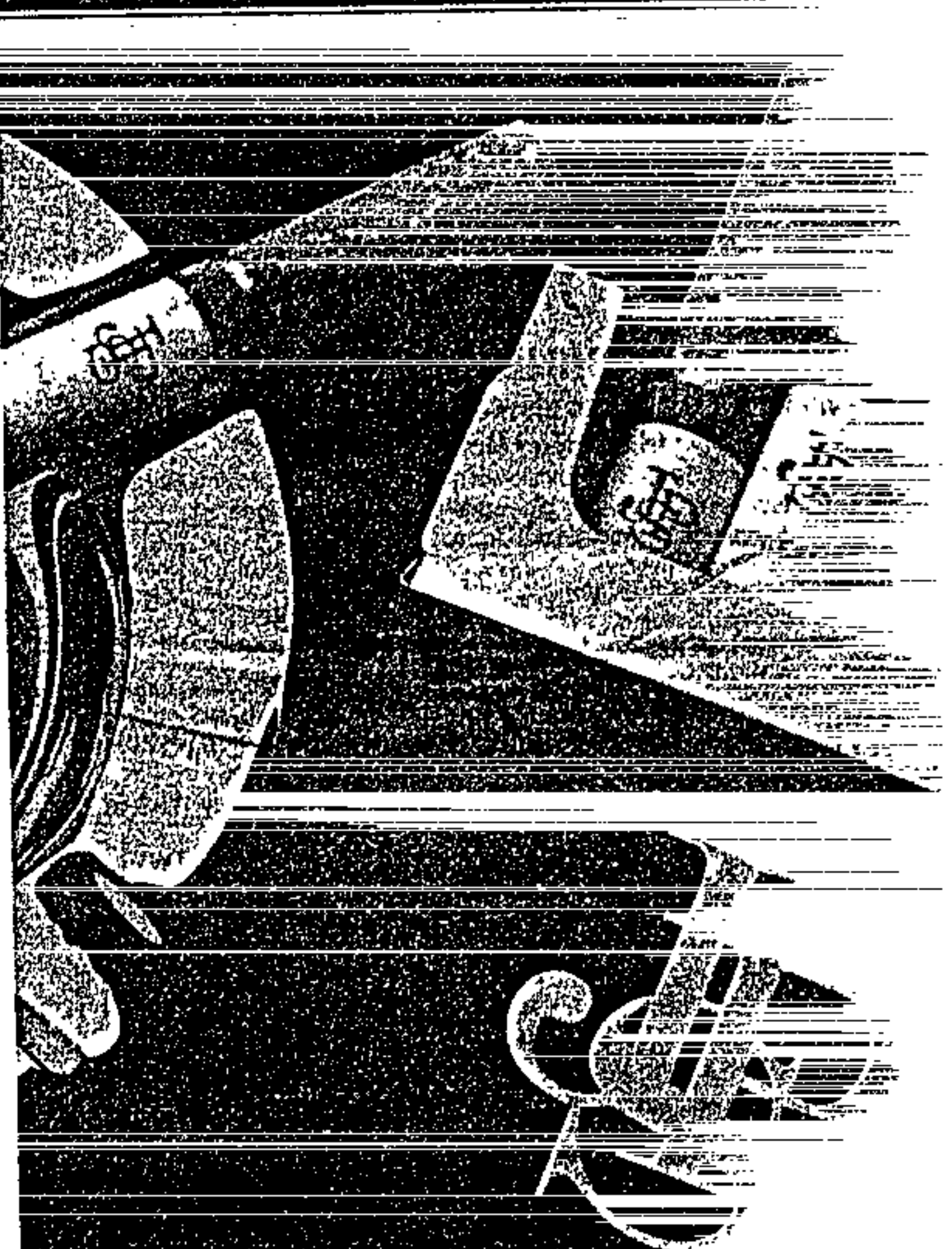
The Rev Xoliso Duka of the Western Transvaal and Northern Cape Council of Churches said in most cases teenagers gave their nicknames to the police and the organisation could not confirm their detentions.

"It is a problem for us. Parents have brought us reports about missing children and we are unable to trace them because they give wrong names to the police."

One detainee, Mr Lucas Ntlotomisa, is reported to have died at the Klerksdorp prison from "natural causes". He was from Schweizer-Reneke and was buried two weeks ago.

Police comment could not be obtained last night.

There will be no newspaper tomorrow as it is a public holiday, Workers Day. But your favourite newspaper will hit the streets on Wednesday with all the news, racing, sport and pictures. Don't miss it.



A special
kind of
pleasure

John Player Special

DOLBY & MATHER, PRINTERS

P.T.O.

Slovo's call

Journal 30/4/90

330

From Page 1

Nzo was Deputy-President of the ANC Mr Nelson Mandela and the entire delegation to meet President De Klerk on Wednesday as well as members of the ANC's secretariat, members of the ANC's support team for the talks, the entire national delegation of the UDF and office bearers of Cosatu.

Questioning the changes that had taken place, Nzo said blacks still did not own their land, students were still the victims of gutter education and people still stayed in hovels which underlined the need for fundamental change.

Nzo said that the ANC would demand an impartial interim government to oversee the transition to peaceful change.

He said: "The climate for peaceful settlement must be created not in bits and pieces but as an integrated whole" and added that all necessary forms of struggle must be pursued to this end.

He also insisted on one man one vote on a common voter's roll.

While Nzo was speaking the crowd was swelled by hundreds more people, bringing the total up to about 20 000.

Talking about monopolies Slovo said South Africans continued to live in a country still chained by

apartheid which included monopolies.

Blacks however also had a monopoly - "the monopoly of ghettos, urban slums, low wages, and the bullets of trigger-happy police."

"What would the Government have done if Mandela's armed forces had killed 14 and wounded 300 peaceful whites on the eve of the talks?" he said referring to Sebokeng.

He said there was a terrible sickness in South Africa that black life is cheap. He mentioned the poor-white Afrikaners and said what had they done. Some of them had turned to violence and later the State had been used to create nationalised industries and protected employment.

The Government had given some of the best land to the landless.

"What was this if not a redistribution of wealth but if we dare mention nationalisation they cry: 'You are thieves, you are communists.'"

He said he knew too well what the double standards were in South Africa and urged speed in demolishing them.

He said that some, like Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi (head of Inkatha), did not feel the same urgency as the millions living in poverty as the thousands "killed by the Inkatha warlord."



JOYCE SEROKE

THE resolutions that women's organisations took at the historic three-day conference of the National Assembly for Women in South Africa are being carried through, four years after its launch.

The 1 000 women from South Africa and Namibia present at the conference, dubbed Nairobi '85 to SA 200, had resolved, among other things, to forge unity among women's organisations and participate fully in the country's politics.

The conference was convened by six leading black South African women who had attended the Nairobi conference to mark the end of the

Women to prepare for homecomers says the National Assembly for Women

By SIZAKELE KOOMA

Women's Decade in July 1985.

The past four years have been devoted to the first course. The assembly has been running workshops in conjunction with women's organisations.

Issues discussed included citizenship and the marriage laws. Some members of the assembly also went to Namibia last year to donate clothing to the country's returned exiles and observe how women's organisations there handled the flood of returnees.

The role of women in a changing South Africa will be discussed at the assembly's conference to be held in Johannesburg from May 11 to May 13. Its theme will be "Women Working Together Towards a New South Africa". This, it is hoped, will carry through the assembly's resolve on women's political participation.

Joyce Seroke, a member of the planning committee, said the organisation had identified preparation for returning exiles as a key issue that they should address.

"We hope to involve women of all organisations and delegate dif-

ferent tasks to each of the groups," Seroke said.

"The temporary housing of returnees, tracing their relatives and finding permanent housing for them, if none can be found, is what we will concern ourselves with.

Integrate

"We should find ways that would help integrate the exiles' children into our education system when they come back. We should also make provision for the health and welfare of returnees, who could have suffered physical disability and mental traumas while they were away," she said.

The assembly is expecting over 20 000 exiles but it would provide for those who have not been identified, especially those in Europe.

About 300 delegates from 30 women's organisations are expected to attend the conference at the Protea Gardens Hotel in Hillbrow, Johannesburg. Solutions to the Natal violence, recognition of contributions of a selected number of women and a special mothers' day dinner are part of the agenda.

President de Klerk said in a statement last night that he and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson

tween shop stewards and the MEC in charge of hospital services, Mr Fanie Ferreira.

But Mr Ellis said workers' efforts to make hospitals unworkable were unacceptable.

Hopes for agreement on issue of prisoners and exiles

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Hopes are high that some agreement on the release of political prisoners and return of exiles will emerge today from the all-important talks here between the African National Congress and the South African Government.

Government sources close to the talks do not expect a complete breakthrough today on all

the obstacles to negotiation which are under discussion.

However, they think there could be a definite indication on how to solve the problem of releasing political prisoners and identifying which exiles may return.

They say it is possible some form of joint consultative process will be agreed on to determine who should be released and who allowed home.

Whether or not some form of commitment by the ANC on the issue of armed struggle emerges seems to depend on the last day of talks today.

The Government sources said the ANC had accepted that the armed struggle was inextricably connected to other obstacles, such as the lifting of the state of emergency and the prisoners and refugees problem, and "that one can't be addressed without the other".

Yesterday's second day of talks got down to the hard issues, but both sides reported progress.

They said yesterday's session, dealing with differences on the question of obstacles to negotiation, had been "hard and practical"; one where the "nuts and bolts" had been discussed.

President de Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, in a brief joint statement, "expressed their satisfaction with the progress achieved thus far".

Government and ANC sources have indicated that the two sides have rapidly broken the ice and are beginning to move towards common ground.

Mr Thabo Mbeki, the ANC's head of internal affairs, said yesterday all the delegates had realised at their first meeting that movement forward was "not only necessary but also possible".

He told the Cape Town Press Club that within minutes of meeting, both sides had realised "there was no one there who had horns".

Govt foots the bill for ANC talks team

CAPE TOWN — African National Congress exiles visiting Cape Town for talks with the Government this week are truly guests of the State.

The Government is footing the bill for their luxury hotel accommodation, transport and security.

More than 50 rooms of the five-star hotel near Somerset West are occupied by the ANC team.

The likely hotel costs have not been divulged. The hotel charges R225 for a single room for a night, but special rates are available for group bookings.

Transport costs will also be high — Mercedes Benz cars and minibuses are among the vehicles used to ferry the delegates to and from the talks at Groote Schuur in Newlands, and a police helicopter escorts the motorcade.

2 injured as locomotives collide

Staff Reporters

Two commuters were injured when two locomotive units collided with a stationary passenger train at Kempton Park Station during peak hour today.

An ambulance spokesman said a man and a woman were slightly injured but were not taken to hospital.

Police said the locomotive of a

train, carrying passengers to Johannesburg, cut out.

Two units despatched to tow the train away ran into trouble when the brakes seized, sending the units crashing into a coach of a stationary train. Two compartments were smashed.

A railways spokesman said an alternative line was open for other trains.

20 000 exiles set for repatriation to SA ^{8/5/90} ANC ³³⁰

LUSAKA — The African National Congress says about 20 000 exiles will have to be repatriated to South Africa once all obstacles to their return have been cleared.

At the same time, the organisation estimated that there were 400 000 South African emigrants around the world, many of whom would like to return.

Mr Jackie Salebe, co-ordinator of the ANC's repatriation committee, told the Africa News Organisation that the ANC would offer assistance to everybody who wanted to return to South Africa, including those who were

AFRICA NEWS SERVICE

not ANC members.

He rejected the idea of keeping the ANC returnees in transit camps, as happened in Namibia when Swapo militants returned last year.

"I think transit camps would be very dangerous given the security situation in South Africa.

"With the noises we hear from racist groups in the country, it would be very unwise to put people into any structure which could be an easy target for trigger-happy right-wingers," he said.

Skills of returning exiles will enrich SA

NOT much good has flowed from the dark recesses of apartheid, but there is one aspect of our great national folly which, inadvertently promises to provide a rich harvest for South Africa if the country is awake to the possibilities.

It stems from the "separate development" — thank-fully this time at the expense of foreign taxpayers rather than our own — of a whole generation of South African scholars in some of the world's leading institutions of higher education.

Among them are some of the country's brightest and best, men and women who chose to join the South African diaspora rather than subject themselves to the consequences of ethnic socialism.

While apartheid managed to stunt a generation of young students at home, it also ensured the loss of some of our finest minds through emigration.

However, this pool of ex-

Kerry Swift
Senior lecturer in Journalism at Rhodes University
examines the possibility of a reverse in the brain drain

triate talent, so desperately needed at home, need not necessarily be lost to South Africa.

Many of our exiled scholars may yet be persuaded to return once Christian National Socialism is consigned to the scrapheap where it belongs — along with the rest of our country's failed experiments in human engineering.

And, if they do decide to return home, they could trigger a veritable flood of foreign academics, all seek-

ing solutions to the human condition by rooting for intellectual truffles among the ashes of apartheid.

In much the same way as Nkrumah's Ghana became a magnet for the international intellectual community as Africa's first liberated nation, so South Africa could become the next intellectual Mecca.

It could become a mandatory pit-stop for all self-respecting social scientists,

Grabbed

Bizarre as it may sound, apartheid opened up great educational opportunities for South Africans abroad, opportunities which they would never have had at home.

For many, exile meant the opportunity of a university education, particularly among the thousands of young township dwellers who left the country during the events of 1976.

The doors of universities and colleges in all corners of the globe were opened to exiled South African students.

From Moscow to Montreal, from Baghdad to Beijing, South Africans grabbed their opportunities where they found them and pursued the education denied them at home.

And many rose, as exiles so often do, to great heights of academic achievement.

Back in South Africa, an international academic boycott — imposed as a symbolic gesture against unequal education — narrowed the options for South African universities, making it difficult for them to recruit academic staff abroad.

Recruiting foreign academics was a bit like the SA Cricket Union recruiting rebel cricketers. "Respectable" academics steered clear of South African universities, though a number of valuable

people simply ignored the authoritarian tendency of the boycott and came anyway.

The collapse in the rand also made recruiting foreign academics difficult.

With the best of British academics already leaping the Atlantic in pursuit of the honeypot, there was little chance of recruiting them to strife-torn South Africa — particularly with an exchange rate of more than R4 to the pound!

The academic boycott and the economic squeeze forced local universities to rely heavily on local recruitment.

The paucity of academic talent at home, however, was in stark contrast to the situation abroad, where an academic explosion took place among expatriate South Africans.

Literally thousands of expatriate South Africans were teaching and researching in academic institutions around the globe and gather-

ing degrees like acorns in winter.

And when our "winter of discontent" is finally over, one hopes that this rich and diverse intellectual resource will be transplanted to South Africa. If it is, few countries will boast a broader or more cosmopolitan intellectual heritage.

Urgent

Bitter though the seed may be, the flowering of knowledge may still be sweet in South Africa.

If the exile academics do decide to come home on the back of a political settlement, the hard question of what to do with them still remains.

Given the existing system of academic tenure at our universities, returning exiles — regardless of their intellectual pedigrees or prowess — will not simply walk into existing university posts. Nor will our universities be able

to expand sufficiently fast enough to accommodate them.

This suggests either the rapid development of more universities or perhaps some form of "People's Education" which will absorb returning academics into parallel or even alternative educational structures.

It would be a rather empty pilgrimage if having worked themselves into the comfortable wainscoting of academic institutions abroad, our exiled intellectuals decided to renounce any future role in South Africa and opt for the permanent delight of the bourgeois world.

As a matter of urgency, South Africa's academic institutions should already be reaching out to them and be working out ways of harvesting apartheid's exile crop of intellectuals so that we can be better prepared for the long and arduous road to nationhood which lies ahead.

Sachs back

WHITE ANC veteran Albie Sachs, exiled since 1966, returned home yesterday to an emotional reunion with his 85-year-old mother.

Sachs, 55, is a member of the ANC's policy-making National Executive Committee and the movement's chief constitutional thinker. — Sapa-Reuter

230
C/NECS
6/5/90

Albie jets into SA for an emotional reunion



HI, MOM! . . . exile Albie Sachs hugs his mother Picture: TERRY SHEAN

EXILED ANC lawyer Albie Sachs came home yesterday and declared: "I feel no bitterness, no desire for revenge — only hope for the country I love."

Stepping off the plane at Cape Town's D F Malan airport, Mr Sachs walked over to his elderly mother, Mrs Ray Edwards, and hugged her tightly.

Clearly moved by their meeting — the first since the car bomb blast in Maputo that shattered his arm two years ago — Mr Sachs said he was looking forward to exploring the city he still thought of as his home.

"I want to do two things," the 55-year-old lawyer told the large crowd that had gathered to meet him.

"First I want to spend some time with my mother, and then I want to climb Table Mountain. After that, I'll have to think about my

By ALAN DUGGAN

life."

Mr Sachs, who earned a PhD during his long exile, said he also had several speaking engagements, including one at the University of the Western Cape.

A red-eyed Mrs Edwards said: "I want Albie to sit down and eat a home-made chicken dinner. I promised it to him two years ago, and it's long overdue."

It was Mr Sachs' first visit to Cape Town since he left in July 1966 for a life of exile.

He said he had been touched when an immigration official approached him at the airport and said: "Welcome home, Albie!"

Asked to comment on recent developments in South Africa, he said he felt more optimistic than ever before of a peaceful solution to the

country's ills.

Mr Sachs said he had never lost hope, even while lying in his hospital bed after the bomb blast that shattered his arm on April 7, 1988.

Asked whether his visit was an "official" one on behalf of the ANC, Mr Sachs replied that he was in South Africa primarily for family reasons, though he would be doing some work.

"We'll all be coming back here soon, but in an organised way."

Mr Sachs said it was apparent that apartheid still existed but that at least people had begun to work together.

"The step-by-step approach is important."

Although he had had to obtain a seven-day work permit he was not under any restrictions. He planned to stay in Cape Town with activist lawyer Dullah Omar.

S/Times 6/2/90

(330)

Exiled (330) veteran returns (128) *Sowetan* home 7/19/90

WHITE ANC veteran Albie Sachs, in exile from South Africa since 1966, returned home on Saturday to an emotional reunion with his 85-year-old mother.

Sachs, a 55-year-old lawyer, who was maimed by a car bomb in Mozambique in 1988, is a member of the ANC's policy-making National Executive Committee and the movement's chief constitutional thinker.

"It's wonderful to be home, it's wonderful to be back in Cape Town. Emotionally, spiritually and politically I never left Cape Town," he said as he hugged his mother.

He said he would consult with ANC leaders about proposals for a non-racial constitution for South Africa after negotiations launched last week in a pioneering meeting between the ANC and the SA Government.

"I think we are on the brink of a new era in South Africa," he said.

Sachs trained as a lawyer in Cape Town but fled the country in 1966 after 170 days detention in solitary confinement without charge or trial.

No fuss as ANC men jet into Jo'burg

By Ken Vernon,
The Star's Africa News Service

Fresh from their historic Cape Town talks several African National Congress leaders jetted into Johannesburg on Saturday night — and nobody seemed to notice.

In sharp contrast to the obsession with security that characterised the Cape Town talks, only a few sleepy-eyed uniformed policemen were on hand to greet Communist Party leader Mr Joe Slovo, ANC secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo and other National Executive members at Jan Smuts Airport.

Others to follow

"Now for the first time I feel like I am home," said Mr Slovo, who lived in Johannesburg before fleeing the country almost 30 years ago.

Asked what the ANC planned following the successful conclusion of the Cape Town talks, Mr Slovo bantered that "we have already tackled the improbable, now we plan to take on the impossible".

Included in the ANC group was NEC and leading Umkhonto we Sizwe member Mr Steve Tshwete, who revealed that he was the first ex-

iled leader to return to South Africa for good — and that others would be following in his footsteps shortly.

"I'm heading back to the Eastern Cape in the next few days, and if they want to get hold of me after that, they will have to dig me out," he said.

"In the next few weeks others will begin trickling back as well."

Most of the leaders will return to ANC headquarters in Lusaka "after a few days".

"I have a desk back there that is piling up with work," joked Johannesburg-born secretary-general Mr Nzo.

"But it is really good to be back home after more than 26 years in exile, and I hope to return again soon — for good".

● The South African Communist Party has decided to follow in the footsteps of the unbanned African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress and come in out of the cold.

Mr Slovo said the decision to come out in the open had been taken — but he could not give an exact date.

"Sooner rather than later. We have met, and are continuing to meet. It's a process, but the actual decision has been taken."

See Page 11.



Homecoming... African National Congress members (from left) Mr Steve Tshwete, Mr Joe Slovo, Mr Andrew Mlangeni, Mr Alfred Nzo and Mr Henry Mogothe slipped almost unnoticed into Johannesburg on Saturday.

Fabcos pledge to help exiles

Sowetan 8/5/90

330

THE Foundation for African Business and Consumer Services said yesterday it could employ some of the thousands of exiles expected to return to South Africa.

Joint managing director of Fabcos Mr Jabu Mabuza said they would give first preference to members of the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress and others, although they

Jobs plan for the many who return to South Africa

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

will not be guided by political affiliation.

The jobs would be made available through all the 12 structures of

Fabcos throughout the country.

He said the jobs would also be made available through Fabcos satellite and service companies.

"In doing so we are taking into account all the unavoidable frustrations and difficulties fellow countrymen, women and children will face upon their return into the country," he said.

The move comes in the wake of the Government and the ANC's

agreement that ways would be found for the return of exiles. Already many have arrived in the country and hundreds are expected home soon.

Mabuza said: "We believe this is incumbent on all of us South Africans to ensure that their readjustment into society is free of any difficulty."

Fabcos was aware that the exiles would be too many. However, the association was calling on the country's business people, especially large companies, to inform it of any vacancies that might be available.

Fabcos could be contacted through its human resources manager, Mr Zolile Mkhaba, for more information at (012) 325-1570.

Owen to go on study tour

The Ernest Oppenheimer Memorial Overseas Travelling Fellowship has been awarded to Professor Neville Owen, Dean of the Faculty of Veterinary Science at

Medunsa, the university has announced.

Prof Owen will study small-farming projects in Israel, Taiwan and West Germany.

Indemnity Bill for exiles to cover political friend and foe — Coetsee

CAPE TOWN — Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee confirmed in yesterday's parliamentary debate on the Indemnity Bill of 1990 that the new legislation would apply to political exiles and their opponents who wished to return to SA.

Introducing the Bill, which grants temporary immunity or permanent indemnity against arrest or prosecution to exiles, Coetsee said it was necessary that members of formerly banned political organisations be allowed to return to SA to become involved in pre-negotiation talks. However, he emphasised that the legis-

lation would also apply to people and groups that had had to leave the country because they had committed offences against members or supporters of the formerly banned and exiled political organisations.

"The aim of this provision is to grant permanent indemnity to people who, in the process of conflict and in the pursuance of a cause, may have committed some or other offence. It is envisaged that indemnity in terms of this clause will only be granted as a result of a process of consultation and consideration based on judicial norms," he

LESLEY LAMBERT

said.

The new legislation was necessitated by the arrangements for talks between the government and ANC officials.

But the extent to which it will apply to other political exiles and prisoners will remain unclear until the working committee appointed by President F W de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela decide on a mutually acceptable definition of a political offence.

Coetsee listed three groups that would

be considered for immunity or indemnity: those who had been sentenced and detained; those who were standing trial and those who faced possible charges.

He said that while the first group was subject to the President's existing authority to grant indemnity to prisoners, the application of the legislation to all three groups depended on the definition of a political offence.

In essence, the Bill will empower the President to grant either temporary immunity or permanent indemnity to those exiles who participate in negotiations.

8/5/90

either conditionally or unconditionally.

Notices granting immunity or indemnity will have to be renewed after a year, if necessary. Further renewals will have to be approved by all three Houses.

While CP members expressed strong opposition to the Bill during yesterday's debate, the DP supported it conditionally, saying it was wrong to turn Parliament into a rubber stamp for executive decision-making. Secondly the legislation gave one man absolute power to determine who would be granted indemnity or immunity, and under what conditions.

Indemnity Bill for exiles to cover political friend and foe

CAPR TOWN
Coetsee today

Introducing the new legislation on the indemnity of political exiles and their opponents would apply to political exiles and their opponents who wished to return to SA. Minister of Justice, Mr. Koobes, said it was necessary to grant temporary immunity to political exiles and their opponents who wished to return to SA. He said it was necessary to grant temporary immunity to political exiles and their opponents who wished to return to SA. He said it was necessary to grant temporary immunity to political exiles and their opponents who wished to return to SA.

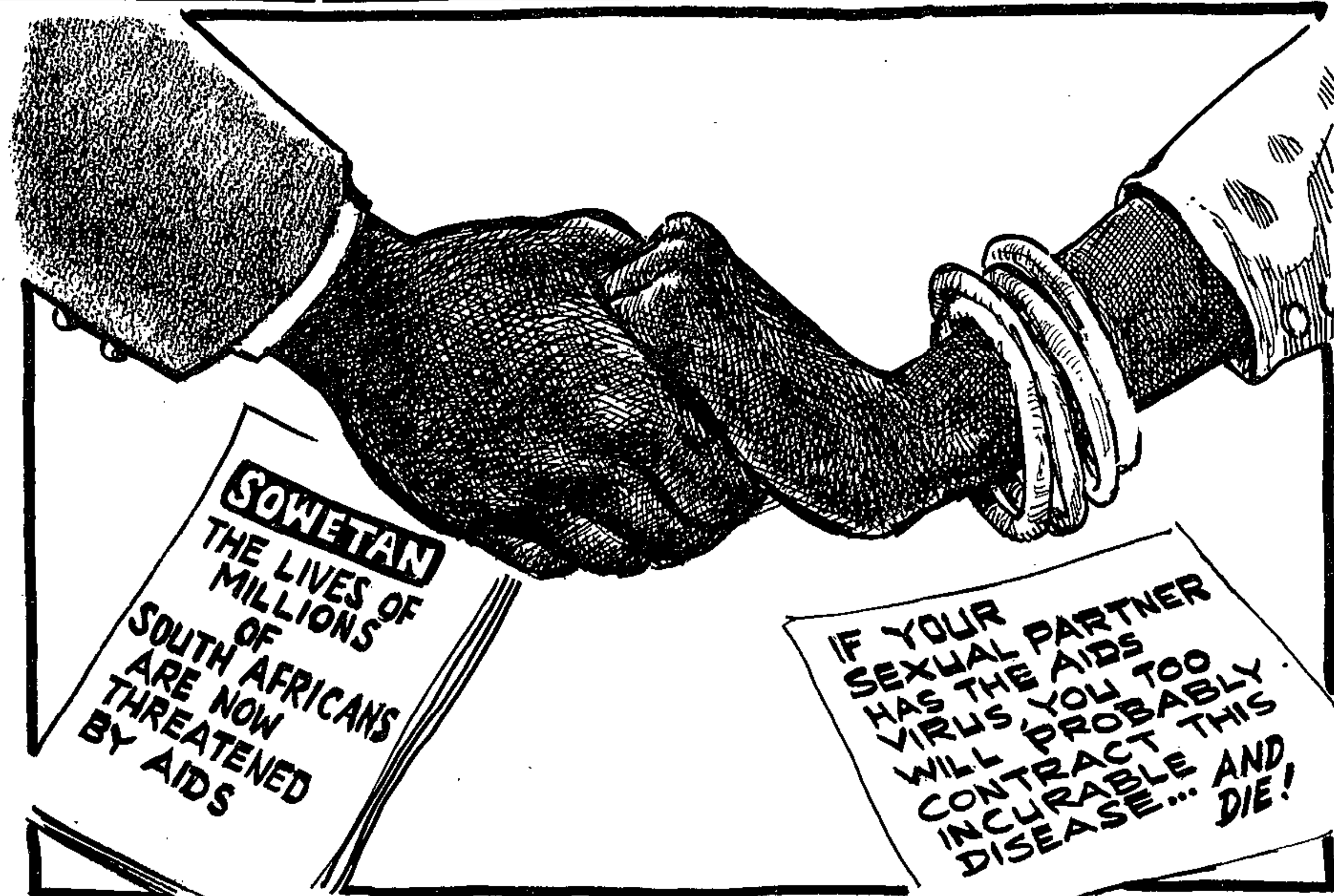
The new legislation was necessitated by the arrangements for talks between the government and ANC officials. But the extent to which it will apply to other political exiles and prisoners will remain unclear until the working committee appointed by President F. W. de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela decide on a mutually acceptable definition of a political offence.

Coetsee listed three groups that would be considered for immunity or indemnity: those who had been sentenced and imprisoned; those who had been sentenced and imprisoned; those who had been sentenced and imprisoned.

He said that those who had been sentenced and imprisoned would be considered for immunity or indemnity. He said that those who had been sentenced and imprisoned would be considered for immunity or indemnity. He said that those who had been sentenced and imprisoned would be considered for immunity or indemnity.

Coetsee said that the Bill would empower the President to grant immunity or indemnity to all three groups. He said that the Bill would empower the President to grant immunity or indemnity to all three groups. He said that the Bill would empower the President to grant immunity or indemnity to all three groups.

Coetsee



Question: Do you have a specific date by which exiles should start returning to South Africa?

Selebi: No, we don't have a deadline because quite a number of things have to be sorted out before an effective process of repatriation can be effected. There is still, for example, the question of guarantees everybody would like to have: immunity from prosecution.

Conditions do not exist today that would permit exiles to return safely. Of course the leadership of the ANC met with the South African regime last week to look at these issues. As soon as we receive the outcome of these talks we will be able to gauge the situation and make proper arrangements.

Rebuilding

We have already started preparations for the return of exiles but these are still in the teething stages in the sense that a number of issues, particularly political ones, need to be sorted out first. In this regard we have to ask ourselves, for instance, what we do with the Terrorism Act that is still in existence in South Africa. The Internal Security Act is also still in place and the question we face is whether exiles can return home while these repressive laws are still in operation.

We will also have to discuss who is going to assist the ANC with the return of an estimated 20 000 exiles. In addition, we have to consider that all South Africans now in foreign countries are not members of the ANC.

Appeal

The ANC wants all South Africans living abroad to return home. Now we also have to deal with the question of whether the ANC would have the capacity to assist with the return of all these people. We estimate that there are about 400 000 emigrants of South African origin in virtually every corner of the world. If the ANC cannot assist these people then we will have to find organisations or international agencies to assist us.

I want to stress here that the ANC will encourage every South African to return home to help with the rebuilding of a new country, especially those who have acquired special skills overseas and who now have a very important role to play in South Africa. The ANC is offering its assistance to everybody who wants to return - even those who are not part of the ANC.

Mechanics of homecoming

Sowetan 9/5/90

330

LUSAKA - The African National Congress is currently sorting out serious questions about the return of an estimated 20 000 ANC exiles from countries all over the world. In an exclusive interview with the *Africa News Organisation* in Zambia this week, the co-ordinator of the ANC's repatriation committee, Mr Jackie Selebi, explains the problems his committee has to deal with in working out an effective repatriation programme.



That is how serious we feel about the issue of the return of not only ANC exiles but all South Africans who left the country. We must build the country together and cannot leave it to a few people.

These are some of the most important questions the repatriation committee will have to sort out before the big homecoming starts.

Question: But what will you do with the ANC exiles once they are back in South Africa? How will you care for them - provide food, jobs and housing for so many people?

Selebi: Yes, the question of accommodation for returnees and the creation of employment are thorny issues indeed. Obviously, life back home will be different from life in exile. In exile international agencies are assisting liberation movements and they take care of our daily needs such as food and shelter.

Vanguard

The ANC itself runs projects to assist with these needs. But I doubt whether these agencies would be there inside South Africa to render further assistance. The ANC will have to sit down and see what it can do for its membership once they are back home. But it is important that we do what we can for the people of

South Africa and not only for the ANC.

Those who are in our ranks are the vanguard of the South African revolution. So they will appreciate having to experience some deprivation because it will be necessary to cater for all people. We cannot provide proper housing for returnees but the rest of our people suffer in squatter camps such as KTC, Crossroads and Khayelitsha.

Regarding job creation for returnees, you should remember that all of us have one big task and that is the building of the ANC. This does not only mean building the political structures the ANC is involved in. I imagine that the ANC will have to run projects inside South Africa.

It will have to purchase land in order to create employment for some returnees. But obviously, we will also have to employ some of them in the political structures of the ANC.

Question: Do you envisage the return of exiles after constitutional negotiations have started or once a new South African is in place?

Selebi: Exiles should return now. If conditions exist in South Africa I am sure they will even return home today. They understand that their role is to engage in the struggle. Now that there is an opening that permits people to engage in the struggle inside South Africa, I believe all of us are ready to leave now and take part in the struggle.

We are not waiting for a for-

mula to be found and then return. We want to return as soon as possible because all forms of struggle are still in place in South Africa. We would still need to be involved in mass activity and even the armed struggle if it need be.

Question: Do you envisage a situation where ANC returnees would be placed in transit camps as had been the case in Namibia when Swapo refugees returned last year?

Selebi: Frankly speaking no decision has been made on that issue. But knowing the sort of people I am dealing with, I don't think they would want to go to a transit camp. I would also advise against transit camp because these people want to be involved in the struggle. If you put them in transit camps you are isolating them from the people and the struggle.

We would certainly prefer that people move into the regions and the structures of the ANC. Besides that, I think transit camps would be very dangerous in terms of the security situation in South Africa.

It is not like in Namibia where Untag could provide the necessary protection for returnees. With the kind of noises we hear from the racist groupings in South Africa it would be unwise to put our people into a structure which would be an easy target for the trigger-happy right wingers.

Question: Almost 200 Natal refugees are currently in Zambia in the care of the ANC. Would they also form part of your repatriation programme?

Selebi: Yes.

CAP- TMS

Monday, May 10, 1990

Joy as ³³⁰ANC man returns home

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — A senior executive member of the ANC and one of Peelson's most famous sons, Mr Steve Tshwete, returned home to a joyous welcome yesterday, five years after evading security police and going into exile.

After spending 15 years in prison on Robben Island, Mr Tshwete helped found the UDF and was chairman of its Border branch in the early 1980s.

He has been based in Lusaka, Zambia, since 1985, and was last seen when he came out of hiding to speak at a mass funeral in Duncan Village in August that year.

After flying into East London yesterday morning, Mr Tshwete went directly to Peelson, where he received a joyful welcome from singing schoolchildren before being reunited with his father and other members of his family.

Mr Tshwete will be in the region until he returns to Johannesburg on Monday.

Mandela flies out on 12-day tour to brief leaders, exiles

Staff Reporter

African National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela left on a 12-day tour of Africa yesterday to brief exiled ANC members and African leaders on the talks his organisation held with the Government last week.

Accompanied by his wife Winnie, ANC general secretary Alfred Nzo, Umkhonto weSizwe commander Joe Modise and two security guards, Mr Mandela's entourage left from Lanseria Airport about 90 minutes after their scheduled time of departure because the Mandelas had left their passports at home.

This is Mr Mandela's second African tour since his release in February.

Mr Mandela and his wife had attended several meetings, some unscheduled, during the day, and in the rush forgot about their passports.

The first stop on Mr Mandela's five-nation tour is the Zambian capital of Lusaka, where the ANC has its headquarters.

Projects

From Lusaka Mr Mandela will proceed to Angola, Nigeria, Algeria and Egypt before returning home.

An ANC spokesman in Johannesburg said Mr Mandela would hold talks with heads of state in the countries he would visit, confer with ANC members in these countries, and inspect the organisation's projects.

A Lanseria Airport official said yesterday that the ANC delegation was already behind schedule when the Mandelas arrived at the airport.

He said that any further delay would have necessitated a fresh flying crew due to international flying time regulations.

The Mandelas, according to the airport official, were issued with emergency travel documents after explaining their plight to immigration officials at the airport.

Shortly before their departure Mrs Mandela told journalists they were "in such a hurry packing and thinking of other things" that she forgot their passports.

Handwritten: 10/5/90
all the educational authorities, devise teachers' guides to assist teachers in giving health education. To compile such guides the advice of experts in a particular field is always sought.

Approximately 90% of the present number of AIDS cases were the result of high-risk behaviour. The establishment of high moral values regarding sexuality amongst the youth, is primarily the responsibility of parents within the family context. Further contributions can especially be made by non-governmental organisations (such as churches and culture groups). Educational institutions can especially contribute by means of making factual information available. By this kind of action they contribute towards the preparation of the youth for the future to enable them to make informed and responsible decisions. However no person can take a decision on behalf of another person.

Media representatives: visas

307. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Home Affairs: *Handwritten:* 10/5/90

- (1) How many applications for (a) new, and (b) the renewal of, visas were received from foreign media representatives in 1989; *Handwritten:* 330
- (2) how many such applications (a) had been (i) granted and (ii) refused and (b) were pending as at 31 December 1989;
- (3) what was the average time taken before such applications were decided upon? *Handwritten:* B787E

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

- (1) (a) 1 236 of which 157 applications were withdrawn.
- (b) 169 of which one was withdrawn.
- (2) Statistics on the basis required are unfortunately not available. The applications not finalised during 1988 and therefore carried over to 1989 are included in the following figures which are given for the purpose of the reply:

Handwritten: 10/5/90
place regarding the possibility to accommodate them elsewhere.

(c) The saving will amount to approximately R4 million per annum which will be used for the upgrading of the Africa services of Radio RSA.

(2) No.

NEWS RELEASE

Certain of the SABC's External Radio Services will be phased out in the following months.

The SABC announced today that — in consultation with the Department of Foreign Affairs — this decision had been taken in the light of limited available funding on the one hand but on the other hand new available technology to achieve set goals. The Services to be closed are the external short wave radio services, with the exception of those broadcasting to Africa. The Radio RSA Services involved are the Dutch, German, Spanish, Brazilian and Portuguese overseas Services, as well as the English and French Services to the United States, Britain and Europe. In line with international practice, the External Services of the SABC are financed by the State. *Handwritten:* 10/5/90

In the international broadcasting arena today, rapid and ongoing satellite and other technological development — particularly in North America and Europe — favours more modern methods of communication, rather than short wave broadcasting as provided in the past by Radio RSA. In Africa, however, the lack of overall technological development maintains short wave radio broadcasting as by far the most effective present-day communication channel.

Throughout the years the overseas short wave services of Radio RSA have performed a valuable task for South Africa, and both the Department of Foreign Affairs and the SABC owe a debt of gratitude and appreciation to each and every one of those involved.

9.4.90.

Retiring teachers: gratuity

351. Mr A GERBER asked the Minister of National Health and Population Development: (1) Whether consideration is being given to reducing the gratuity paid to retiring

teachers, if so, what are the relevant details;

(2) whether she will make a statement on the matter? *Handwritten:* 10/5/90 B856E

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH AND POPULATION DEVELOPMENT:

(1) and (2) No.

Persons economically active

381. Mr P H P GASTROW asked the Minister of Home Affairs: *Handwritten:* 10/5/90

(a) How many persons in each population group were economically active in the Republic as at the latest specified date for which figures are available and (b) how many such persons were employed by the public sector? *Handwritten:* B909E

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

	Whites	Coloureds	Asians	Blacks
(a) 1989	2 033 000	1 223 000	344 000	7 256 000
(b) 1989	608 877	200 520	40 724	830 717
June	528 316	186 148	39 007	748 971

* Mid-year estimate.

** The public sector comprises:

- Executive institutions for general and own affairs
- Civil services of the self-governing territories
- Local authorities
- Parastatal institutions
- Universities and technikons
- Agricultural marketing boards
- Public corporations (Iscor excluded)
- Public sector, excluding South African Transport Services.

Chief Directorate: Surveys and Mapping: posts

391. Mr E W TRENT asked the Minister of Public Works and Land Affairs: *Handwritten:* 10/5/90

- (1) How many posts were there on the establishment of the Chief Directorate: Surveys and Mapping as at 31 March 1990;
- (2) whether any posts on the establishment of this chief directorate were vacant as at 31 March 1990; if so, (a) how many, (b) what is the designation of each such post

were none here
Cape Times 11/5/70
**238 journalists
refused visas**

Political Staff 336

THE government refused visa applications by 238 foreign journalists last year, including four renewal applications, the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr. Gene Louw, said yesterday.

But the applications by 1 021 other foreign journalists, including 166 renewals, were approved, he said in reply to a question tabled by Mr. Peter Soal (DP, Johannesburg North).

The department had not set aside any amount for monitoring the media, Mr. Louw said.

Mandela's advice for exiles

VIANA (Angola) — Nelson Mandela and his wife Winnie received an emotional welcome yesterday from over 200 South African political exiles at an African National Congress training camp where the couple spoke to militants of their hopes and fears for the future of South Africa.

The Mandelas both called for rank-and-file discipline when the ANC's estimated 15 000 exiles around the world eventually return home to face housing and job shortages and a lack of schooling facilities for their children.

8-12/5/90
Millionaires

330

"We feel the day we have been waiting for might be close at hand," said Nelson Mandela, standing in his shirt sleeves before the militants crammed into a prefab hut at Viana, some 20 km outside the Angolan capital of Luanda.

"The ANC calls on you to act in a disciplined manner when you return

and I must say (members) can't expect to be able to live like millionaires — choosing mansions in whatever part of town they prefer," he added.

Mr Mandela, who was greeted by chants of "we know you are our father", gave the crowd an account of his talks last week with President de Klerk.

Mr Mandela said he believed Mr de Klerk and the government delegation at the talks were sincerely searching for a peaceful solution, but warned, "We don't know if the delegation stands for all whites in South Africa and that's what we're worried about."

He explained ANC demands that all exiles should be allowed to return home under a general amnesty, that all political prisoners be released and that the state of emergency dating from 1986 should be lifted before the movement will consider a truce in its fight against white-minority rule.

ANC has prisons – Sachs

CP Correspondent

ALBIE Sachs has always been known for his honesty, charm and sense of humour.

He certainly did not let his reputation down when he spoke at the University of Cape Town this week.

He also became the first ANC member, apart from deputy president Nelson Mandela, to talk in South Africa about the organisation's detention centres.

He did not say where or how many people were being detained by the ANC.

Although he had heard about these detention centres, he only visited them during the course of a recent inquiry.

Conditions were not as bad as he had expected. Detainees were well fed, received adequate medical care and had not complained to him about being physically abused, he said.

After the visit he cried because the experience took him back to his own detention by the South African Government more than 20 years ago.

"It was sad to see this happening. Yet I knew hit squads had sent persons in to kill us.

"If people come back and say they have been ill-treated by the ANC, it is not necessarily lies because we have ill-treated people.

"But if people come back and say that is the ANC – that is lies because we have a strong sense of justice in the organisation."

Sachs said the fact that an inquiry was being held showed the ANC had standards and even people sent to kill ANC members had certain basic human rights.

"The hardest cases, and these are cases which we have to face up to now, are those against whom there is strong suspicion – yet not strong enough for a conviction."

Sachs said ANC president Oliver Tambo had instructed him and some others in Lusaka in 1984 to draft

regulations on the question of how to treat violations of ANC rules.

These ranged from one member stealing from another to SAP members trained and sent to Lusaka, Angola and Mozambique with plans to assassinate ANC leaders.

"It was clear Tambo was deeply concerned with finding appropriate standards consistent with the traditions of the ANC."

There were many problems in the ANC at that stage, and the movement had decided to hold a conference to discuss them.

"One of the most painful issues was the question of torture."

According to Sachs, ANC members repeatedly made the point that the movement was fighting for justice and freedom and could not use methods used by the enemy.

The meeting had adopted a Code of Conduct, dividing offences into different categories.

Tshwete at home after five years

CP Correspondent

FIVE years after narrowly avoiding arrest by security police, ANC national organiser Steve Tshwete this week returned home.

Tshwete, who was sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment during the 1960s, was a major force behind the launch of the Border region of the UDF after being released from Robben Island in 1981.

He served as UDF chairman after the organisation was launched.

During the height of unrest in 1985, Tshwete went into hiding but made a dramatic appearance at a Duncan Village funeral, evading a massive police search.

He later planned a surprise visit to his father in Peelton Village in the Ciskei. But instead he himself was surprised to find four security policemen waiting for him in the house.

They arrested him, but a friend, who was slightly drunk, arrived and while the police were "dealing" with him, Tshwete escaped.

Shortly afterwards, Tshwete went into exile and received military training in Zambia.

He rose quickly within the ranks of Umkhonto we Sizwe before being appointed to the National Executive Council of the ANC.

He held the position of co-ordinator of internal organisations before being appointed national organiser this year.



Steve Tshwete, ANC national organiser, with his father at Peelton.

He arrived back in South Africa on Wednesday and immediately returned to his home village of Peelton after landing at East London Airport.

Tshwete described his return to Peelton as an overwhelming experience which reminded him of the time he left prison in 1981.

He told villagers who assembled to welcome him home that he was very proud of Peelton. He said he had followed the struggle villagers had waged against President Lennox Sebe's regime

while he was in exile.

After paying a visit to the school at which he taught, Tshwete went to his parents' house.

While goats were being slaughtered in preparation for a feast, he said he was very excited about being appointed national organiser.

"It is a very challenging position. It will be my task to see that all levels of society are reached, especially the white community."

He said the ANC had

changed a great deal since it was banned in the 1960s.

"I will still be a member of the NEC and the regional co-ordinators will be directly under me," he said.

He confirmed he would have come back to South Africa regardless of whether or not the Bill indemnifying members of political organisations had been passed.

"I don't think they would have done anything to me, but now I am just glad to be back."

Churches to discuss exiles

THE South African Council of Churches (SACC) is to hold a three-day national consultation to prepare for the return of South African exiles.

The meeting, to be held from today at Koinonia in Johannesburg, will seek to clarify the role of the church on the return of exiles, according to the Rev Frank Chikane, general secretary of the SACC.

Chikane said the meeting would be attended by



THE REV FRANK CHIKANE

member churches of the SACC, the South African Catholic Bishops Conference, regional councils of churches and associate

members of the SACC. The Baptist Convention of South Africa and the National Baptist Convention have also been invited, he said.

He said a broader consultation involving liberation movements such as the ANC, the Black Consciousness Movement and the PAC would take place immediately afterwards.

Last month the SACC had a consultative meeting with the ANC in Lusaka on the issue.

South African 14/5/90

THE return of the exiles will become one of the biggest migration of people back to their motherland. A short visit outside South Africa shows the fascination, the feverish anticipation and the fear that exiles have about getting back home.

I have recently returned from a four-week trip overseas, and met some exiles in London, America and Europe. If the major political changes of the recent past have shaken and generally destabilised South Africans, the tensions experienced by the exiles are many. They are excited and frightened about the prospects of returning.

They fear the type of reception they might get. There is doubt about what political roles, if any, they will be expected to play.

There is a guilt about their absence and, most importantly, a heart-breaking yen to make up for what they believe was desertion from the internal struggle.

Drain

Inevitably, most exiles have had to nail particular ideological flags to their lives abroad. Some did this out of a commitment, others felt perhaps it was safer, perhaps expedient, to publicly declare themselves followers of the political organisations.

Most of them are well educated with some of them holding exceptional positions in the disciplines they studied abroad.

The people who formed what was to be



**ON
THE
LINE**

**Aggrey
Klaaste**

called the "brain drain" left South Africa for various reasons.

There are the political activists who had to flee for their lives. There are those who left even before the first massive explosive event at Sharpeville in 1960. There are those who left because they did not want to join the army. There are others who had the academic training that gave them

attractive offers to good jobs and businesses abroad.

There are some of my friends who left after 1960, simply for the hell of getting out of the clutches of the pass laws or escaping the hell of being black in those unhappy times.

I know a few people who left because they had intimate relationships across the colour line.

Some even fled while they were on bail after being charged with breaking the infamous Immorality Act.

A treasure-trove of talent anxiously hoping, desperately waiting for the word to come back home. The doubt about what to expect runs deep.

Over and over again I heard from people who said while they understood the political ideological strains in South Africa, they would rather simply get back home and do their bit to contribute towards the reconstruction period.

Academic

An academic in Boston who has a PhD from Harvard University told me there could be about one million South African exiles outside the country.

I could quote these people by name, but I

suspect this could create problems for them. I was made more sensitive by the swing of the ideological pendulum after only four weeks away from South Africa.

I almost felt like I was returning from exile.

In London I met a man who years ago taught me journalism. He is coming back to South Africa to work on a temporary basis.

He is now a grandfather, so that he heads two generations of children who have no links whatever with South Africa. His heart is in South Africa, his mind tells him to be cautious.

The anxiety about readjustment, about starting a new life, with a new family in South Africa, is enormous.

My tentative suggestion was, and this is what I tried to tell others, he should get back home but not cut the ties he made abroad.

I said it was important for people like him to get back to the motherland, even for a visit. I gave this gut reaction to people who were obviously anxious to get advice from me. I do not know if I am qualified to give such advice.

Tales

Perhaps the most exciting tales about the exiles I got were from America. The same post-graduate professional in Boston told me a fascinating story about young black boys and girls who have done programmes in and around Boston.

One or two of the boys, I was told, had become almost legendary at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

If the story is true, one or two of these boys, coming from our rural areas, have become the

best students at MIT, a world-renowned institution.

My excitement was tinged by a great sadness about the future of these children.

At the same Boston meeting I met South Africans from our so-called homelands. They are engaged in programmes to help South African blacks in education.

They are willing to help more, but are embarrassed about their "political" standing, or the perception we might have of them. In short, they simply do not know if they would be well received back home.

I advised them that the price might be to accept even rejection, but that their help was desperately needed.

Apropos to this, I was rather shaken by the type of response I got from South Africans when I told them the dilemma facing our exiles.

The harsh response is, these people should expect no sympathy for going on the "chicken run". There is an arrogance and contempt, which I fear might be widespread about the exiles.

I am a moderate, and I believe the pragmatic thing to do is to use even the Devil himself to help us rebuild this country.

The yard-stick used to damn the exiles is emotional as the circumstances surrounding their leaving differ vastly.

I met some of the best artists and musicians in America who claim the cultural contribution they could give was enormous.

I met a white journalist from the old days. His story is fascinating. He worked for newspapers in Johannesburg and was arrested. He spent seven years in jail and has written a book about that.

We discussed journal-

ism and the possibilities of his helping us in training our people.

The white professionals I met, men and women who hold very senior jobs, are not exactly straining at the leash to get back home.

Perhaps they are not as open as the black exiles. Perhaps they are even more sensitive to their perceived roles back home.

Last, but not least was the singular re-union I had with old friend and former journalist Ike Thapedi, who is today one of the most qualified medical men in America.

Humble

He lives in Chicago and is a neuro-surgeon. He left in 1959 to study medicine. He first studied Obstetrics and then switched to become one of the few neuro-surgeons in America.

I can mention his name for he asked me to use him as a role model. Ike left 30 years ago and came from a humble home in Evaton. Today he must be amongst the most wealthy men in America.

Among the many fevered questions he asked me were: Where would he stay? Where would he work? What would be expected of him? What does the country look like? What happens if a man or woman is married to someone across the colour line? Does he have to declare his ideological position or preference? What if he has none? Does the ANC, PAC or BC groups have offices where exiles would be expected to report after their return? What about the "System", about the police?

And many other questions.

UWC still waiting for reply from FW

By JOHN YELD, Education Reporter AKG 17/5/76 (34) 330

PRESIDENT De Klerk has not yet responded to a request by the University of the Western Cape to discuss the impasse over the appointment of exiled author and academic Professor Njabulo Ndebele, according to the university's newsletter, Bulletin.

UWC wants to appoint Professor Ndebele as a vice-rector but the government has refused to issue a residence permit for him.

Professor Ndebele is a Lesotho citizen heading the English department at the University of Lesotho and is the national president of the Congress of South African Writers.

VISA STOP-LIST

The UWC Council decided at its last meeting to ask for a meeting with Mr De Klerk after an inconclusive meeting with Home Affairs Minister Mr Gene Louw.

Mr Louw said in a statement that Professor and Mrs Ndebele's visa exemptions had been withdrawn a number of years ago, before UWC's appointment offer, and their names placed on the visa and entry stop-list.

The decision to refuse Professor Ndebele a residence permit had been taken at Cabinet level and he was not at liberty to disclose the reasons for the decision, Mr Louw said.

Denard to stay in SA pending probe

330
Apr. Times 17/5/90
PRETORIA. — French mercenary Colonel Bob Denard will be allowed to stay in South Africa pending the outcome of an inquiry into the assassination of President Abdallah of the Comoros — allegedly at the hands of the colonel.

The extension of Colonel Denard's temporary residence permit was confirmed yesterday by the Department of Foreign Affairs.

Requests that Colonel Denard be allowed to reside in South Africa were received from both the Comoran and French governments.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha was informed of the recognition granted by the Islamic Federal Republic of the Comoros for South African assistance in removing foreign mercenaries from the Indian Ocean island.

And in the same letter, dated May 4, Mr Botha's Comoran counterpart requested that Colonel Denard be allowed to continue living here. This request was made in anticipation of the outcome of the inquiry into the assassination of Mr Abdallah, a Foreign Affairs spokesman said. — Sapa

C/Pres 2015/90
330

Church 4 to advise on exiles

A DELEGATION from the Council of Churches in Namibia (CCN) will advise the South African Council of Churches on the repatriation of exiled South Africans.

Namibia Today reported in Windhoek that four members of the CCN's Triple R (Repatriation, Resettlement and Reconstruction) co-ordinating committee are to meet SACC executive officers this weekend.

The delegates will also attend a national consultation of churches and progressive organisations to prepare a resettlement programme.

The CCN worked with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to bring home 40 000 Namibian exiles before elections last November.

— Sapa

Donald Woods plans return to make film

330
STC 21/5/90
EAST LONDON — There are no restrictions against Donald Woods or outstanding charges.

This assurance has been given by President de Klerk to the managing director of the Daily Dispatch, Terry Briceland.

In December 1989, Mr Briceland wrote to Mr de Klerk urging that all restrictions on Mr Woods should be dropped. Mr de Klerk acknowledged the letter

and said the matter was being considered.

Mr Woods was banned for five years in October 1977 when he was editor of the Daily Dispatch. He fled South Africa in January 1978.

Mr de Klerk has now sent a second letter to Mr Briceland in which he said: "I wish to inform you that there are neither restrictions on Mr Woods, nor any

charges outstanding against him. I, however, hope that Mr Woods will in future adopt a more positive attitude towards our efforts.

Mr Woods said from London: "There really does seem to be a new spirit abroad in South Africa and I'm greatly looking forward to coming back to experience it for myself," he said.

"Our entire family is coming

back to South Africa for Christmas anyway, but in view of today's news, and the possibility that I could come out on a journalistic assignment before then, I'm starting right now to plan a visit as early as possible with my own television crew to go all over and reflect the difference between the SA I left 12 years ago and the SA of today. It's an exciting prospect," — Sapa.

Indemnity for 38 welcomed by Sisulu

ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu has welcomed government's announcement on Saturday of a three-month indemnity for 38 ANC members in exile but ANC members are surprised that the indemnity only lasts until August 19.

Sisulu said: "The list includes the full ANC national executive and four other ANC cadres required to participate in the working group set up jointly by the government and the ANC during their Groote Schuur talks earlier on in May."

However ANC members said it was unfortunate that two ANC economists, Sisulu's son Max and Tito Mboweni, who are part of a 40-strong senior ANC delegation scheduled to participate in an ANC business conference on Wednesday, had not been included in the amnesty list.

Colin Coleman, National Organiser of the Consultative Business Movement, conveners of the conference, said yesterday that conference organisers were consulting with government to clarify the position in the hope that the two men would be able to attend.

Acting President Gerrit Viljoen said in an extraordinary edition of the Government Gazette that 38 exiled members were free to return home.

ANC leaders granted indemnity include President Oliver Tambo, Secre-

tary General Alfred Nzo, Chief of Staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), Chris Hani, Intelligence chief, Jacob Zuma, MK commander Joe Modise and the Secretary General of the SA Communist Party, Joe Slovo.

ANC Lusaka secretariat spokesman Sindiso Mfenyane, who has also been granted amnesty, said he was surprised that the amnesty expired on August 19.

"The joint statement issued by the ANC and the South African Government after the Cape Town talks indicated that the National Executive and other senior officers of the organisation would be allowed to return to SA to strengthen the organisation."

"However, perhaps the government intends extending the amnesty after August 19 and also, we hope, expanding it to include all ANC members," Mfenyane said.

A Justice Department spokesman said the amnesty offer should be seen as a temporary measure to satisfy "immediate requirements".

KIN BENTLEY reports from London that the ANC's external wing, in exile since the 1960s, is planning its return home.

It is carrying out a census of its exiled membership around the world.

Nzo told a Press briefing in London that the ANC had recently set up a repatriation committee. — Sapa.

90-day indemnity for exiles welcomed

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The internal leader of the African National Congress, Mr Walter Sisulu, has welcomed the government's announcement of a three-month indemnity for 38 ANC members in exile.

"The list (released on Saturday) includes the full ANC national executive and four other ANC cadres required to participate in the working group set up jointly by the government and the ANC during their Groote Schuur talks earlier on in May," said Mr Sisulu.

"Any step towards the normalisation of the situation in the country is welcome," he added.

However he was personally disappointed that his son Max Sisulu, an ANC economist, was not among those included in the list.

Acting President Dr Gerrit Viljoen said in an extraordinary edition of the Government Gazette that 38 exiled members were free to return home.

ANC leaders granted indemnity include Mr Oliver Tambo, secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo, chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) Mr Chris Hani, intelligence chief Mr Jacob Zuma, MK commander Joe Modise and the secretary-general of the SA Communist Party, Mr Joe Slovo.

Dr Viljoen said the indemnity was necessary to promote peaceful constitutional negotiation in South Africa.

Economists not included

Mr Sindiso Mfenyane, a spokesman for the ANC Lusaka secretariat, who has also been granted amnesty, said he was surprised that the amnesty had been granted only until August 19.

"The joint statement issued by the ANC and the South African government after the Cape Town talks indicated that the National Executive and other senior officers of the organisation would be allowed to return to South Africa to strengthen the organisation.

"However, perhaps the government intends extending the amnesty after August 19 and also we hope expanding it to include all ANC members," Mr Mfenyane said.

He said it was unfortunate that two ANC economists, Mr Max Sisulu and Mr Tito Mboweni, who are scheduled to address an ANC business conference on Wednesday, had not been included in the indemnity list.

In response to a question why the indemnity had been granted only until August 19, 1990, a spokesman for the Department of Justice said it was only a temporary measure to satisfy immediate requirements.

"If at a later stage it is deemed necessary, a further announcement can be made," she said.

The following people were named in the special edition of the Government Gazette as qualifying for indemnity: Jeremy Cronin, Stephen Dlamini, Chris Hani, Joe Jele, Pallo Jordan, Ronnie Kasrils, Stanley Mabizela, Penuell Maduna, Simon Makana, Mac Maharaj, Robert Manci, Henry Makgothi, Thabo Mbeki, Gill Marcus, Francis Meli, Sindiso Mfenyane, Joe Modise, Timothy Mokwena, Jacquelin Molefe, Ruth Mompati, Anthony Mongalo, Joel Netshitenzhe, Joe Nhlanhla, John Nkadimeng, Thomas Titus Nkobi, Alfred Nzo, Aziz Pahad, Mzwai Piliso, Jackie Selebi, Reginald September, Gertrude Shope, Sizakhele Sigxashe, Joe Slovo, James Stuart, Oliver Reginald Tambo, Dan Tloome, Steve Tshwete and Jacob Zuma. — Sapa

Donald Woods home soon

JOHANNESBURG. — Former newspaper editor Mr Donald Woods, whose life was portrayed in the film "Cry Freedom", plans to return from exile in London after a personal assurance from President F W de Klerk.

The managing director of Mr Woods's old newspaper the Daily Dispatch, Mr David Brice-land, said yesterday that he had had a letter from Mr De Klerk saying Mr Woods had been exonerated, but that he hoped he would adopt a "more positive attitude".

Mr Woods responded by saying he would come back from exile as soon as possible, Mr Brice-land said. — Sapa

● Indemnity for some exiles — Page 5

Two ANC exiles get temporary immunity

Pretoria Bureau

330

ANC exiles Max Sisulu and Tito Mboweni have been granted temporary immunity until August 19.

An announcement to this effect in yesterday's Government Gazette follows the ANC's reported puzzlement as to why the men — particularly Mr Sisulu, son of ANC internal chairman Walter Sisulu and UDF patron Albertina Sisulu — were left off the list of 38 others granted immunity at the weekend.

In terms of the Indemnity Act

the men may not be prosecuted or detained for previous alleged offences during the period of immunity.

"That's beautiful news," Mrs Sisulu reacted yesterday.

"But what a pity he did not get this clearance before the conference in Johannesburg."

Her son, an economics expert, was due to attend the ANC meeting with businessmen yesterday along with Mr Mboweni, who returned to South Africa before being granted immunity.

Mrs Sisulu said her son left South Africa in 1963.

Dress rehearsal for cultural debate

Recent political changes in South Africa have inspired a review of the cultural boycott. It is among issues, including the role of exiles, in the spotlight at a cultural workers conference. PHIL MOLEFE reports

A CLEAR position on the international cultural boycott is expected to be formulated this weekend at a three-day cultural workers' conference organised by the National Interim Cultural Desk in Johannesburg.

Once a position has been formulated a national cultural workers' delegation will team up with the head of the African National Congress Department of Arts and Culture, Barbara Masekela, to brief the United Nations.

The meeting, which begins this evening, will be attended by about 100 delegates from all parts of the country, including the "homelands".

Delegates will focus on the cultural boycott in the light of recent political developments in the country.

"We need to come up with a clear position and review certain aspects of the cultural boycott," said cultural desk member Sydney Tshangela, the conference co-ordinator.

Masekela said a delegation of the ANC arts and culture section will visit the country soon after the conference to consult with local cultural leaders.

"The meeting will focus on the cultural boycott and its application," said Masekela.

For some time, it was not clear who was affected by the boycott, aimed at isolating South Africa from world cultural events, as the strategy was applied selectively.

The desk maintained that overseas artists wishing to perform in South Africa should first consult "progressive" structures inside and outside the country. This also applied to local artists who wished to perform abroad.

"We have to work out whether we continue with the cultural boycott or not," said Tshangela.

The form and continuation of the cultural boycott caused controversies when artists like singer Ray Phiri featured in concerts outside the country "without properly consulting" cultural structures.

The return of exiles will also be high on the agenda. There will be discussions on what their return would mean for the cultural boycott and how it would be monitored thereafter.

"We will assess the role exiled cultural workers would have to play and how they would assist in building a non-racial culture," said Tshangela.

Masekela said they would like to see artists returning in an "organised" fashion in order to be welcomed by the people of South Africa.

"We owe it to our exiled artists who over the years contributed to our struggle by making people understand what South Africa is like," she said.

She said a series of concerts would be organised throughout the country for the returning artists although she did not say how soon will the artists be coming.

The meeting will discuss preparing for a musical tour of exiled musicians like Miriam Makeba, Hugh Masekela and Abdullah Ibrahim (Dollar Brand).

ANC constitutional expert Albie Sachs, author of the paper *Preparing Ourselves for Freedom*, which has aroused much debate in cultural circles, is expected to address the cultural workers on some of the issues he raised in his paper: whether art should be seen as "a weapon of the struggle", whether objective standards should be applied to art which is seen to "advance the struggle".

Write on! African authors won't be ignored

W/Man * 25/5 - 31/5/90
THE African Writers' Association this week claimed it was a victim of "political bias and a non-supportive media" — but that it would continue nonetheless as a non-aligned independent writers' body.

At a press conference, an AWA representative claimed the group's "positive contribution had been deliberately ignored for political reasons", because it was seen as a black consciousness or Africanist organisation. The representative criticised moves "aimed at isolating AWA from the mainstream literary issues through the holding back of funds aimed at developing our members".

On the non-alignment issue, AWA secretary Nhlaganiso Dladla said "A

conference decision emphasises the right of members to choose their political homes, but also states that AWA has to facilitate the literary expression of the African or black experience."

He said the association's 10-year existence has been marked by severe state harassment. He cited two members, Duma Ndlovu and Moropodi Makalapanye, detained and now in exile, and founding AWA member and Skotaville editor Jaki Seroke, who is serving a 10-year sentence relating to Pan Africanist Congress activities but who was also detained and questioned several times over the years.

"The security police raids on several of our workshops are only a few

examples of the harassment suffered by AWA's members," he added.

The government's denial of a work permit to South African-born academic, author and literary critic Professor Njabulo Ndebele was labelled "an unjust curtailment of human rights and freedom of movement". Ndebele, national president of the Congress of South African Writers and pro-vice chancellor of the National University of Lesotho, was offered the post of vice rector of the University of the Western Cape.

The AWA officials dismissed the impending Grahamstown Arts Festival as "perpetuating the 1820 Settlers colonialist mentality. As far as AWA is concerned," said a representative, "it is a non-event."

Returning exiles: new body moves into gear

THE problem of thousands of returning exiles is being given top priority by religious groups and liberation movements, the African Nationalist Congress the Pan Africanist Congress and the Black Consciousness Movement.

The general secretary of the SA Council of Churches, the Rev Frank Chikane, was this week appointed to head a national committee comprising members of religious groups and liberation movements which will supervise the forming of structures for the reintegration of exiles.

Houses and jobs

A Johannesburg conference on the return of exiles was attended by members of the SACC, the SA Catholic Bishops' Conference, the ANC, the PAC, Jews for Social Justice, trade unions and other organisations. It followed behind-the-scenes Lusaka consultations on exile repatriation.

PAT DEVEREAUX

Conference discussions focussed not only the issue of returning ANC/PAC guerillas but also the thousands of academics and organisational office bearers in exile who need houses and jobs.

It was decided that Mr. Chikane's task force will not only tackle the setting up of structures, but will lead a programme of action to force the removal of the land and Group Areas Act as well as obtain a general amnesty for all exiles — including the release of political prisoners.

Delegates proposed that amnesty for exiles should include the exiles of the homelands and self-governing states. The question of South African citizenship was also raised as a concern for those exiles who may be classified as "homeland citizens".

The task group plan to establish counselling facilities at points of entry, and the setting up of exile reception centres was also discussed.

Sowetan
28/5/90

National plan on returned exiles

THREE programmes of action for the repatriation of exiles have been formulated by church groups, service organisations and the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress and the Black Consciousness Movement.

The programmes were formulated last week at a consultation between the South African Council of Churches, the South African Catholic Bishops' Conference, the Muslim Judicial Council, Jews for Social Justice, the South African Hindu Maha Sabha, the PAC, the ANC, the BCM and 23 service organisations.

A National Coordinating Committee composed of representatives of religious groups and the liberation movements will be appointed as the policy-making body.

A task force at national and regional levels will deal with the implementation of the programme.

The general secretary of the SACC, the Rev Frank Chikane, has been appointed to initiate these structures within two weeks in consultation with other religious bodies.

Employment and housing prospects of returning exiles were found to be good, given the country's unemployment and state of the economy.

"(It was) decided that exiles must be informed that they are returning to the realities of apartheid and not to a changed situation. The integration of exiles will be difficult in areas such as education," the groups said in a statement.

Nkademeng held

Sent L 30/5-6/6/90

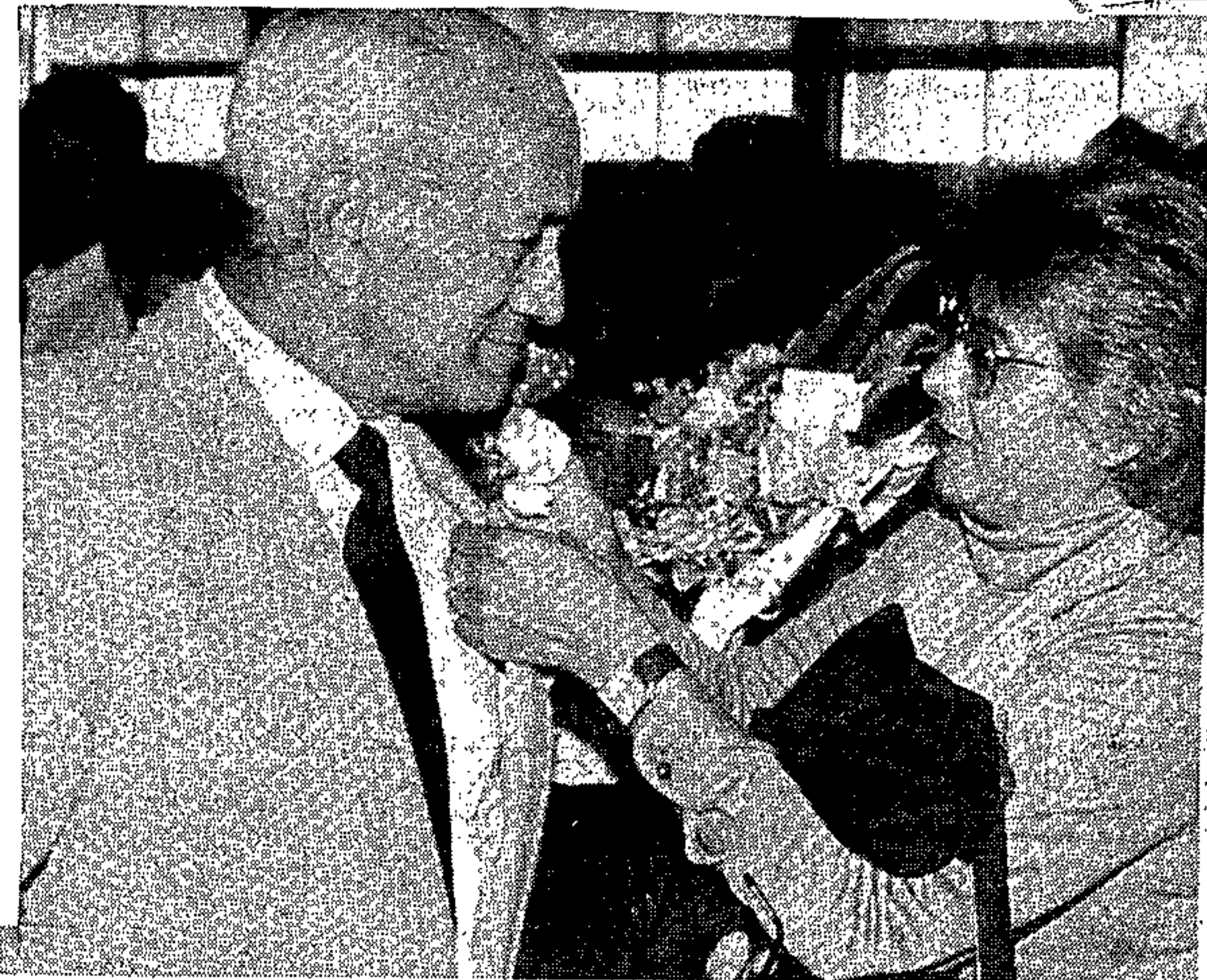
330

JOHANNESBURG. — The secretary of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu), Mr John Nkademeng, was held for about four hours at Jan Smuts Airport here this week as he tried to slip quietly into the country.

TOTALITARIANISM — PASSPORTS & VISAS

1990

JUNE — DEC.



COMING HOME . . . ANC national executive member Mr Reg September has a flower and a heart pinned to his jacket by an old friend who met him and his wife at the airport.

Picture: RASHID LOMBARD

Police bar September welcome

Staff Reporter

ANC members remonstrated angrily with policemen who tried to exclude them from the D F Malan Airport building yesterday, when they tried to welcome home Western Cape regional ANC convener Mr Reggie September after 27 years in exile.

The policemen refused to divulge their orders, but police spokesman Captain Attie Laubscher later said their orders had been "to maintain law and order".

Despite the police action, about three dozen ANC supporters gained entry to the building, and broke into

song when Mr September and his wife Hettie arrived. The group moved to the parking lot, where Mr September delivered a brief speech.

Mr September was in the Western Cape on ANC business briefly during the recent Groote Schuur talks, but yesterday was his true homecoming.

Mr September said he and his wife would gain a new lease on life from this opportunity to work "in this part of the world, where we come from".

• Another ANC national executive member, Mr John Nkadimeng, arrived in Cape Town earlier yesterday, Western Cape ANC office-bearer Mr Johnny Issel said.

Exiles worry about return to SA

ANC commander Joe Modise and representatives of foreign donor agencies and Christian churches met this week to discuss the return to South Africa of an undisclosed number of ANC guerrillas.

As exiles prepare to return, many worry whether they'll be able to fit into South African society, if they'll get jobs or be able to afford houses.

"Probably the people who have lived comfortably under apartheid will be better off than us - the people who made a moral stand," says one South African exile living in Harare's plush Borrowdale suburb. *clm 3/6/90* (330)

9/11/90

330

Low-cost housing for exiles who return home

By PATRICK MAFAFO

A new "village type" low-cost housing scheme is on the drawing board. The aim is to provide homes for returning political exiles and the scheme can also be used to upgrade squatter camps.

In the scheme, six-three bedroomed units are accommodated on a 400-square metre site. Each unit will cost R14 000.

The scheme will qualify for the Urban Foundation loan guarantee initiative which was officially launched this month. Through this initiative building society finance is available to borrowers who seek loans from as little as R12 500.

A property development company specialising in black areas is handling the sale of sites for the units. The company owns sites in all provinces.

Heinz Hachler and Peter Fellows, designers of the concept, hope to draw finance for the project from the R3 billion fund set aside for socio-economic development and the R100 million Liberty Life Fund.

Hachler, an architect, and Fellows, a structural engineer, are both involved in a pilot scheme to provide recreation and non-formal education in black townships. These proposals, which they say are at an advanced stage, will also be put to the R3 billion fund and the Liberty Fund.

Fellows runs companies in Johannesburg and Lesotho. Projects he has worked on include the Royal Place for Lesotho's King Moshoeshoe II and flats for the Lesotho Housing Corporation. He has won numerous awards for outstanding design.

Hachler, a Swede with permanent residence in South Africa, has worked in Sweden and Saudi Arabia. He specialises in housing, civic centres, hotels, theatres, offices and shopping malls.

Fellows and Hachler plan to meet the consultation group set up to deal with returning exiles. The group was established at a three-day meeting at Koinonia attended by 23 service organisations. These included the ANC, PAC, BCM, Muslim Judicial Council, Jews for Social Justice, Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference and the SA Hindu Maha Sabha. The meeting was hosted by the SA Council of Churches.

Tsietsi Mashinini may return to SA

By LEN MASEKO

EXILED Soweto student leader Tsietsi Mashinini, who fled South Africa at the height of the 1976 upheavals, is likely to settle in Zimbabwe soon.

The news follow immediately after reports that exiled world-acclaimed singer Miriam Makeba is returning to the country.

Makeba, who is said to have played godmother to the fiery student leader in his years in exile in Guinea, West Africa, is expected on Sunday.

Mashinini's brother, Sipho, said yesterday his family was in touch with Tsietsi, with a view to arranging a meeting in Zimbabwe - possibly next week.

"Nothing has been finalised yet

but we are hoping Tsietsi may settle nearer home in one of the southern African states," said Sipho.

He said his family was still negotiating with the Zimbabwean authorities to allow his brother to settle there.

Tsietsi's impending return to southern Africa comes at a time when the Government and the ANC are negotiating over indemnity for exiles who plan to return.

It is believed the exiled leader, if granted political asylum in Zimbabwe, would be monitoring the situation in South Africa before deciding whether to return permanently to the country he left

14 years ago.

As chairman of the Soweto Students' Representative Council, Tsietsi led thousands of pupils during their revolt against the use of Afrikaans as a medium-instruction in black schools.

He became South Africa's most wanted man and appeared to enjoy thumbing his nose at the authorities who launched a massive search for him at the time.

Police later rounded up 11 of his SSRC "lieutenants", who were jailed for terms ranging between five and 10 years.

While in north Africa, Tsietsi married a Nigerian beauty in the late '70s but they divorced a few years later.



TSIETSI MASHININI

quads at

NEW

20 000 eager exiles wait for the all-clear to come home

330 VANORA BENNETT

GABORONE — Twenty thousand black South Africans, who went into exile a generation ago, are now on tenterhooks waiting for the signal to return home.

"We're carrying on life like we used to, but everybody's looking with big eyes waiting for that bell to ring," said Snuki Zikalala.

Pointing down the starlit eastern highway out of Gaborone to the frontier just 10 km away, his wife Pinky added: "That's the road we'll

be driving down when the day comes."

Snuki, a doctor trained in Bulgaria, and Pinky are among the stalwarts of the African National Congress (ANC) who are watching sweeping political changes inside South Africa with increasing excitement.

"There are 20 000 people like us waiting, mostly in Zambia, Botswana, Tanzania and Uganda," said Solly.

The South African riots of 1976 resulted in thousands of militant Sowetans fleeing the country to join the ANC.

When black youths poured out of South Africa in the 1970s to ANC headquarters in Lusaka, they were encouraged to finish their schooling before joining the organisation and many went into higher education in

Soviet-bloc countries.

Now, encouraged by a wave of reforms which President de Klerk has embarked on this year, they believe they will soon be able to put their skills to good use at home.

"I thought I would never see my native land again in my natural life," said Zikalala, who spent a decade in Bulgaria getting a doctorate in journalism.

Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela have begun exploratory talks on ne-

gotiating a new constitution giving a share of political power to the voiceless black majority.

One key ANC demand for entering formal negotiations is that the Government issue a general amnesty, freeing all the organisation's members from the risk of prosecution or imprisonment for their past activities.

An committee set up to look into the question has reported to the

● TO PAGE 2.

Exiles wait 330

● FROM PAGE 1.

Government but its findings have not yet been made public.

The ANC rank-and-file can only go home once the amnesty is in place. But after getting Pretoria's go-ahead the exiles will still wait for their own party bosses to give them the green light, according to exiled physicist Lucas, who asked for his last name not to be published.

ANC offices were drawing up lists of members with information about their families inside South Africa, Lucas added, saying it would be difficult and dangerous to go back except under the ANC umbrella.

The organisation has already started seeking foreign aid to repatriate its members and find homes for them inside South Africa.

Lucas said he thought the mostly skilled returnees would be absorbed effortlessly into the South African economy.

Makeba, Cachalia on their way back home

APL TINTS 9/6/90 (123) 330
BRUSSELS — Black South African singer Miriam Makeba said yesterday she would leave for Johannesburg today for her first visit home in 31 years — and on Monday ANC stalwart Mr Molvi Cachalia, 81, will also return home.

"I'm feeling numb, I'll believe it when I'm sitting on the plane," Makeba said in a telephone interview from her home here.

Makeba, an ANC sympathiser, said the

week-long private visit would reunite her with her family and allow her to visit her mother's grave.

Makeba left South Africa in 1959 for the United States, where she established an international singing reputation.

In Johannesburg it was reported that Mr Cachalia, ANC and Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) stalwart, is due home on Mon-

day after more than 25 years in exile.

Mr Cahchalia played an active role in the passive resistance campaign in 1946, where the Indian community demonstrated against legislation which affected their status in South Africa.

As a result of his actions, he was jailed for three weeks in Durban, along with 2 000 others, an ANC statement said on Thursday. — Sapa and Sapa-Reuter



MIRIAM RETURNS . . . Miriam Makeba throws a clenched-fist salute after arriving in Soweto yesterday — after 31 years in exile.

Picture: REUTERS

At 7/15 11/6/90 (10) 330
JOHANNESBURG. — Musician Miriam Makeba, dubbed "Mama Africa" by her fans, returned home yesterday after 31 years in exile.

"I always wanted to come home," said Miss Makeba, the first black South African singer to gain international fame, after arriving at Jan Smuts airport. "My umbilical cord is buried in this soil."

Miss Makeba, who said she had no plans to perform during her present visit, ended the press conference by joining local musicians, including Brenda Fassie, in singing an emotional Nkosi Sikelel i'Afrika.

For millions around the world a symbol of black pride, fortitude and resilience, she knelt quietly on a traditional African mat given her by an elderly female relative in a ceremony to mark the end of a long absence.

Miss Makeba said earlier the visit was a private pilgrimage to visit her mother's grave and to meet relatives, but on arrival held out the prospect of returning again to perform.

"I think I'll be happier when I come back to sing before my people," declared the star, who won the adulation of millions who associate her music with black resistance to white domination.

Miss Makeba, 58, left South Africa in 1959 on a tour of the United

States with the black musical "King Kong".

The SABC imposed a blanket ban on her songs in 1975 when she appeared at the United Nations General Assembly to speak out against apartheid, but has started playing them again.

Miss Makeba said she could hardly sleep for a week thinking about her return and wondering whether she would get a visa.

She was hurled into the international spotlight in the late '50s when Harry Belafonte spotted her in a cameo role in the film "Come Back, Africa" and helped her launch her career in the United States.

Through her singing Miss Makeba attracted attention about apartheid in South Africa.

When her mother died in 1960 she attempted to return home but the government had revoked her passport, forcing her to live in exile. Today Miss Makeba travels under nine honorary passports issued by other nations.

Asked about her exile, she replied: "I could not understand why I was never allowed home. I never committed a crime, I never killed anybody."

Ms Makeba said she would be consulting with local cultural structure while in South Africa during her stay, which is expected to last one or two weeks. — Own Correspondent, Sapa-Reuter-AP

ANC stalwart returns home

Prominent ANC and Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) activist Ismael Molvi Cachalia returns to South Africa today after 26 years in exile. **B30**

TIC secretary Ismael Momoniat yesterday told reporters that Mr Cachalia was a close associate of Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and the late Dr Yusuf Dadoo.

Mr Cachalia was a prominent leader of the passive resistance campaign in 1946 and the defiance campaign in 1952 and served as deputy volunteer-in-chief under Mr Mandela. He was jailed on both occasions for defying laws and was served with banning orders in the 50s and 60s.

Mr Momoniat said Mr Cachalia went

into exile in 1964 and helped to set up an ANC office in New Delhi, India, where he worked for a number of years. **SAP 11/6/90**

Mr Cachalia was also an expert on Group Areas legislation and served as secretary and vice-president in the Transvaal Indian Congress.

He was a close friend of the late President Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi of India and was awarded the highest honour, the Padmarshane Prize, by the Indian government.

Mr Cachalia arrives at Jan Smuts Airport at 1.30 pm today and a rally to pay tribute to him is due to be held at 8 pm tonight at the Selborne Hall in Johannesburg. — Sapa.

led
ler

rol
ee,
by
ed
Col

Col
nd
ny
ee,
82.
it
lo-

to
ke
he
all
not
id,
ou
si-

ill
ol
to
hw

es
ld

is
to
id
le
e.
le
s.
id
n-
se
a-
n-

e-
ot
n-
e-
id
it

R
re
ig
it
r-
r.



Miriam Makeba gives a clenched fist salute on her arrival in Johannesburg yesterday. Picture: REUTER

Miriam Makeba home

INTERNATIONAL SA-born singing star Miriam Makeba arrived home yesterday after 31 years in exile. Scores of photographers and television crews at Jap Smuts airport struggled to get near her. Makeba said she would be in SA for one or two weeks. "I always wanted to come home. This is my home — my mother died here in 1960. Everybody is coming home, so why shouldn't I? My umbilical cord is buried in this soil." Makeba said she had not slept for a week thinking of her return, and whether she would get a visa or not. But she added: "I think I'll be happier when I come back to sing before my people." She would spend most of her visit with her family and praying next to the graves of family members who had died in her 31 years of exile. She would consult "cultural structures" in SA, she said. Makeba, 58, left SA in 1959 on a tour of the US with the musical, King Kong. Her passport was cancelled in 1960 when the SA government refused to allow her back into the country for her mother's burial. She settled in Guinea, West Africa, in 1968 and represented her adopted country at the UN in the mid-seventies. Asked whether she regarded her exile as self-imposed, Makeba said: "When I went to ask for a visa I was told my name was in the computer. I could not understand why I was never allowed home. I never committed a crime... I never killed anybody." — Sapa.

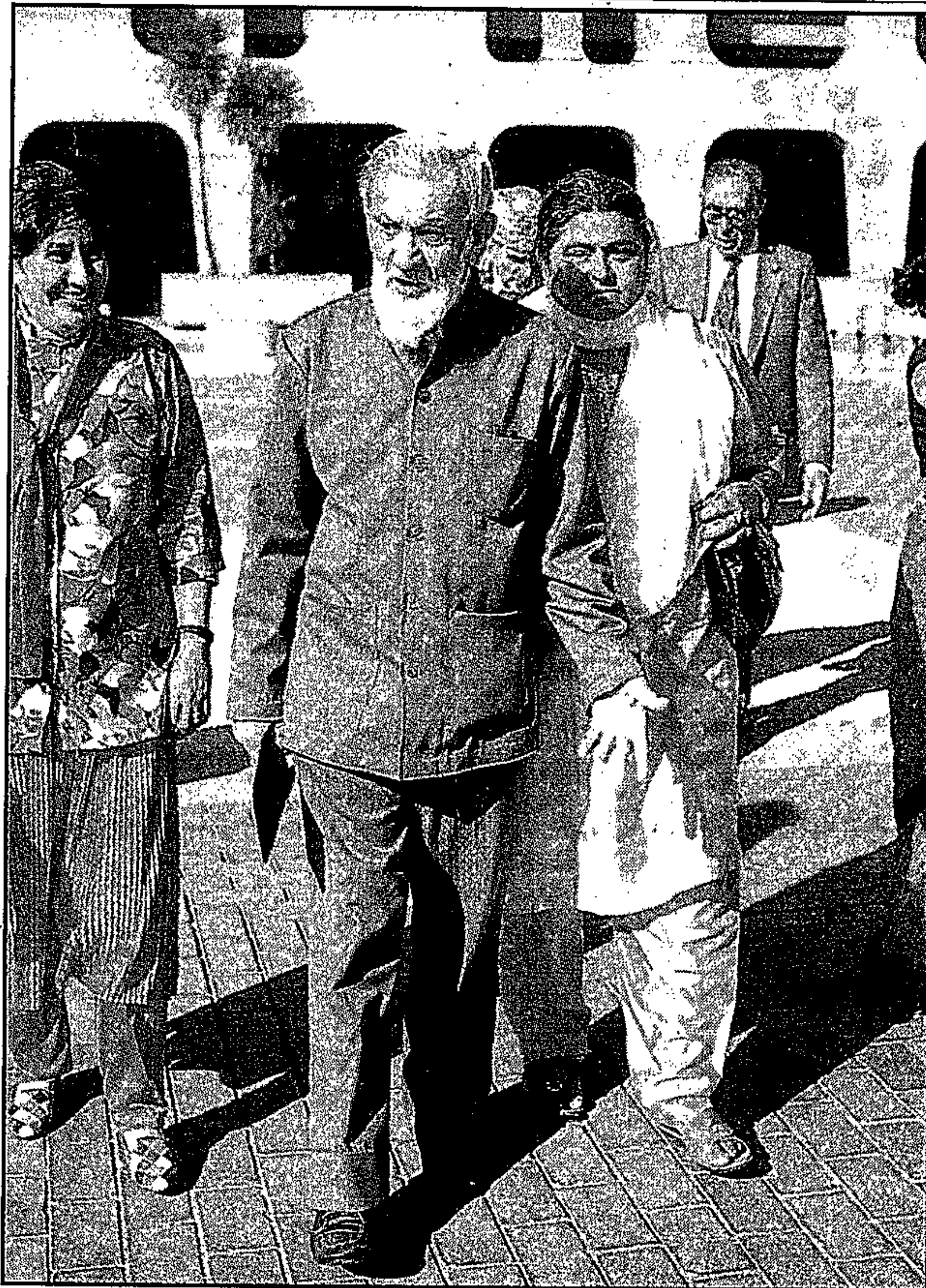
Blom 11/6/90

'Spymaster' denies explosives allegation

JOHANNESBURG City Council's "spymaster" Frik Barnard on Friday denied any knowledge of an incident in which he was alleged to have been seen carrying a box of plastic explosives inside the civic centre. The evidence was led on Wednesday before the Hiemstra Commission by Jan Griffith, a former council security guard, who said he had come across Barnard carrying a box of plastic explosives inside the civic centre building late one night. Barnard had sworn him to secrecy on the matter, Griffith said. Barnard on Friday denied any knowledge of the incident by way of a written affidavit, among the last evidence accepted by the commission.

Stricken

After listening to legal argument for and against the admissibility of Griffith's testimony, Mr Justice V Hiemstra ruled that the evidence would not be considered in the process of drawing an overall conclusion on the spy network's activities. The judge would not, however, accede to a request by Barnard's legal counsel Solly van Nieuwenhuizen that the evidence be stricken from the records. The commission adjourned on Friday until June 22 when the respective legal teams will be permitted one hour each to debate closing arguments. The commission was appointed by the Transvaal Provincial Administration to investigate allegations that the activities of the spy network run by the council's security department were irregular. Mr Justice Hiemstra, in reaching a finding, must consider almost 4 000 typed pages of transcribed evidence. — Sapa.



Swept home ... ANC veteran Ismail Cachalia (81) was greeted with hugs and kisses yesterday at Jan Smuts Airport when he stepped on to the tarmac after being out of the country for 25 years.

● Picture by Karen Fletcher

TIC veteran welcomed by ANC leaders

By Montshiwa Moroke

The people of this country have reached a point of no return, the chairman of the internal core leadership of the African National Congress, Walter Sisulu, said in Johannesburg last night.

Mr Sisulu was addressing a large audience in the City Hall at a rally to welcome veteran ANC and Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) member, Molvi Ismail Cachalia who returned to South Africa yesterday after more than 25 years in exile.

The 81-year-old Mr Cachalia was described by different speakers as having played an active role in the "Passive Resistance" campaign in 1946 where the Indian community was mobilised to resist the "Ghetto Act" which threatened the rights of Indian South Africans.

He had played a crucial role in building unity in the "Defiance Campaign" of 1952, and served as deputy-volunteer-in-chief under Nelson Mandela, the ANC deputy president.

Mr Sisulu said: "Molvi Cachalia comes from an illustrious family. He was among those who pioneered the struggle, working with that great giant, Mahatma Gandhi. It was at the close of the last century when they began this battle which is coming to fruition.

"He left the country during the dark and difficult days of the 1960s. We have now reached a point of no return and, with your efforts and dedication, we who were jailed for life, have been released and other leaders have been allowed to return from exile."

TIC president, Cassim Saloojee, described the occasion as "a joyous moment" and said Mr Cachalia symbolised all the tragedies inflicted by the apartheid system.

He said Mr Cachalia had left the country at a time of "awful repression".

Firoz Cachalia, a nephew of the veteran politician, said the TIC had "one remaining historical duty to do" and that was, with confidence, to join the ANC.

Cap. 12/6/90
Cachalia
in beloved
country (330)

JOHANNESBURG. —
ANC stalwart Mr Molvi
Cachalia touched down
here yesterday after 25
years in exile — and im-
mediately entered the
political fray when he in-
sisted sanctions should
not be lifted.

A grey-haired, tired Mr
Cachalia was met at Jan
Smuts airport by a 50-
strong crowd.

"I love this country...
when the plane landed, I
experienced the finest
feelings in my entire
life," he said.

Dressed in a Nehru-
style blue collarless out-
fit, Mr Cachalia de-
scribed President F W de
Klerk's reform initia-
tives as commendable.

"However, I remain
committed to sanctions
as a lever to pressurise
the authorities." — Sapa

ANC exile Cachalia back in SA

ANC stalwart Mr Molvi Cachalia arrived back in South Africa yesterday after 25 years in exile.

Cachalia immediately entered the political fray when he insisted that sanctions should not be lifted.

Grey-haired and tired, he was met at Jan Smuts Airport by about 50 supporters and family members who hugged and kissed him as he surveyed the surroundings.

Among the welcoming party was ANC information chief, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, Mr Andrew Mlangeni and Professor Fatima Meer.

Dressed in a Nehru-style blue collarless outfit,

SA Press Association

Cachalia described President FW de Klerk's reform initiatives as commendable.

"What has happened is commendable. Mr De Klerk is the only person who has gone so far in making such moves.

Sanctions

"I hope he is able to take apartheid to its logical conclusion and completely scrap it.

"However, I remain committed to sanctions as a lever to pressurise the authorities here. The general public won't be satisfied if sanctions are lifted while apartheid is not completely scrapped. It could even lead to friction if such a thing hap-

pened," the ageing activist said.

Asked about his emotions when he landed, Cachalia said he experienced the "finest feelings ever".

"I love this country, I was born here, my parents are buried in this soil and my entire family is here. Therefore, when the plane landed, I experienced the finest feelings in my entire life."

The elderly activist was instrumental in gaining Indian support for a host of anti-apartheid campaigns in the 50s.

He was jailed and placed under house arrest on several occasions before fleeing the country in the early 60s. - Sapa.

Sowetan 12/6/90



"Some of the stones we have are apocryphal," says Rowe. But they want to capture but practice.

Memories of Makeba in 1955

WMA 15/6 - 21/6/90
THE year was 1955.

Besides the signing of the historic Freedom Charter at Kliptown, heated political rallies against the military-backed removals and isolated gang wars, apartheid entered its seventh calculated term — both of endearment and hostility.

Endearment for those who shared and defended the ethos and filiality of the folk, and hostility for the "gevaars": "swart, rooms, joods" et al.

The Miriam Makeba of 1955 was a petite 23-year-old, whose clear eyes came at you when her nightingale-like voice filled the hall of Orlando East's Donaldson Centre. She sang lead for the Cuban Brothers.

Then her debut at Sophiatown's Odin Cinema in 1956, where the vivacious lass with the soft, seductive shoulders sang, with the Manhattan Brothers, *Soon, soon one morning, Kilimanjaro and Inthoyami*.

Her sexual gyrations had the patrons stompin' and ravin'. The place was aflame and ushers like Boy Selengkie, Bra Esau, Bra Kwembu and Peggy Belair had to use their muscles to keep the *majietas* off the stage.

"*Real shandeas en Kofifi, my ma hoor my!*" as we said in the old Sophiatown days. Makeba was the *ousielcheerielweebeet van die stek* who every *klevaa* wanted to "run" or "deal". Because when she sang and moved, it was not to please the mythical Nordic god after whom the Odin Cinema was named but the *sterkmanne van die town*.

Boetie American and the late Doktaa Cree, alias Bra Menjaw, were crazy about her. Boetie lost out and got Kitty — or Katz, as blues queen Dolly Rathebe was affably named.

Musicians like Mackay Davashe and Morolong Moeketsi were angry that *aah laaitie soos ou Hugh Masekela* could catch Makeba's fancy.

"*Real shandeas, my ma hoor my!*"

Journalist Bloke Modisane was crazy over the songbird and so was Can Themba, who wrote a steamy article about her, finally acting alongside Makeba in Lionel Rogosin's *Come Back Africa*.

330

By DON MATTERA

filmed at Trevor Huddleston's St Cyprian's School in Sophiatown.

Miriam Makeba and the likes (rather the shapes) of Dolly Rathebe, Mabel Mafuya, Pat Gcwabe, Vera the Ghost and numerous other *gorjaas motaras* constantly walked and performed at a risk. Every *fly-outie* wanted to be seen with them.

They were veritable gems in the Stetson, Knox and Woodrow fedoras of *situation-moegoes* or *klevaas* alike.

But Makeba wasn't all song and body.

She had a mind of her own and spoke out without the traditional timidity and diffidence the *outies* or *ntates* of that day demanded from the woman.

Although in Dark City, Alexandra township, she was forced by thugs to repeat the seductive *Savuka* song several times over, Miriam was respected by the strongmen of the ghetto for her defiance and independence.

She was, and still is, "*aah reelly, reelly dolly ousie ... aah hlombomdala magreezah van Toe-ka ...*"

My ma hoor my!

G'town will consider young artists as well

THE Grahamstown Festival is not for adults only. For the third year in a row, children from all parts of the country will be able to experience theatre, music, and art as participants in the week long Children's Arts Festival.

Beginning on Sunday July 1, students from standards two to six will be able to board at the St Andrew's Preparatory School, and enjoy productions, workshops, and a variety of other activities, under adult supervision.

R395 will cover expenses for the programme.

Makeba leaves dismayed

By THABISO LESHOL

230

Organisational

blunders mar

star's SA visit

"I've never advertised supermarkets or nightclubs, either here or abroad," Makeba said.

She said she was dismayed at not having being able to visit friends and places she knew before she was forced into exile by a government banning 31 years ago.

She acknowledged what she called the "cosmetic changes" made by State President FW de Klerk, but said "the pillars of apartheid are still intact".

Makeba, who leaves for Europe today, said her coming back to perform in the country depended on "the committees of the cultural desk clearing the confusion surrounding the boycott".



Mama Africa' Miriam Makeba, addressing one of only two media conferences she held during her week-long visit home, said she really came for personal reasons. Pict: AMORNEY MGINIKA

MIRIAM Makeba has expressed dismay at the organisational blunders that marred her week-long visit home after 31 years in exile.

Showbiz circles throughout the week were abuzz with talk that the singing star was being used by the SA Musicians Alliance (Sama) - which organised her programme - for its own purposes and was not being permitted to follow her own agenda.

Because she was required to appear at public receptions for the benefit of her fans, talk has it she was often unable to attend private functions organised for her by friends.

"I have always said I wanted to pray at my mother's grave," she said at the second of only two meetings with reporters. "I did not want to make public appearances."

She said she had conceded to Sama's argument that her fans would insist on seeing her.

Early in the week Sama organised a concert at a nightclub in Hillbrow featuring some live acts. Makeba said she was not happy at being taken to the nightclub and being made to perform.

"I was told I was being taken to a welcome party and I thought I would be going to a private home," she said.

"I want to make it clear I was not endorsing the nightclub."

Then a Sapa report in a morning newspaper stated she would be performing at a supermarket chain near Soweto on Friday night.

Makeba did not arrive and the small crowd was kept waiting over four hours in the cold even although the organisers knew as early as 7pm she would not be coming.

But in his address to the congregation he had a sombre message: "One of the most daunting prospects facing the ANC is the reconstruction of our movement inside South Africa."

"A prerequisite of this is the repatriation and resettlement of almost half-a-million people, including thousands of ANC exiles all over the world."

It was the first time he had mentioned the figure of half-a-million needing to be repatriated and resettled in SA.

The service, attended by about 3 000 people, was to raise funds for the ANC and to "rededicate the struggle against apartheid".

Mr Mandela reiterated the ANC's message that any lifting at this stage of sanctions would be a serious political blunder by the West.

Earlier, a weary Mr Mandela cancelled his scheduled breakfast with the Rev Jesse Jackson and instead took a stroll around to Mayor David Dinkins's Gracie Mansion. — Sapa

● Mandela hailed —
Page 2

FILE'S
1979

PAC and BCM wary of quick return for exiles

C1 Memo 24/6/90

330

By SANDILE MEMELA

PAC and Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) exiles have said they will not return to the country immediately.

The PAC and Azapo say the conditions that forced their members into exile still exist, but the ANC is preparing for the mass return of its exiles.

Addressing the *Tribute Forum* this week, a member of the ANC working committee, Pennell Maduna, said his organisation had received hundreds of boxes of passport application forms from the government to enable its exiles to prepare for their homecoming.

He said possession of passports would speed up the return of more than 20 000 people who went into exile and are now on tenterhooks

waiting for the signal to return home.

Maduna said that for the first time in the history of the liberation movement, black people had influenced decision-making process in Parliament.

He was referring to the amendment of the Indemnity Act that has allowed a number of exiles to return home already.

PAC secretary for legal affairs Phillip Dlamini said his organisation would not encourage its exiles to start flowing into the country.

"There has been no serious commitment to genuine change in the government and we feel that it will be unsafe for our members to return immediately," he said.

The PAC would discuss the return of exile at a special congress in October. However, individual members eager to return could do

so after consultation with the external mission.

"We do not stop members who want to come back home but not everybody will return until there are assurances that they will not be detained," said Dlamini.

The national projects co-ordinator of Azapo, Muntu Myeza, said the conditions that forced members into exile still existed.

"It is early days to give blessings to the government. No structural assurances exist that the exiles will not be detained on their return.

"Issues that forced our members into exile are alive and kicking. Until such time that the government and the liberation movement are on an equal footing and enter into genuine negotiations, we continue with the struggle," said Myeza.



Muntu Myeza... no structural assurances that returning exiles won't be detained.

Passports needed for SA visits to Namibia

South African and Namibian citizens wishing to travel between the two countries from the beginning of next year will be required to present valid passports of their respective countries, Home Affairs and National Education Minister Gene Louw said yesterday.

No visa requirements will be introduced for Namibian and South African citizens.

He said after discussions between officials of the two governments, it had been decided to extend the arrangements already introduced.

● Namibian and South African citizens must be in possession of their respective identity or travel documents or South African or Namibian passports when travelling between the two

countries.

● A citizen of a foreign country, having permanent residence in South Africa or Namibia and travelling on documents from either country between the countries, will have to submit proof of permanent residence.

● A citizen of a foreign country, who does not have permanent residence in South Africa or Namibia, will require a valid passport issued by the country of which he is a citizen, as well as a visa for South Africa, unless such person is exempted from visa requirements.

● Citizens of the two countries wishing to travel after December 31 1990 will be required to present valid passports of their respective countries. — Sapa.

330

Star

27/6/90

Louis Luyt outside court yesterday.

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

Airport detention slated

THE National Association of Democratic Lawyers (Nadel) yesterday condemned the way ANC legal department head Zola Skweyiya and four others were reportedly treated by immigration officials at Jan Smuts Airport earlier this month.

A statement by Nadel said Skweyiya, arriving on June 6, was detained for two days at the airport and was on the verge of being deported to Lusaka when lawyers intervened.

"Nadel is shocked by the ... manner in which a senior ANC member was

treated in spite of an agreement between the government and the ANC," it said.

"It is clear that ... government officials and especially immigration officials are not being instructed properly."

Government was urged to investigate the incident.

PETER DELMAR reports that a Home Affairs spokesman said yesterday he could not comment.

Meanwhile, NEC member Panuel Maduna said the ANC had been sent boxes of application forms to enable members to obtain passports. — Sapa.

330

No visa yet for ANC culture chief

By ANDREW MELDRUM

HARARE: The culture chief of the African National Congress, Barbara Masekela, due to speak next week at the Grahamstown Festival, has not yet been able to get a visa to come home.

Masekela is currently in the United States as part of the Mandela delegation.

A representative of the Department of Arts and Culture, which she heads, charged yesterday its work is being impeded because few of its officials are getting South African visas.

"We intended to start a nationwide tour with what was to be our participation at the Congress of South African Writers' AGM in Durban last weekend. For weeks we waited for approval for visas, but none came," said Louise Colvin, the department's administrator in Lusaka.

"We had also planned to meet cultural groups from as wide a range as possible, but now we just have to sit and wait. These delays make a mockery of the unbanning of the ANC."

After the unbanning of the ANC the cultural wing received invitations to attend events like the Grahamstown Festival, the Wits Drama Workshop, the

launch of a new librarians' association and of the Union of Democratic University Staff Association, said Colvin, who is known in the ANC as Angela Brown.

"We wanted to attend these events and present our cultural goals," she said. "We felt it was important to go and see for ourselves the cultural activities within the MDM structures and the lesser organised communities. We wanted to meet with the many other cultural bodies which couldn't afford to sponsor festivals and didn't have the resources to send out such invitations."

Colvin said the department was eager to become involved with grassroots cultural groups and artists.

"The greatest challenge now facing these groups is effective organisation and national co-ordination. Here the Department of Arts and Culture feel we have a role to play in helping."

The cultural department has in recent years organised regional and international tours of ANC artists and organised seminars and workshops.

"Democratic cultural workers have a fundamental role to play in transforming our society," said Colvin. "We want

to reach out and open dialogue and debate, especially on the language and national questions.

"We want to be part of creating a new South African culture which celebrates the country's cultural diversity and which promotes democratic, non-racial and non-sexist values. If we don't enter such dialogues and try to change hardened attitudes, then there will be no meaningful change."

Colvin explained that it was for this reason — and because a national meeting of cultural workers had adopted a "no-boycott" position — that the ANC cultural wing had accepted the Grahamstown Festival invitation.

"However, we took note of criticism that the festival is still essentially centred on European culture, and needs to involve more grassroots cultural organisations at all levels."

If a visa is issued, Masekela is to bring these issues up when she joins in a panel discussion on Thursday.

"We want to open an exciting debate," said Colvin, "about building a new culture that looks to our own people for inspiration."

... years of service. ... depending on

German cleric refused SA visa

Staff Reporter

NR643 26/6/90

330

FORMER Mitchell's Plain cleric, the Rev Gottfried Kraatz, has been refused a visa to enter South Africa and is being deported back to Germany.

Pastor Kraatz, a German Lutheran church cleric and an outspoken opponent of apartheid, who was first deported from South Africa in 1985, was on his way to Cape Town to represent the Evangelical Church in Germany at the South African Council of Churches annual meeting.

When he arrived at Jan Smuts Airport, immigration officials told him his name was "on the computer" and that his application for a visa would have to be referred to Pretoria.

Mr Kraatz said he had waited 11 hours to hear whether his visa would be granted.

ANC's Nzo returns to Alex after 25 years

Star 30/6/90 (330)
AFRICAN National Congress general secretary Alfred Nzo visits his hometown, Alexandra, today — after an absence of 25 years.

According to the Alexandra Civic Association (ACO), Mr Nzo (67) will visit his former home at 82, 3rd Avenue, Alexandra at 10 am.

Fallen heroes

He will then embark on mini-tour of the dusty township to see the changes that have taken place during his absence.

ACO spokesman Obed Bapela said that after the tour Mr Nzo will go to the local cemetery to pay tribute to "the fallen heroes".

JOVIAL RANTAO

After that he will speak to the media before addressing his "welcome home" rally at the Alexandra Stadium at 2 pm.

Mr Bapela said that the rally would start at 10 am and requested residents to come and welcome Alexandra's long-lost son.

Mr Nzo was born in Benoni in 1925. He was one of five children of a mine clerk.

He worked for two years in Alexandra as a health inspector, where he made contact with the ANC youth league.

He was dismissed from his job because of his involvement in politics.

Hein Grosskopf's lonely exile

330 (1987)

SITWAS 117190

Report by
EDDIE BOTHA
Pictures by
JAMES SOULLIER
in Lusaka

ANC soldier Hein Grosskopf often thinks of home in Stellenbosch. And when he does, he imagines sharing a bottle of Tassenberg with his mum and university professor dad.

The man who many white South Africans shun as the Afrikaner who betrayed his birthright, lives in a sparsely furnished ANC safe house outside Lusaka.

He was branded by the Government as the hardened killer who exploded the Krugersdorp Magistrate's Court bomb in March 1988, which killed three people and injured 20.

Grosskopf has also been linked to two other urban explosions:

● The bomb at the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court in which four died and 14 were injured.

● The blast at Wit's Command in Johannesburg which injured 68 people.

Now, for the first time since he first fled South Africa four-and-a-half years ago and completed his terrorist training at an ANC camp in Angola, Grosskopf has spoken of his personal life and thoughts.

Blindfolded

We were allowed briefly inside Hein's home on the outskirts of Lusaka.

Blindfolded, Sunday Times chief photographer Jimmy Soulier and I were taken to the safe house which accommodates Grosskopf and other ANC men, women and their children. A pre-condition was that, for security reasons, the others were not to be identified.

In a small room exiting from the front part of the lounge, Hein has a bed, a bookshelf, a desk and study lamp. His clothes hang in a corner on a rod between two walls.

His sympathies are clearly highlighted by ANC, Cosatu and Freedom Charter posters on the wall and the reading matter on the shelves.

Restricted

The titles of SA Council of Churches general secretary Frank Chikane's No Life Of My Own and Russian writer Vladimir Bogomolov's work, The Aching In My Heart, perhaps illustrate Hein's self-imposed exile. He yearns to return to his country and his people, he told us.

His Afrikaner background is further highlighted by NP Van Wyk Louw's Gedagtes Vir Ons Tyd and Andre Joubert's Suidpunt-Jazz. He has



MARKET DAY ... Hein Grosskopf on a shopping excursion in Lusaka

He'd rather be back home sharing a bottle of wine

He teaches a Soviet diplomat Afrikaans and often in conversation he and ANC spokesman Tom Sebhina switch from English to Afrikaans.

"I miss a lot of people, my parents and friends," he confided.

That is why this week was special to Hein. His life-long friend from Stellenbosch, Abraham Cilliers, visited him for the first time. It was to Abraham that the security police went after Hein had first been identified as the alleged white bomber.

Like long-lost brothers they embraced each other. "I think Abraham will now be able to go back with a reason,"

said Hein. "The situation here is artificial. I am restricted in what I can show or tell people.

"The same restrictions apply to my parents. Of course, I would much rather be with them and drink Tassenberg in their house. But that would be their decision once I go back.

"I don't think that I will be sitting in their lounge in the immediate future."

Life in the safe house is not what the son of a former Afrikaans newspaper editor and Stellenbosch University journalism professor has been used to. Exiles are all expected to perform household duties — cooking, wash-

Mealie meal is given to them free of charge by the ANC, who also rent the house. Non-perishable goods such as toothpaste and soap are also free and members can select clothing once every six months from a store.

"The shirt I'm wearing is from Finland," said Hein.

Doctors — some British, some Soviet but all ANC supporters — man the ANC clinic.

To cover the rest of their expenses, members get 2 000 kwacha — the equivalent of R1 330 — a month. In a community where the cost of food and meat has soared, the allowance does not go far. "You have to budget for

month we received tinned cheese for the first time in months.

It is, however, a way of disciplining people. If you choose to drink and eat all you've got within two days, you can't blame the ANC.

"All members get the same amount. I get the same as Oliver Tambo."

Still a soldier of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC's military wing — "I can handle most Warsaw Pact and some Nato weapons and explosives" — Hein now devotes his time to strategic planning and analysis of South African press reports.

His social life is limited and mostly members visit each other at weekends. Among them they often discuss the good and the bad at home, he said.

Letters

Since he left his wife, Joy, he has not had a girlfriend. "You can say there is no specific comrade in my life," he said.

In their letters to each other, Hein and his parents mostly discuss family matters.

He realises that his brothers Ernst and Rietel, and sister, Annemarie, must have reservations about his actions.

"At the time I went into exile Rietel was working for Armscor and I do not think it does anyone's promotion prospects there any good if you have a brother in Umkhonto.

"My actions must have affected everyone's lives," he admitted.

His actions may be known before the end of the year. He has just handed a South African/Zimbabwean publisher a manuscript, provisionally called Artistic Graves — it's about a young white fighting



BOTTOMS UP ... a beer with Abraham Cilliers



BLINDFOLDED ... Soulier and Botha off to ANC

By REHANA ROSSOUW

GERMAN Lutheran priest Pastor Godfried Kraatz is back in South Africa after being deported in 1986 — and has found very little has changed.

Kraatz and his family were deported after becoming involved in anti-apartheid organisations here. He had been detained soon after the 1985 state of emergency was declared.

He left his ministry in Mitchell's Plain and relocated in Berlin after being forced to leave.

Kraatz tried to return to South Africa last Monday but was turned back at Jan Smuts airport after being held by officials for 12 hours.

Despite pleading for permission to fly to Lesotho or Botswana, he was put on a plane for Frankfurt.

"The officials asked about a letter which was sent to my wife and me in 1987, saying we had to apply for a visa to enter South Africa again," Kraatz said.

"After I returned to Germany last week, frustrated and exhausted, we applied pressure on the South African Department of the Interior. Two days after my return, I was asked to apply for a visa."

He applied, and was granted permission to visit South Africa for a week.

He arrived back at Jan Smuts airport last Friday, the second time that week.

Uncertainty

South African embassy officials had said he could apply for an extension once he arrived.

"I can't accept the way they treated me, the uncertainty about whether I can stay after seven days — just like I will never accept my deportation."

Kraatz said his impression since his arrival was that little had changed in South Africa since 1986.

"I can't see any change. The white people are talking about change and the newspapers are reporting about it, I have yet to see change," he said.

"A day after I arrived, people were preparing a picket to protest against Shirley Gunn's detention."

"When I arrived at a firm of lawyers to check on my visa, there was no-one in. They had gone to Ashton where 90 people were detained. I asked to see Cheryl Carolus and heard she was one

The cleric who returned to 'reality'

Sub 517-1117/90



PASTOR GODFRIED KRAATZ: experiencing love and friendship of South Africans

of the people detained.

"It's the same situation — nothing has changed as far as I can see."

Kraatz was to be part of the German churches' delegation to the South African Council of Churches' national conference held in Bellville last week.

Kraatz said he left South Africa in March 1986, traumatised by his farewell at the airport when 54 people protesting against his deportation were detained.

"I arrived in Germany with a lot of public attention. I had a strong message to give people on apartheid then."

"For months after my arrival, I had an opportunity to speak to the media about the anti-apartheid struggle."

"I met anti-apartheid solidarity groups wanting to know about the struggle and was able to give detailed reports."

Kraatz and his wife became involved in anti-apartheid groups in Berlin, in a coalition between the Anti-Apartheid Movement, the Protestant Women's

Group, trade unions and the official Opposition, the Social Democratic Party. The mayor of Berlin, Mr. Walter Momper, was sympathetic to their cause and instructed Kraatz to find a township while in South Africa to twin with the city.

Friends

He said he was "overwhelmed" to be back in South Africa.

"I was afraid to come. I didn't know whether I would find all the love and emotion again. I thought maybe I had made it all up, maybe all my old friends wouldn't have time for me."

"I thought it would be dangerous to confront my memories with the reality, but I found soon after I arrived that my memory was fine."

"Since I arrived I have been encouraged. I have once again experienced the love of the people of South Africa and the strength of its people."

"I am still fully convinced we will win

the struggle, although it is not over yet. "I do not believe we should be discouraged — I see signs of that new South Africa we all pray for."

While he was overseas, Kraatz visited East Germany for six weeks as the government there was sympathetic to the struggle in South Africa.

After contributing to the struggle against apartheid in South Africa, Kraatz found himself drawn into the struggle for democracy in East Germany.

"I was interested in the positive and constructive role the church played in other parts of the world and could play in East Germany," he said.

"Many pro-democracy groups relied on the church to speak when they could not speak for themselves — very similar to the situation in South Africa a few years ago."

"The church is able to fight for a worthwhile cause even when it cannot see immediate effects. We can help find a

future perspective where the evils of the past can be avoided."

Kraatz said the pro-democracy movement in East Germany began in its churches.

Candlelight services similar to those organised in Cape Town in 1986 were organised in East Germany in 1989.

Churches which were normally empty were packed as people gathered there to hear the message of change. There were no other organisations to bring people together.

"Some of the theologians were unhappy about this because the people were not seeking worship there; they were seeking the shelter of the structures," Kraatz said.

"But I was proud that so many clergy and lay people saw to the needs of the political, social and cultural groups in East Germany."

Repression took its toll, however. Pastors who were critical of the regime were visited and threatened by the secret police and their offices bugged.

Kraatz said the situation in East Germany was similar in many ways to that in South Africa. The people faced a autocratic regime, repression was widespread and the churches were at the forefront of the movement.

Socialism

"Some of the churches located themselves inside socialism, and still believe today that we must not throw away the ideals of the past," Kraatz said.

"People were mourning over what had happened, still believing there had to be an alternative to the kind of socialism in the past but that it should not be capitalism."

Kraatz said he believed there could not be socialism without democracy and possibilities for humanity to develop.

Already, people were beginning to debate whether there were misconceptions in the theory of socialism in the 19th century.

"The leadership stuck to their idea of socialism too dogmatically because the problems in the capitalist system made them hungry for an alternative," he said.

"I hope socialism was the correct alternative and it is now our duty to take up the discussion of what went wrong in an open and honest way."

Kraatz said he was glad the problem in the Eastern bloc were exposed before South Africa moved to a new system of government, as the leadership here could draw lessons from what had happened.

330

By REHANA ROSSOUW

GERMAN Lutheran priest Pastor Godfried Kraatz is back in South Africa after being deported in 1986 — and has found very little has changed.

Kraatz and his family were deported after becoming involved in anti-apartheid organisations here. He had been detained soon after the 1985 state of emergency was declared.

He left his ministry in Mitchells Plain and relocated in Berlin after being forced to leave.

Kraatz tried to return to South Africa last Monday but was turned back at Jan Smuts airport after being held by officials for 12 hours.

Despite pleading for permission to fly to Lesotho or Botswana, he was put on a plane for Frankfurt.

"The officials asked about a letter which was sent to my wife and me in 1987, saying we had to apply for a visa to enter South Africa again," Kraatz said.

"After I returned to Germany last week, frustrated and exhausted, we applied pressure on the South African Department of the Interior. Two days after my return, I was asked to apply for a visa."

He applied, and was granted permission to visit South Africa for a week.

He arrived back at Jan Smuts airport last Friday, the second time that week.

Uncertainty

South African embassy officials had said he could apply for an extension once he arrived.

"I can't accept the way they treated me, the uncertainty about whether I can stay after seven days — just like I will never accept my deportation."

Kraatz said his impression since his arrival was that little had changed in South Africa since 1986.

"I can't see any change. The white people are talking about change and the newspapers are reporting about it; I have yet to see change," he said.

"A day after I arrived, people were preparing a picket to protest against Shirley Gunn's detention."

"When I arrived at a firm of lawyers to check on my visa, there was no-one in. They had gone to Ashton where 90 people were detained. I asked to see Cheryl Carolus and heard she was one

The cleric who returned to 'reality'



PASTOR GODFRIED KRAATZ: experiencing love and friendship of South Africans

of the people detained.

"It's the same situation — nothing has changed as far as I can see."

Kraatz was to be part of the German churches' delegation to the South African Council of Churches' national conference held in Bellville last week.

Kraatz said he left South Africa in March 1986, traumatised by his farewell at the airport when 54 people protesting against his deportation were detained.

"I arrived in Germany with a lot of public attention. I had a strong message to give people on apartheid then."

"For months after my arrival, I had an opportunity to speak to the media about the anti-apartheid struggle."

"I met anti-apartheid solidarity groups wanting to know about the struggle and was able to give detailed reports."

Kraatz and his wife became involved in anti-apartheid groups in Berlin, in a coalition between the Anti-Apartheid Movement, the Protestant Women's

Group, trade unions and the official Opposition, the Social Democratic Party.

The mayor of Berlin, Mr Walter Momper, was sympathetic to their cause and instructed Kraatz to find a township while in South Africa to twin with the city.

Friends

He said he was "overwhelmed" to be back in South Africa.

"I was afraid to come. I didn't know whether I would find all the love and emotion again. I thought maybe I had made it all up, maybe all my old friends wouldn't have time for me."

"I thought it would be dangerous to confront my memories with the reality, but I found soon after I arrived that my memory was fine."

"Since I arrived I have been encouraged; I have once again experienced the love of the people of South Africa and the strength of its people."

"I am still fully convinced we will win

the struggle, although it is not over yet."

"I do not believe we should be discouraged — I see signs of that new South Africa we all pray for."

While he was overseas, Kraatz visited East Germany for six weeks as the government there was sympathetic to the struggle in South Africa.

After contributing to the struggle against apartheid in South Africa, Kraatz found himself drawn into the struggle for democracy in East Germany.

"I was interested in the positive and constructive role the church played in other parts of the world and could play in East Germany," he said.

"Many pro-democracy groups relied on the church to speak when they could not speak for themselves — very similar to the situation in South Africa a few years ago."

"The church is able to fight for a worthwhile cause even when it cannot see immediate effects. We can help find a

future perspective where the evils of the past can be avoided."

Kraatz said the pro-democracy movement in East Germany began in the churches.

Candlelight services similar to those organised in Cape Town in 1986 were organised in East Germany in 1989.

Churches which were normally empty were packed as people gathered there to hear the message of change. There were no other organisations to bring people together.

"Some of the theologians were unhappy about this because the people were not seeking worship there; they were seeking the shelter of the structures," Kraatz said.

"But I was proud that so many clergy and lay people saw to the needs of the political, social and cultural groups in East Germany."

Repression took its toll, however. Pastors who were critical of the regime were visited and threatened by the secret police and their offices bugged.

Kraatz said the situation in East Germany was similar in many ways to that in South Africa. The people faced an autocratic regime, repression was widespread and the churches were at the forefront of the movement.

Socialism

"Some of the churches located themselves inside socialism, and still believe today that we must not throw away the ideals of the past," Kraatz said.

"People were mourning over what had happened, still believing there had to be an alternative to the kind of socialism in the past but that it should not be capitalism."

Kraatz said he believed there could not be socialism without democracy and possibilities for humanity to develop.

Already, people were beginning to debate whether there were misconceptions in the theory of socialism in the 19th century.

"The leadership stuck to their idea of socialism too dogmatically because the problems in the capitalist system made them hungry for an alternative," he said.

"I hope socialism was the correct alternative and it is now our duty to take up the discussion of what went wrong in an open and honest way."

Kraatz said he was glad the problems in the Eastern bloc were exposed before South Africa moved to a new system of government, as the leadership here could draw lessons from what had happened.

NEWS

There just ain't no place like home, say the returning exiles

FOR the South Africans who spent years in exile there is only one place like home — even though there is still white-minority rule and all its accompanying evils.

Many of the exiles have spent up to three decades in foreign countries where they longed for family and friends, and the things that are unique to this country.

Some have still not been able to trace loved ones, like Doris Skosana, a recently returned member of the ANC's Women's Section, who came home with the hope of being reunited with her son.

In an interview she said: "I last saw my son when he left with a family friend to visit friends in Klerksdorp. I couldn't look for him when I

left because I was advised to leave immediately. I have not been able to trace him and have not heard anything about him since I came back."

For Miriam Makeba, the internationally acclaimed vocalist who left South Africa 31 years ago, one of the main things she had missed was eating her favourite traditional dish, *mogodu* (tripe).

Makeba also told the media one of the first things she would do on her return to the country would be to kneel at her mother's graveside to tell her "I'm back".

While Makeba was here recently for a short visit, Jon Qwelane of the Sunday Star wrote: "The unmistakable longing is there in her voice as she



Albie Sachs: back on "my mountain".



Arthur Maimane: missed the sun.



Miriam Makeba: dreams of mogodu.



Jeremy Cronin: missed Table Mountain.



Ruth Mompati: fought back tears.

Jeremy Cronin, an exiled African National Congress member who spent 2 1/2 years in Zambia, told the Saturday Star he longs to see Cape Town's Table Mountain again.

Jeremy Cronin, an academic and poet, said he had also longed to hear local accents and expressions which are unique to South Africa.

Jeremy Cronin, an academic and poet, said he had also longed to hear local accents and expressions which are unique to South Africa.

Sue Olswang, Johannesburg, but my real home is a lot further south from here and I cannot wait to pay a personal visit to 'the mountain'.

Arthur Maimane, featured editor of the new Daily Mail, recently returned to South Africa after leaving the country, "quite legally", 32 years ago.

Arthur Maimane, featured editor of the new Daily Mail, recently returned to South Africa after leaving the country, "quite legally", 32 years ago.

Jeremy Cronin, an academic and poet, said he had also longed to hear local accents and expressions which are unique to South Africa.

Jeremy Cronin, an academic and poet, said he had also longed to hear local accents and expressions which are unique to South Africa.

Jeremy Cronin, an academic and poet, said he had also longed to hear local accents and expressions which are unique to South Africa.

Jeremy Cronin, an academic and poet, said he had also longed to hear local accents and expressions which are unique to South Africa.

Jeremy Cronin, an academic and poet, said he had also longed to hear local accents and expressions which are unique to South Africa.

Jeremy Cronin, an academic and poet, said he had also longed to hear local accents and expressions which are unique to South Africa.

Jeremy Cronin, an academic and poet, said he had also longed to hear local accents and expressions which are unique to South Africa.

Jeremy Cronin, an academic and poet, said he had also longed to hear local accents and expressions which are unique to South Africa.

Jeremy Cronin, an academic and poet, said he had also longed to hear local accents and expressions which are unique to South Africa.

Jeremy Cronin, an academic and poet, said he had also longed to hear local accents and expressions which are unique to South Africa.

Jeremy Cronin, an academic and poet, said he had also longed to hear local accents and expressions which are unique to South Africa.

Jeremy Cronin, an academic and poet, said he had also longed to hear local accents and expressions which are unique to South Africa.

Freedom struggle not over, says Masekela

By THABISO LESHQAI

clips 8/7/90 330
BARBARA Masekela of the ANC's Department of Arts and Culture was given a standing ovation by a largely white audience at a lecture she delivered on "Culture in a new South Africa" at the Standard Bank National Arts Festival in Grahamstown this week.

Back in the country after 27 years in exile, she is due to leave again today.

Her address was delivered amid growing criticism and fear of political censorship of art by ANC-aligned cultural organisations. She impressed with her clear arguments and sense of humour.

She described the festival as "the English equivalent of the Voortrekker Monument". The ANC's presence, she said, did not endorse "the totality of festival policy" but acknowledged that "the inclusion of the people's voice in the festival was on the agenda".

Earlier in the year the festival was criticised by community-based cultural organisations for being Euro-

centric, undermining the cultural boycott and being insensitive to the feelings of blacks by continuing to call its co-ordinating body the 1820 Settlers Foundation.

Organisers only avoided boycott action by giving away hundreds of free tickets and entering into negotiations with the Grahamstown Cultural Workers' Congress.

Masekela confirmed the cultural boycott continued but denied it was a form of censorship. She spoke out against "apartheid's apologists and toadies" who were "criticising people who had done so much at so much risk and who were diverting attention away from the fact the struggle to isolate apartheid culture was far from over".

At a mass meeting in nearby Fingo Location that evening, Masekela urged the crowd not to believe the struggle for freedom was over. "There are still difficult days ahead of us," she said.

Masekela's insistence that the struggle continued disturbed part of her white audience that afternoon. Mutterings could be heard in the Settler Monument building that "apartheid has changed and there is no need to stress the continuation of struggle".

But the toyi toying that greeted her words in Fingo that evening illustrated the vast political differences between the culture of the monument and that of the townships.

"We don't know how they do things up there," said Gugile Nkwinti, regional secretary for the ANC in the Eastern Cape, "but here we toyi toyi".

Masekela said she was awed at the amount of work still to be done in the country and saddened by the "unspeakable poverty" of most South Africans.

However, she said she would tell exiles that South Africans were waiting for them with open arms.

"There has been a great deal of destruction but the years of sacrifice have not been in vain.

"There is a growing constituency of non-ANC members giving signals that they too want to join in the business of building the new South Africa."

Delay feared for exiles' return

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

HOPES that the status of about 1 500 political prisoners and tens of thousands of political exiles would be settled this week appeared remote last night.

A joint National Party-ANC report containing proposals on the release of the prisoners and the return of exiles to South Africa was accepted by the cabinet late in May.

The ANC's deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela indicated before leaving on his world tour that the ANC's National Executive Committee (NEC) would deliver a formal response to the report on July 10 — but it now appears unlikely that this deadline will be met.

Members of the government's negotiating team have charged the ANC with dragging its heels on the issue. However, ANC military wing chief Mr Chris Hani said the ANC had already submitted amendments to the report.

CHT Tupp
9/7/90
330

Poet's passport poser

The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — The organisers of a festival of South African art being staged here claim that Soweto poet Mzwakhe Mbuli has been refused a passport to leave South Africa.

Mr Mbuli, who has repeatedly been detained in South Africa and whose house was recently bombed, was being billed as one of the major attractions of the Zabalaza Festival.

Miss Anna Arthur, speaking for the Zabalaza Festival organisers, said they had been told that the poet had not been given a passport but had received no further details.

Attempts to get information from the South African embassy here have thrown no further light on the matter.



Home at last . . . former Nusas president Neville Curtis is welcomed home by his parents, Jack and Joyce Curtis, at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday, after spending 16 years in exile. ● Picture by Karen Fletcher.

Curtis back after a 17-year exile.

By Marguerite Moody

Former Nusas president Neville Curtis, who was banned in the early '70s, returned to South Africa yesterday after almost 17 years in exile.

A tired-looking Mr Curtis (42), who jetted in from Harare after waiting several weeks for a visa, welcomed recent changes in South Africa and said he hoped they would continue.

He was met at Jan Smuts Airport by his parents, Jack and Joyce Curtis of Norwood, Johannesburg.

Mr Curtis, who is in the country for four weeks to visit his parents, relatives and friends, was undecided whether he would return permanently.

"It's great to be back, and depending on what happens here, I may return for good later on. However, I have a lot of catching up and finding out to do after years abroad," he said.

Mr Curtis fled to Australia from Cape Town in 1974 using a friend's American passport, after being charged with contravening his banning order by attending his sister's wedding

anniversary party. The banning order expired in 1978.

In Australia, he was one of the key organisers of the Anti-Apartheid Movement and later helped to set up the Campaign Against Racial Exploitation (Care), a movement attacking discrimination against Aborigines.

After travelling extensively on an Australian passport, he recently took up organic farming in Tasmania, from where he also works as a freelance journalist for various publications.

Although not a member of the ANC and no longer involved in anti-apartheid activities, Mr Curtis said he remained in close contact with the organisation, which was "very strong in Australia".

● In June 1984, Mr Curtis's sister Jeanette Schoon and her daughter Katrijn (6), died as a result of a parcel bomb explosion at their home in Lubango, Angola. Vrye Weekblad recently reported the parcel had been intended for her husband, ANC member Marius Schoon.

R20 000 'small change'

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — The former National Party MP for East London City, Mr Peet de Pontes, told the Regional Court here yesterday that he had accepted an amount of between R15 000 and R20 000 from Italian financier Mr Vito Palazzolo as it had been "small change" to Mr Palazzolo.

Mr De Pontes, who faces multiple charges of fraud, theft, bribery and forging and uttering, said that at that stage Mr Palazzolo's business assets were estimated at about \$10 million (about R26m).

Mr De Pontes told the court that the money he accepted was the balance of a \$26 200 (about R68 120) cheque set aside by Mr Palazzolo for investment in Ciskei.

The money had been an advance on a deal that had subsequently fallen through. As he had been given complete authority

over Mr Palazzolo's financial portfolio in South Africa, he had used his own discretion to donate a sum of R20 000 to the Ciskei President and People's Education Trust.

After deducting amounts that were payable to the former mayor, Mr Robert de Lange, and an East London law firm, IC Clarke Incorporated, he had deposited the balance into his personal savings account.

Mr De Pontes said that when he raised the issue of the outstanding balance with Mr Palazzolo he was told to keep the money in return for expenses he had incurred.

Mr De Pontes told the court he and Mr Palazzolo had become business partners and had established a holding company in Ciskei called Papillon International.

Initially he had owned 24% of the shares in the company totalling 240 000 shares. Mr Palazzolo owned the remaining 76%.

Mr De Pontes said he had acquired the initial 130 000 shares in a special agreement with Mr Palazzolo. The balance of the shares

would be paid for from the profits generated by projects undertaken by the company.

The company, whose main activities had been aimed at establishing a commercial bank, the First National Bank of Ciskei, and a radio station, the Amatola Broadcasting Corporation, had set about acquiring banking and broadcasting rights.

Mr De Pontes said the bank was destined to become the official bank controlling all government and quasi-government accounts.

Plans to establish a radio station had been thwarted by problems in obtaining the correct frequency.

An attempt was then made to buy Radio Ciskei and to transform it into a commercial station.

The radio station would produce impartial news aimed at countering "certain politically biased newspapers in the area".

Mr De Pontes told the court that the consignment of four Mercedes-Benz cars which had arrived in East London during the run-up

to the 1987 general elections had given rise to considerable speculation.

The cars had been imported by Mr Palazzolo but, because he wanted to maintain strict confidentiality about his immigration to South Africa, they had been registered in Mr De Pontes's name.

Mr De Pontes told the court that because of the enormous costs incurred during his 1987 election campaign he had been forced to take a personal loan of R50 000 from Mr Palazzolo and a R42 000 loan for the National Party.

The loan had been offset by certain business arrangements and had been repaid to Papillon.

As a result of friction eventually the two decided to separate their business interests and an agreement was reached to transfer all the shares to Mr De Pontes with effect from February 1, 1988.

Mr De Pontes said Mr Palazzolo had signed the necessary forms transferring the shares into his name. The trial continues today.

SSRC's Sono may return from exile

A FORMER leader of the Soweto Students Representative Council, Trofomo Sono, may soon come back home.

Sowetan 12/7/90
He fled South Africa in 1977 to go into exile in Botswana after being sought by police for allegedly inciting pupils to take part in protests and school boycotts.

By FRANS SEOPA

Sono, a former Madibane High School pupil, was the third student leader to leave the country following the 1976 Soweto uprisings.

Soweto pupils were at the time protesting against the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in black

schools.

Sono's predecessor Tsietsi Mashinini was the first to leave. He was followed by Khotso Seatlholo, who was released recently after spending nine years in jail.

Mashinini, now living in Guinea, north Africa, is expected to settle in Zim-

babwe soon.

A relative of Sono's said Sono telephoned on Tuesday, saying he wanted to return to the country.

Asked about the date of Sono's impending return, he said: "Just leave it there, I will let you know as soon as I have details".



TROFOMO SONO

Indaba to tackle exiles' return

By LULAMA LUTI

15/7/90 330
C/1/m
THE reception and care of more than 20 000 exiles expected to return to South Africa tops the agenda of a major conference to be held in Johannesburg at the end of the month.

The conference - whose theme is "Working together towards a new South Africa" - is organised by the National Assembly for Women in South Africa (Nwasa).

It will also focus on the role of women in ending the violence in the country and devising ways of helping victims of the Natal violence, mostly women and children.

More than 300 delegates from 30 women's organisations are expected to

attend the conference which will be held at the Braamfontein Hotel from July 27 to July 29.

Speakers will include veteran community leader Dr Ellen Khuzwayo, president of Federation of Transvaal Women Sister Bernard Ncube, the Black Sash's Sheena Duncan, Zimbabwe Council of Churches women's department co-ordinator Belisha Tonyongana and Natal Midland Women's Organisation's Busi Msomi.

Conference organisers' chairman Madikolo Motumi said women were faced with the challenge of helping bring about peace, stability and development in South Africa.

For more details phone Queenie Mgcina or Jeanette at (011) 403-5500.

Tambo to return 'after amnesty'

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo will return to South Africa when the whole organisation has been granted a general, permanent amnesty enabling exiles to be repatriated en masse.

Spokesman Dr Frene Ginwala expressed optimism that obstacles to their return would be removed in the next couple of weeks after talks with the government resume following Mr Nelson Mandela's return on Wednesday.

Dr Ginwala returns temporarily to South Africa today after more than 30 years in exile.

She and two other exiles, Ms Shanti Naidoo and Mrs Eleanor Khanyile, both of the International Defence and Aid, will assist with the launching inside South Africa of the ANC's Women's League on August 9.

She said Mr Tambo was "very well". He was undergoing physiotherapy following the minor attack he had last year, but he was still fine mentally. However, he was "not going to be allowed back to do full-time work".

She said while the whole of the ANC's international department would continue operating at their 34 "missions" around the world — more than the government has — members of the other departments, including Mr Tambo, would return once the way had been cleared.

She estimated there were some 20 000 ANC members in exile.

A returning exile's thoughts

Zola Skweyiya looks up at the ceiling, his mind wandering back to the day he realised that he was to return to the country he had left almost 28 years ago.

It was, he said, like a dream. No wonder, even as he spoke, the ANC official seemed to be on a cloud.

Mr Skweyiya left South Africa during the turbulent period of 1962, turning his back on the country of his birth.

He hoped that one day he would return. At first to him, and the thousands of others who left the country, the prospect of their return appeared to be just a dream.

I had just asked two ANC exiles returning from Lusaka just how it felt when they realised that they would once more set foot on South African soil.

Lindiwe Phillip, back in the country as part of the ANC team to streamline the reorganisation of the Women's League, left South Africa 13 years ago.

"You cannot imagine what goes through a person's mind."

The preparations for the departure. Messages from comrades to their relatives. You try to remember everything, try not to write things down. You don't know what kind of reception awaits you.

What goes through a political exile's mind when returning home to a country where he has not set foot for years — in some cases as long as 28 years? **JOE LATAKGOMO** spoke to two African National Congress returnees.

"Then there are the final details. But there is nothing worse than that gentle bump, and you are back on South African soil," she said.

"Man, you just don't believe it," said Mr Skweyiya. "Even when you pack your bags, you still do not believe it is happening."

And worst of all, those remaining also think, and believe, that it will not work. "And then, comes your departure time and people still gather around to make sure that it is actually happening."

Reception

To Mr Skweyiya, the two hours between Lusaka and Johannesburg seemed like years. And then came the realisation that he was actually over South Africa, home at last.

What kind of reception would they get? Had things changed to the extent they had been told? Would they just be locked up? Who would be at the airport to meet them? "I could feel my heartbeat increasing as the plane began its de-

scend. Another fifteen minutes, and I would be stepping on South African soil for the first time in 28 years," said Mr Skweyiya.

Recollecting, he tells how teenagers got used to travelling without proper documentation.

"We knew what to expect when we got off planes in African countries, special arrangements would be made for us, and we knew we had to be last in line to get attention. But this time, it was different. I was coming home, yet I was not coming home, if you can see what I mean," he said.

As they get up after the plane taxis to a halt, they look at each other, uncertain as to what to do. Their hearts pound. And then, the final step out under the open blue South African skies. The first walk through the arrivals hall.

A flurry of activity. Then the announcement that they should all wait in the corner. More uncertainty. And then, eventually, someone else turns up to inspect their documents and then takes them away.

What now, they all wonder? Very little talking goes on, as each contemplates his or her own situation. And then, finally, an inquiry.

Mr Skweyiya? Sorry, your papers are not in order and we cannot let you through."

He is led to the transit hall, where he is advised he would have to stay until his documents are in order. The others are let through.

"I thought to myself, nothing ever changes," he said.

He is held up over his "indemnity" documents, and the transit hall becomes his home for the next 48 hours.

"I felt so close to home, and yet so far, and wondered how I would feel if told to get onto the next flight out of the country — back to Lusaka. I wanted to cry."

Then he smiles. "You see, this is an opportunity the Government has failed to grasp. They could have made our reception the best public relations exercise."

"They knew we were on our way, they knew who we were and why we were coming back."

"Can you imagine how we all would have felt if they had really made us welcome? Nobody could have convinced me about the change process in the country."

Namibians to apply for SA residence

CAT 7 mps 19/7/90

Political Staff

330

SOUTH AFRICAN citizens who were born in Namibia and were ordinarily resident there had now become aliens, the Department of Home Affairs warned yesterday.

People from Namibia who were studying or temporarily working in South Africa should urgently contact the department's nearest district or regional office to regularise their continued residence in the country, it said in a statement.

"Those persons who have, by the promulgation of the Act, ceased to be South African citizens, but who study or work in the Republic of South Africa, are therefore deemed to be aliens."

The department said the Act made provision for people whose parents or grandparents were born in South Africa to retain their SA citizenship.

People from Namibia who studied or worked temporarily in South Africa were regarded as ordinarily resident in Namibia.

Pitika Ntuli visits home after 28 years in exile

By VICTOR METSOAMERE

ARTIST and poet Pitika Ntuli leaves for London today after a brief visit to the country he left 28 years ago.

His return coincided with the death of his father in June.

Ntuli (48) spent a year on Death Row in Swaziland before international pressure secured his release into exile.

He trained as a teacher in Swaziland and was director of the Mangaliso Creative Workshop for Poets, Visual Artists and Writers.

Ntuli obtained a Master's degree in Fine Arts in the United States.

He later settled in London where, as a freelance arts consultant, he was first involved with several community groups and organisations in workshops on art and poetry. *Sowetan 1/11/90*

From 1986 until last year he was artistic director at Jenako Arts, a London-based organisation which promotes the arts of South America, Africa, Asia and the Caribbean.

Ntuli has become one of the leading art personalities in Britain.

He has exhibited in Tanzania, Nigeria, the United States and West Germany.



PITIKA NTULI

The division among political organisations disturbs Ntuli.

"I am struck by the division in the black community when unity appears to be the main solution."

When he left South Africa, people were seen as "potential liberators of the nation". But now, on his return, "people live as physical targets".

Star 23/7/90

330

ANC chiefs meet to plan vital strategies

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

The ANC's highest decision-making body, the National Executive Committee, will convene at a secret venue in Johannesburg today.

The NEC will thrash out strategies on several pressing political issues — such as the future of the armed struggle, and the protracted Natal violence.

Still-exiled members of the organisation have been arriving in Johannesburg over the last few days to prepare for the historic meeting. They include director of foreign affairs, Thabo Mbeki, treasurer-general

Thomas Nkobi and Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Joe Modise.

The ANC's internal leader, Walter Sisulu, said last night that ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela will report back on his recent six-week international tour.

Struggle

The organisation's steering committee will report on preparations for the August 6 meeting with the Government. One issue which was likely to be raised was the future of the armed struggle, he said.

The Government has insisted

that armed operations be suspended to pave the way for formal negotiations on a new dispensation.

ANC sources have indicated that a cessation of violence could be agreed upon at the Pretoria meeting early next month. The meeting, a follow-up to the Groote Schuur summit in May, is expected to implement the report drawn up by a joint ANC-Government working group.

The report details steps to remove the obstacles to negotiations.

Mr Sisulu said the NEC would also discuss a draft interim ANC constitution.

CONF 741P 23/7/90 (330)

Conference on SA exiles' return

JOHANNESBURG. — The problems faced by thousands of South African refugees expected to return home this year will be addressed at an international conference in Geneva this week.

The National Co-ordinating Committee on Repatriation, which represents all of South Africa's main religious groups, as well as political movements with supporters in exile, will table recommendations at the conference for nine repatriation-related pro-

jects expected to cost more than R250 million, reports said.

The committee, led by South African Council of Churches general secretary the Rev Frank Chikane, is also expected to seek the assistance of international agencies, the World Council of Churches and other religious bodies, as well as individual governments, in assisting exiles to return to South Africa.

The ANC's position on the return of exiles will probably be

clarified when members of its national executive committee meet to discuss the report of the joint government/ANC working group.

The report, already accepted by the joint working group, is believed to contain a provision for amnesty based on a sliding scale of so-called political offences.

Neither the PAC, Azapo, nor the exiled Black Consciousness Movement of Azania are advising refugees to return to South Africa

Mashinini: Can he be buried in SA?

LONDON. — Plans are being made for the possible return to South Africa of the body of Mr Tsietsi Mashinini, the exiled Soweto youth leader who died suddenly in Guinea this week.

Mr Mashinini — who was president of the Soweto Students' Representative Council at the height of the June 1976 riots — was admitted to hospital in Conakry, capital of Guinea, shortly after returning from a visit to Nigeria.

The cause of death is still not known.

The 36-year-old self-exiled activist, who fled South Africa, had been undergoing tests for a mystery illness.

A close friend in London, Mr Barney Mokgatle, said yesterday that Mr Mashinini's death on Wednesday night came as a complete shock.

"I am now making arrangements to fly out to Guinea to collect the body and, hopefully, take Tsietsi home to South Africa," he said.

● Sapa reports that the Azanian People's Organisation yesterday said Mr Mashinini's death was a great loss to the liberation struggle.

She said: "I love Chris and he is a wonderful person. But please, just respect our privacy."

Army exiles set to return

By JEREMY BROOKS
London

A PARTY of white exiles, who fled South Africa up to 10 years ago to avoid national service, will return home soon in a test of President De Klerk's reform moves.

The men, aged 22-32, all technically face arrest for avoiding call-up. However, they do not expect immediate legal problems when they arrive at Jan Smuts Airport.

Spokesman Mathew Temple said in London: "The group, of around 25 people, will be the first wave of war resisters returning home to test the new atmosphere."

"Others will follow, but we expect no trouble until later when call-up papers arrive."

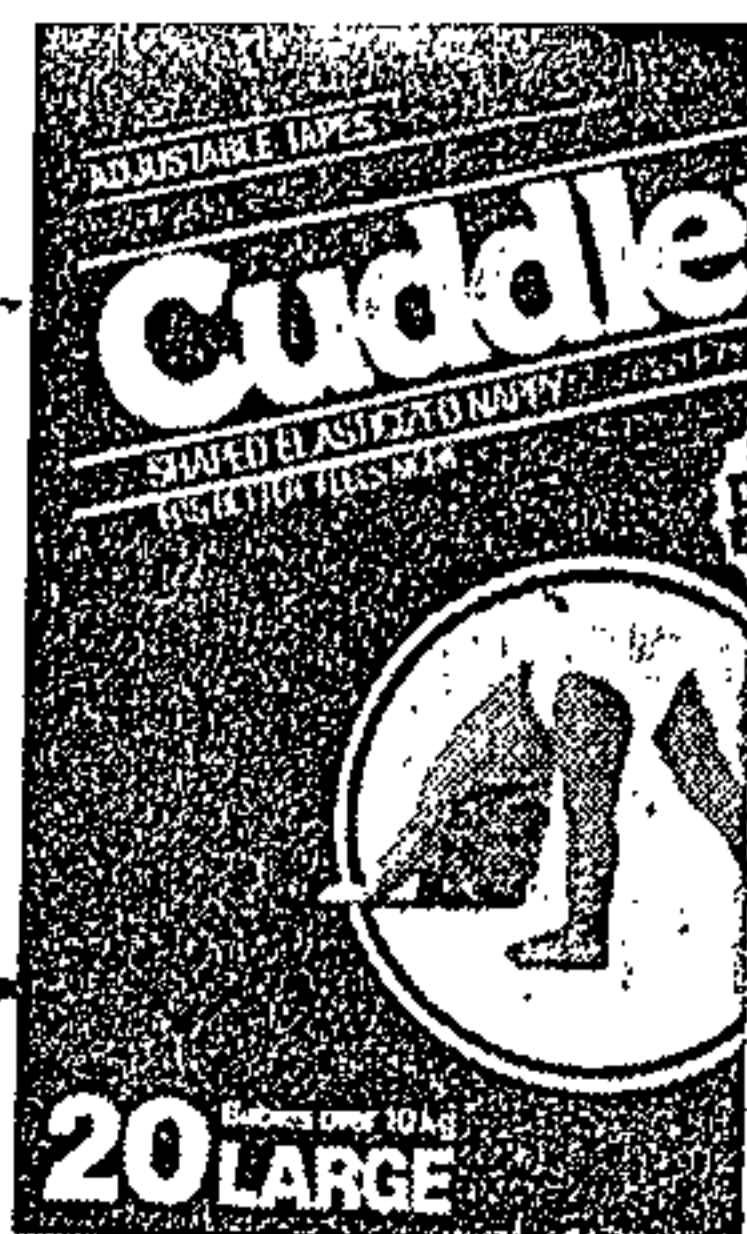
330 Asylum

Conscientious objectors living abroad have signed a register of about 220 names which was published in newspaper ads on Friday in South Africa.

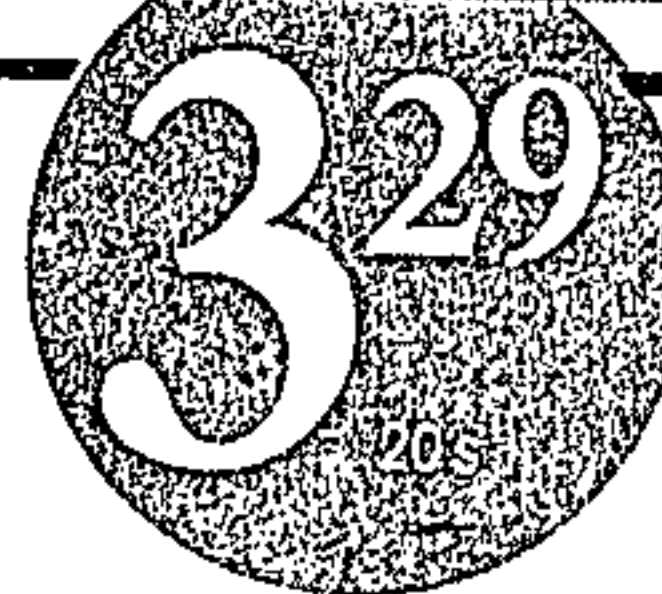
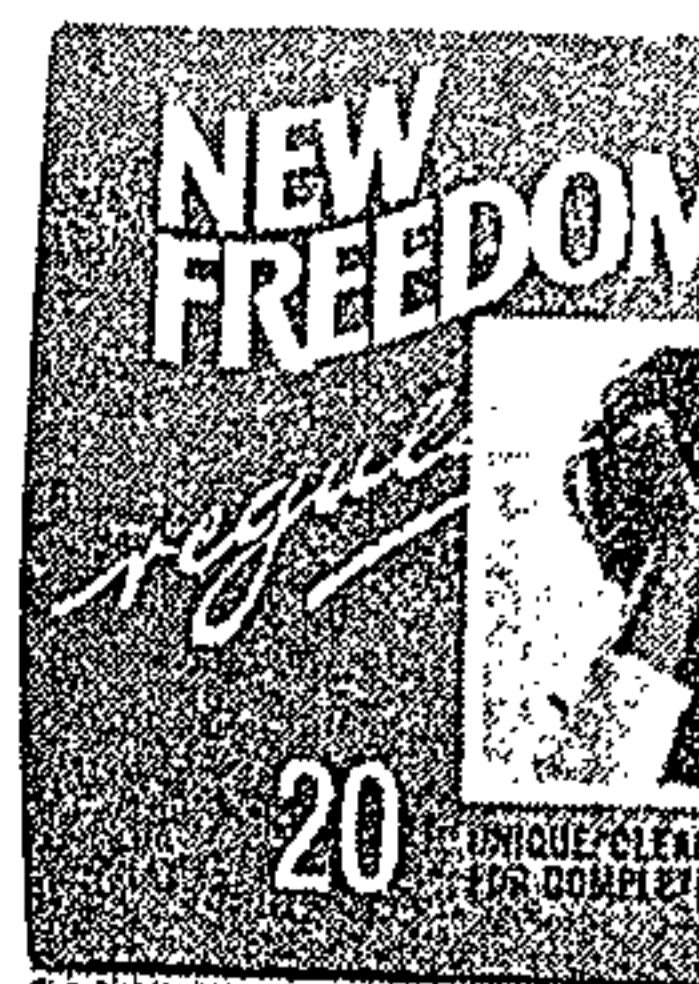
They were expressing solidarity with the 771 conscientious objectors inside the country whose names were published last year in Johannesburg's "alternative press".

"The people on the list, totalling 220, are now living all across the globe," said Mr Temple.

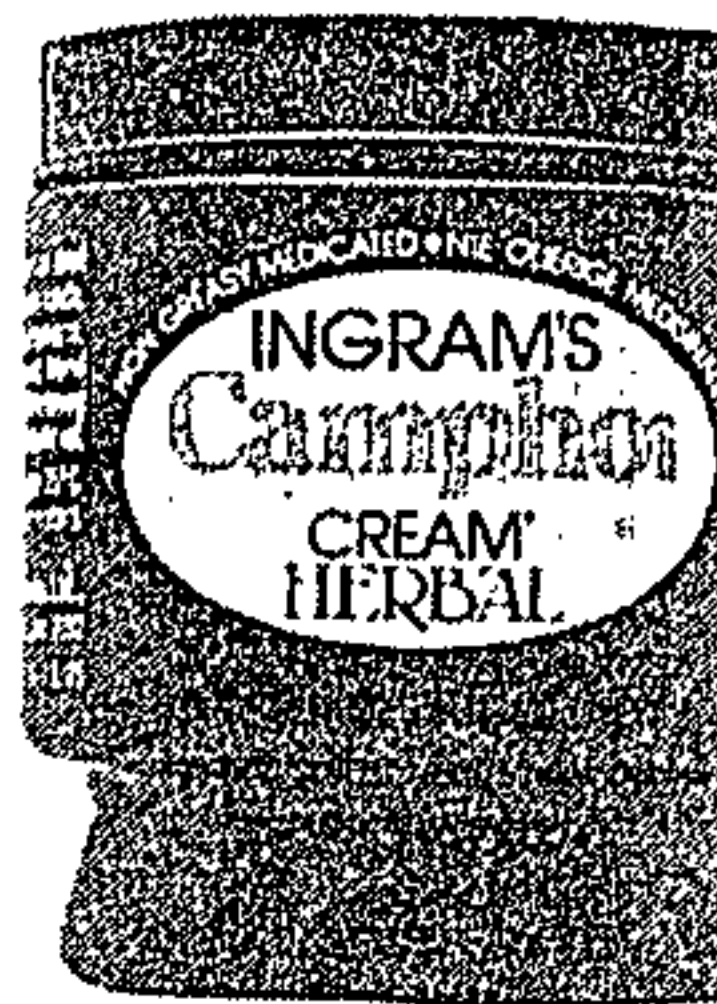
His organisation, COSAWR, was established in Britain in 1978 by the first young men to gain political asylum in the UK for refusing to do national service.



Cuddlers
Disposable
Diapers
Large



New
Towe
New
Towe
Deod



Asmal comes home for visit

CMT 10/18/82 Own Correspondent (330)

LONDON. — Lawyer Mr Kadar Asmal, one of the most distinguished South African exiles, arrives in SA today for his first visit in more than 30 years.

Mr Asmal, a professor of law at Trinity College, Dublin, and specialist legal adviser to the UN, will address a meeting of the National Association of Democratic Lawyers in Durban.

Chairman of the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement and a leading figure in the sports boycott campaign, he will then accompany Sanroc executive chairman Mr Sam Ramsamy on his South African visit.

Soccer body refuses to meet Ramsamy

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Sam Ramsamy has been snubbed by South Africa's most important soccer body, but he will meet a wide variety of sports leaders during a nine-day visit which starts on Friday.

The itinerary of Mr Ramsamy, executive chairman of the SA Non-Racial Olympic Committee (Sanroc), has been worked out by the SA National Olympic Committee (Sanoc) and the National Sports Congress (NSC), according to Sanoc director Mr Doep du Plessis.

The decision of the Soccer Association of South Africa (Sasa) to turn down an invitation to meet Mr Ramsamy means he will not be meeting with a body which unquestionably represents the majority of soccer players.

Sasa decided to snub Mr Ramsamy after a joint meeting on Tuesday with their professional wing, the National Soccer League.

Mr Ramsamy will hold a press conference after his arrival. "I expect he will discuss his itinerary then," said Mr Du Plessis.

Asmal comes home for visit

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Lawyer Mr Kadar Asmal, one of the most distinguished South African exiles, arrives in SA today for his first visit in more than 30 years.

Mr Asmal, a professor of law at Trinity College, Dublin, and specialist legal adviser to the UN, will address a meeting of the National Association of Democratic Lawyers in Durban.

Chairman of the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement and a leading figure in the sports boycott campaign, he will then accompany Sanroc executive chairman Mr Sam Ramsamy on his South African visit.

From page 1

20% pay increase

Mr John Muir added that the council had become part of the "tricameral gravy train", as its permitted increases had been decided upon by a local government co-ordinating council and the provincial administrators, and linked to a countrywide local authority grading system.

Several councillors said that the last increase they had had was in mid-1987.

Mr Arthur Wienburg argued that councillors' annual increase was in the region of 7%, as the last increase had been three years ago. He said allowances were supposed to reimburse

councillors for expenses they incurred.

He said he put in 78 hours of work a month for the council, and spent R200 a month on petrol, and R600 on secretarial services.

Executive committee chairman Mr Richard Friedlander said all the major cities, except one which was still deciding, had approved the new allowance rates.

Those who voted against the increases were councillors Mrs Bronnie Harding, Mr Rupert Hurly, Mr Ian Iversen, Mr Clive Justus, Mr John Muir, Mr Gordon Oliver, Mr Neil Ross, Mr Gerry Sullivan and Mr Frank van der Velde.

Staff Reporter

A CITY man, aged 34, sprayed teargas into the face of a detective who had accosted him after the man had allegedly defrauded a Green Point computer company late yesterday.

According to Major Jan Calitz, a police liaison officer, it was also found that the man was driving a stolen car.

He said the owners of the computer company had alerted the police after the man had taken

Suspect teargasses detective in the face

Point, he had forced the man's car off the road. While the policeman was checking on the car's registration number, the man had

SA COMMUNIST Party stalwart Brian Bunting left SA yesterday after being in the country for just one week following 27 years in exile.

Bunting, 70, was given a seven-day visa on his arrival at Jan Smuts last week after immigration officials originally gave him unlimited access to the country.

"My father, S P Bunting, was at the SACP's launch in 1921 and I just had to be there when the party re-emerged from 30 years underground," he said in an interview at the SACP's offices in Johannesburg.

Bunting explained how hanging around a Jan Smuts airport lounge waiting for a lift had cost him an unlimited stay. After being given unlimited access, customs officials found him waiting for his overdue lift to Johannesburg, called him back and stamped his British passport with a seven-day visa.

Returning exiles were instructed to follow ANC procedures to ensure that they had immunity. After sending in his name, which apparently got lost in the system, Bunting decided to "take pot luck", believing that the SA Police had nothing more on him than his membership of a once-banned organisation.

On Sunday Bunting was among 22 interim SACP leaders introduced to 40 000 supporters as the party relaunched itself at Soccer City.

A communist comes home

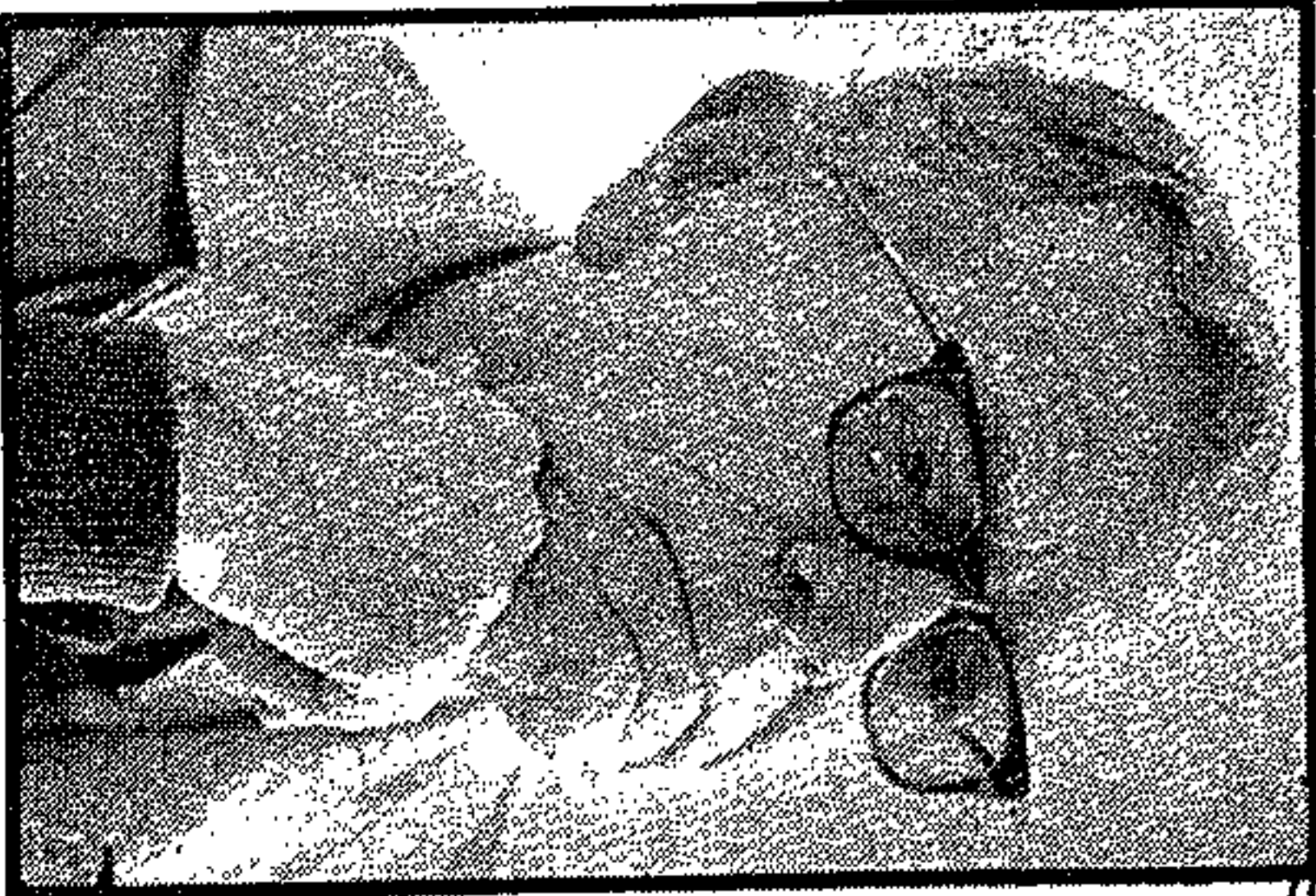
PETER DELMAR

The experience, Bunting said, was unforgettable. But returning to SA after so long had its problems.

"Obviously I'm overjoyed to be back. But SA is very different now. That difference reflects itself in all sorts of ways. Many of my dearest friends and comrades are dead — killed in detention or action. In a way it's not like coming home. It's more like creating a new home."

Wearing a tweed jacket and horn-rimmed spectacles, Bunting looks more like a school headmaster than a revolutionary. He is delighted at the prospects for a peaceful socialist revolution, but no one, he says, knows how long it will take for the socialist transformation of SA to be realised. "The SACP will have to adjust policies and even its constitution to meet the changing times. But the party will continue to work unceasingly towards the completion of that revolution."

Bunting has no delusions about the challenges facing the SACP — particularly money.



□ BUNTING

For 20 years he has edited the SACP's quarterly theoretical journal, The African Communist. For 20 years it was printed and distributed gratis by East Germany. The last two issues have had to

make do without that donation. And, Bunting acknowledges, money from Eastern Europe has dried up. The African Communist has had to cut its 18 000 circulation almost in half and reduce its number of pages.

More money will have to be found for party offices, full-time workers, vehicles and propaganda, but he believes the party has enough supporters to find that money in SA.

Based in London since 1963, Bunting's party involvement has been mostly concerned with the African Communist. It is his history before exile that makes riveting listening.

In 1952 he was elected to Parliament as a Native's Representative, but was prevented from taking his seat in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act.

He recalls that he "walked" the election, despite being technically prohibited from standing, canvassing or holding public meetings. Brought to court for standing in defiance of government's ruling, the magistrate decided that "if I was good enough to be invited to the Governor-General's garden party, he didn't see why I should be prosecuted".

From 1942 (after the Soviet Union entered the War) Bunting served with the SA forces in North Africa, and the Middle East. After being demobbed, he returned to work for the Guardian weekly newspaper — the official mouthpiece of the SACP.

Bunting's regional editors at the time included such ANC luminaries as Johannesburg editor Ruth First, Govan Mbeki in Port Elizabeth and N P Naicker in Durban.

In 1960 Bunting was detained. Two years later he was placed under house arrest. Frustrated by security police efforts to keep him out of a job and with a wife and family to support, the final straw came in 1963 when all staff members of the Spark — as the Guardian had then become — were prohibited from working on the newspaper. He left for London.

At the end of the war, the Guardian was selling 45 000 copies a week. By the time he left SA, its circulation had dropped to 20 000, largely, Bunting says, because of police harassment, particularly of news sellers.

Bunting bears no resentment about being allowed to stay only a week. He came to be at the rally and he was there, and now he has to get back to London to edit another African Communist. As for not going to Cape Town, well, he's saving that to share with his wife, Sonia, when they and the African Communist come home for good next year.

LETTERS

AK6W 3/8/40 (330)

CITY



NATIONAL

Adelaide Tambo due back from exile

The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — The ANC's first lady, Mrs Adelaide "Matlala" Tambo, is to return to South Africa on Monday after nearly 30 years in exile.

The nursing sister from Vereeniging who married ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo in 1956 will be in Johannesburg for just eight days to attend the first legal conference of the ANC's

women's movement since the late '50s when Mrs Tambo was an executive member.

Mrs Tambo will be looking for a new home for her and her husband's expected return in December.

Her trip will be filled with memories from her early married years when she and Mr Tambo ate, slept and drank politics.

In exile Mrs Tambo has been the quiet — and sometimes not so quiet — force behind the presidency. She has had a major influence on the ANC in London, often being the main link between the exiles and their new home.

Mrs Tambo's personality has made her friends in high places in Britain including financier Mr Tiny Rowland, Opposition leader Mr Neil Kinnock and film director Richard Attenborough.



Mrs Adelaide Tambo

No Ponte deal yet, says Chikane

Staff Reporter

330

3/8/90 purchase Ponte had taken place.

Ponte City was just one of many buildings or projects suggested as possible housing for returning exiles, but no contract had been entered into, the South African Council of Churches said today.

Reacting to reports that the Johannesburg building was seriously being considered by the National Co-ordinating Committee as a housing prospect, SACC general secretary the Rev Frank Chikane said it was untrue that any negotiations to

Various possibilities were being explored, he said.

The housing company Quantum, reported to have been involved in the Ponte negotiations, had, like many other companies, approached the SACC and indicated their interest in the task force involved in the project.

Informal discussions had been held with some of the companies, including Quantum.

"I personally have not met Quantum," said Mr Chikane.

Lawyer denies move to sell Ponte City to house exiles

330

PONTE City lawyer Mr. Henry Vorster has denied any negotiations with the South African Council of Churches or any other political organisation for the purchase of the complex in Johannesburg.

South Africa 3/8/72
It has been revealed that secret negotiations are in progress for the sale of the Berea building and sources indicated it was planned to eventually house 2 000 ANC exiles. SACC general secretary

the Rev. Frank Chikane confirmed yesterday that the National Co-ordinating Committee of the SACC had set up task forces to deal with the return of some 20 000 exiles.

He said the committee's brief included housing and it was likely the possibility of acquiring Ponte was being explored. He did not believe the deal had been clinched.

Bankorp Property Services, who administer the property on behalf of the owners, said the building "had always been in the market" and indicated a sale had been concluded. - *Sowetan Correspondent*

Ponte for returned exiles a tall story, says ANC

By CASSANDRA MOODLEY

wt Mail 3/8-5/8/90
THE African National Congress yesterday denied newspaper speculation that the landmark Ponte City apartment block in Berea was to become a home for returning ANC exiles.

Reports in the Johannesburg daily *Die Beeld* said that South African Council of Churches general secretary Frank Chikane and housing company Quantum Group Limited were concluding negotiations for the sale of the building to house exiles.

ANC representative Ahmed Kathrada told *The Daily Mail*: "This is absolutely not true and despite our denials the story was reported in the media."

Quantum also denied knowledge or involvement. The group's managing director, Chris Otto, said: "Quantum concentrates on all aspects of property development in the black market."

"Neither Quantum nor any of its subsidiaries has any financial interest, directly or indirectly, in Ponte City."

Chikane, who confirmed that arrangements were being made for the return of 20 000 exiles, also dismissed talk of a deal being concluded for the block, but admitted the possibility would be explored.

The 50-storey building, which has 467 apartments, was in the news a few months ago — it was reported in *Fi-*

nance Week that the building was operating at a loss. (330) ~~400~~

Ponte was reportedly trading at a loss of about R6-million a year. Long-term loans stood at R33-million.

The magazine speculated that Bankorp Property Services, which administers the property, was looking for a buyer. But Bankorp has now admitted that a sale was not concluded.

In April the price of Ponte City was speculated at R10-million and renovation costs at another R10-million.

ANC finance head Vusi Khanyile said the organisation did not have the resources to contemplate such a deal.

Govt expected to act on exiles

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

The Government and the ANC are widely expected to decide formally at their talks today to free political prisoners and grant amnesty to exiles.

The two top-level negotiating teams will probably do little more than rubber stamp a definition of what constitutes a political offence, already thrashed out in detail by a joint ANC/Government working group.

From today perhaps hundreds of prisoners and tens of thousands of exiles will start streaming back into South African society.

But it is by no means clear that all who regard themselves as resistance fighters against the Government will be among them.

Those who have committed serious acts of indiscriminate violence against civilians or civilian property not connected with the administration or the structure of the state could well fall outside the amnesty, according to well-placed official sources close to the working group.

Revolutionaries

And the position of many ANC township revolutionaries — such as the famous (or notorious) Sharpeville Six, who were imprisoned for killing black councillors — could be problematical. Whether or not they qualify for release or indemnity from prosecution may depend on whether their victims are regarded as "Government personnel".

The deliberations of the working group on political offences have been officially confidential, but there has been much speculation — although little certainty — about its recommendations.

Both sides have agreed that the general principles or guidelines for deciding what constitutes a political offence could follow closely those adopted during the Namibian settlement — as indeed the working group's brief in the Groote Schuur Minute suggested.

Deciding on which individual cases fit the guidelines will be the responsibility of a special committee probably consisting largely of jurists.

The Namibian guidelines were drawn up by Danish jurist Professor Carl Norgaard. He discovered there was no universal or generally accepted definition of the terms "political prisoners" or "political detainees".

So he looked instead to the field of extradition law where definitions of a political offence are sought, because many nations will not extradite a political offender.

He found there was a "considerable degree of consensus — both on the type of offence which might in principle be classified as 'political' and on the sort of factors which should be taken into account in deciding whether or not an offence is political."

Professor Norgaard found that certain offences are recognised as "classical" or "pure" political offences. "These are crimes such as treason or

sedition directed solely against the State and not involving the commission of common or ordinary crimes such as murder or assault.

"It is, however, generally accepted that in certain circumstances a common crime, even an extremely serious one such as murder, may be a political offence."

Although there were differences between countries, there were certain main factors which were commonly taken into account by national courts in deciding if a "common crime" was a "political offence".

Professor Norgaard regarded the following as relevant to Namibia: The motivation of the offence, the circumstances, the political objective (whether it was an attempt to overthrow the government or force a change in policy), the legal and factual nature of the offence, including its gravity, the object of the offence (whether committed against government personnel or property, or directed primarily against private citizens), the relationship between the offence and the political objective being pursued — eg the directness or proximity of the relationship, or the "proportionality" between the offence and the objective pursued.

Professor Norgaard determined that a political motive was generally considered almost an essential pre-requisite for a common offence to be considered political.

However he did not think it was essential that the person who actually carried out the crime should be politically motivated.

It would be anomalous if those who gave orders for offences were regarded as political offenders while those who carried them out were not.

Detonated bomb

In the US, acts against civilian targets causing indiscriminate injury and destruction generally fall outside the definition of political offence.

Professor Norgaard said the precedents from extradition law had to be considered against the factual and political background of the Namibian settlement.

South African Government officials close to the working group have stated that this precedent has been followed here and means that South African offenders such as ANC operative Robert McBride, who detonated a bomb outside a Durban bar which killed two civilians, will not be granted amnesty.

The Norgaard guidelines also suggest that ANC comrades who have murdered "collaborators" such as black town councillors will also be difficult cases to decide.

Following this precedent, it must be considered that the ANC's revolutionary campaign was directed against the SA Government — and not the SA people.

So it may prove crucial whether the councillors are considered members of the "people" or the Government.

Govt expected to act on exiles

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

The Government and the ANC are widely expected to decide formally at their talks today to free political prisoners and grant amnesty to exiles.

The two top-level negotiating teams will probably do little more than rubber stamp a definition of what constitutes a political offence, already thrashed out in detail by a joint ANC/Government working group.

From today perhaps hundreds of prisoners and tens of thousands of exiles will start streaming back into South African society.

But it is by no means clear that all who regard themselves as resistance fighters against the Government will be among them.

Those who have committed serious acts of indiscriminate violence against civilians or civilian property not connected with the administration or the structure of the state could well fall outside the amnesty, according to well-placed official sources close to the working group.

Revolutionaries

And the position of many ANC township revolutionaries — such as the famous (or notorious) Sharpeville Six, who were imprisoned for killing black councillors — could be problematical. Whether or not they qualify for release or indemnity from prosecution may depend on whether their victims are regarded as "Government personnel".

The deliberations of the working group on political offences have been officially confidential, but there has been much speculation — although little certainty — about its recommendations.

Both sides have agreed that the general principles or guidelines for deciding what constitutes a political offence could follow closely those adopted during the Namibian settlement — as indeed the working group's brief in the Groote Schuur Minute suggested.

Deciding on which individual cases fit the guidelines will be the responsibility of a special committee probably consisting largely of jurists.

The Namibian guidelines were drawn up by Danish jurist Professor Carl Norgaard. He discovered there was no universal or generally accepted definition of the terms "political prisoners" or "political detainees".

So he looked instead to the field of extradition law where definitions of a political offence are sought, because many nations will not extradite a political offender.

He found there was a "considerable degree of consensus — both on the type of offence which might in principle be classified as 'political' and on the sort of factors which should be taken into account in deciding whether or not an offence is political."

Professor Norgaard found that certain offences are recognised as "classical" or "pure" political offences. "These are crimes such as treason or

sedition directed solely against the State and not involving the commission of common or ordinary crimes such as murder or assault.

"It is, however, generally accepted that in certain circumstances a common crime, even an extremely serious one such as murder, may be a political offence."

Although there were differences between countries, there were certain main factors which were commonly taken into account by national courts in deciding if a "common crime" was a "political offence".

Professor Norgaard regarded the following as relevant to Namibia: The motivation of the offence, the circumstances, the political objective (whether it was an attempt to overthrow the government or force a change in policy), the legal and factual nature of the offence, including its gravity, the object of the offence (whether committed against government personnel or property, or directed primarily against private citizens), the relationship between the offence and the political objective being pursued — eg the directness or proximity of the relationship, or the "proportionality" between the offence and the objective pursued.

Professor Norgaard determined that a political motive was generally considered almost an essential pre-requisite for a common offence to be considered political.

However he did not think it was essential that the person who actually carried out the crime should be politically motivated.

It would be anomalous if those who gave orders for offences were regarded as political offenders while those who carried them out were not.

Detonated bomb

In the US, acts against civilian targets causing indiscriminate injury and destruction generally fall outside the definition of political offence.

Professor Norgaard said the precedents from extradition law had to be considered against the factual and political background of the Namibian settlement.

South African Government officials close to the working group have stated that this precedent has been followed here and means that South African offenders such as ANC operative Robert McBride, who detonated a bomb outside a Durban bar which killed two civilians, will not be granted amnesty.

The Norgaard guidelines also suggest that ANC comrades who have murdered "collaborators" such as black town councillors will also be difficult cases to decide.

Following this precedent, it must be considered that the ANC's revolutionary campaign was directed against the SA Government — and not the SA people.

So it may prove crucial whether the councillors are considered members of the "people" or the Government.

Oliver Tambo's wife back in SA after 30 years

ANC president Oliver Tambo's wife Adelaide arrived at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday to a tumultuous welcome by scores of ANC Women's League members and supporters of other organisation.

This is Mrs Tambo's first visit to South Africa for about 30 years.

A senior ANC member, Andrew Mlangeni, had visas for Mrs Tambo and her entourage as they arrived.

She stood with her right hand raised as she came into the arrivals foyer, flanked by Winnie Mandela, wife of ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela, Albertina Sisulu, wife of internal ANC leader Walter Sisulu, ANC Benoni branch executive member Cleopath Msibanda, and Mr Mlangeni.

"I feel so totally emotional as I stand here this morning..."

"I saw my country 30 years ago, and much has changed," said Mrs Tambo.

"We are on the right track," she said of the talks between the ANC and the Government.

She was later driven to the Mandela home in Soweto. — Sapa.

● Youth must arm themselves with books: interview Page 7.

330

'Dollar' Ibrahim plans return

50-12-1578/70

AFTER two decades in exile, internationally acclaimed South African musician Abdullah Ibrahim is "excitedly planning to return" to Cape Town in a few weeks' time.

"I expect the finer details of my trip will be sorted out in the next few day," said Ibrahim from New York on Wednesday.

He wrote the score for Jane Campion's "Sweetie, A Short Film About Love", and has been invited to attend a film festival later this month where the movie will be shown.

Ibrahim confirmed he was busy with plans to return home permanently.



Abdullah Ibrahim

NTE'S ON THE RAMPAGE - See

Getting ready for the returnees

South 918-1518190

330

THE return of the exiles is one of the cornerstone demands of liberation movements in South Africa.

After February's unbannings, the first returnees began to trickle home.

Now, nearly six months later, those who have returned remain only a handful.

Most exiles are still outside the country, waiting for the go-ahead to return.

The key issue holding up their return is the security situation in SA and liberation movements have advised their members to stay put until their safety is guaranteed.

In preparation for large scale repatriation, the wheels have begun to be set in motion for a massive "operation homecoming".

Following a national consultation meeting attended by a wide range of organisations and religious groupings in Johannesburg in May this year, a national coordinating committee (NCC) was established to oversee the return of the exiles.

Consensus

The NCC includes representatives of the major denominations as well as the ANC, PAC and BCM.

While the movements hold different positions on negotiations with the government and the return of their members in exile, there is general consensus that all groups will cooperate with the NCC.

The NCC convener is the general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, the Reverend Frank Chikane.

The NCC is anxious not to be caught on the wrong foot, should SA's diaspora flood back.

Already the NCC has begun to establish task forces drawing in specialist service organisations to begin preparations for the return.

The NCC is about to set up an office in Johannesburg with a fulltime coordinator and administrative staff.

"We are preparing for the return of the exiles as if they will be arriving tomorrow," Chikane said.

"We do not want to find ourselves in a situation in which they arrive and we are not prepared."

The logistics involved in the repatriation

Most exiles outside the country are still waiting for the green light to return, once their safety has been guaranteed. In the meantime, the wheels have been set in motion to facilitate their return. CHIARA CARTER reports:

tion scheme are enormous.

Chikane said that the NCC is presently redrafting a budget which is likely to run into billions for the project.

The NCC has approached governments throughout the world as well as the international religious community for funding.

The United Nations Commission on Refugees has been asked to assess the extent to which it can render assistance.

The South African business community will also be challenged to come up with funding.

According to Chikane, this will be done in consultation with the trade union movement.

The NCC has not yet decided on the involvement of the SA government in the project, a matter which Chikane described as a "thorny issue".

At present all are agreed however that the government will be expected to provide services like pensions, health and education for the exiles.

The breakdown of expenditure per person will depend on how many exiles there are.

At present no one knows the exact numbers involved. Estimates range from 20 000 to 400 000.

This haziness is partly because many people who went into exile simply became invisible.

Some went into self-imposed exile for reasons not directly related to politics. These people do not have any contact with the liberation movements and have had no reason to declare themselves.

Others joined the external forces of the liberation movements, changed their names and "vanished".

Census

For security reasons they have not declared themselves.

The ANC is conducting a census into



ACROSS THE OCEAN: ANC exiles in New York welcome Nelson Mandela with a song during his recent visit there



Reverend Frank Chikane

its membership abroad but the number of exiles is expected to far exceed ANC figures.

Commented Chikane: "We don't have a classical refugee situation. The vast majority of exiles never officially declared themselves refugees or went through the process of applying for refugee status. It is only after a general amnesty is declared that we will start getting a more accurate idea of the exact figures involved."

For the interim, the NCC is working on an estimate of 100 000 exiles.

The NCC has categorised exiles into seven different groups: members of the liberation movements, trained and armed soldiers of the liberation movements, non-aligned groups, defectors from the liberation movements, internal defectors, prisoners on both sides, conscientious objectors and those who left for other reasons.

Amnesty

For most of these categories protective guarantees are needed. These would include a general amnesty, the SA government becoming a signatory to the Geneva Convention and Protocols on Refugees, special protection for combatants and a protective monitoring group.

According to Chikane, no South African who wants to return will be refused assistance.

The key, he said, would be "need".

While some exiles will return on their own steam because they have the means to do so, others will need assistance all the way.

"We anticipate most of the exiles will be refugees in the sense that they left SA because of political reasons and harassment. However as churches we hold the view that we assist any South African living outside the country who wants to return," Chikane said.

The question of whether there will be a staggered return with armed forces waiting until last is, Chikane said, a matter for the liberation movements to decide.

The NCC envisages a series of pri-

mary and secondary reception points where staff will meet exiles and begin assisting them in what is likely to be a lengthy re-orientation process.

The primary reception areas will be entry points, including airports and border posts.

Secondary reception areas will cater for those who do not know where their relatives are or can't immediately return to their families.

Exiles will be sent to the reception areas nearest their homes. For example, someone whose family comes from Port Elizabeth will be housed in a reception area in PE.

For exiles living in far away countries it is likely that church groups or the UN will set up points where exiles can go to begin the long journey home.

Adjustments

Chikane said the NCC was presently investigating accommodation for the exiles but faced problems with the Land and Group Areas acts.

The massive adjustment which repatriation involves cannot be estimated.

The NCC is investigating questions like medical checkups, employment, counseling and helping build systems of support for exiles, some of whom have been out of the country for decades.

Just simple geography lessons will be essential for exiles to find their bearings in cities and towns which have changed face dramatically.

The committee anticipates immense cultural difficulties, including language, for the children born in exile.

Students

The NCC is presently advising high school, college and university students to finish their education abroad rather than return to the apartheid education crisis.

Said Chikane: "We will have to introduce people systematically to a new reality".

A major problem is the question of documentation and how people will prove that they are indeed South Africans.

Many exiles have changed their names and there are no records of them being South African. Others are children born abroad or the spouses of South African exiles.

Chikane described these as the "grey areas" which the committee will have to sort out.

Cadre's funeral in Paarl

A PAARL activist who died in exile will be buried in the town on Saturday.

Temba Titana died in a car accident in Botswana on July 20. Like thousands of exiles, he had planned to return to South Africa soon. *South 15/8/70*

Titana was the brother of Mthetheli Titana who was acquitted in the "Yengeni 14" terrorism trial in March.

The funeral starts at 10am at the Mbekweni stadium.

● The body of former Soweto Student Representative Council leader Tsietso Mashinini arrived in South Africa this week.

Mashinini died three weeks ago in Cornakry, Guinea, after being in exile since the 1976 Soweto school uprising.

A funeral service will be held at the Methodist Church in Western Jabavu on Saturday.

HARARE - Five African National Congress guerillas who said they were detained and tortured by the organisation are expected to return to South Africa in the next few days.

They decided to return home after the South African Government agreed in its negotiations with the ANC to indemnify exiles against prosecution for alleged political offences.

Their return has been negotiated by the Rev. Frank Chikane, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, and the United Nations High Commission for Refugees.

Chikane was in Nairobi to discuss the

More ANC dissidents expected to return

Sowetan 10/8/90 (330)

**Sowetan Africa
News Service**

men's repatriation in June but the move was at that time regarded as unwise in the absence of an amnesty.

The men, who have been stranded in Nairobi since they fled from ANC camps in Morogoro, Tanzania, in February, welcomed the announcement in Pretoria on Tuesday that the ANC has suspended its armed struggle and that amnesty

has been granted to exiles.

However, the men stressed that they would not abandon their calls for a commission of inquiry within the ANC into their allegations of human

rights abuses at the hands of senior members of the organisation.

They claim they were imprisoned and tortured for four years following a large-scale mutiny by members of the ANC's

military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, who were calling for more democracy in the ANC in 1984.

"We're very glad we can return home," said one of the men, Mr Jacky Molefe.

ANC exiles may return in massive UN airlift

NAIROBI — Thousands of exiled African National Congress members may soon be brought back to South Africa in a huge airlift operated with United Nations help.

ANC officials in Dar-es-Salaam said plans were under way to return about 20 000 exiled members now that the organisation has suspended its armed struggle and the South African Government has granted indemnity from arrest to the exiles.

Huge operation

No timetable has yet been drawn up but it was likely that the exiles would be taken home in an airlift operated in conjunction with the United Nations High Commission for Refugees, the officials said.

"It is a huge operation and it will take time," said Manala Manzini, the ANC's chief representative in East Africa.

The operation has been made possible by the agreement reached between the government and the ANC that political prisoners will be released and exiles granted indemnity in a phased

AFRICA NEWS SERVICE

process beginning on September 1.

A joint government-ANC working group will draw up plans for both operations, with the process due to be completed by the end of the year.

Dissident ANC guerillas who say they were jailed and tortured by the organisation are also planning to come home. Five of them now in Nairobi say they hope to return within the next few days. The arrangements are being made by the Rev Frank Chikane, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, who flew to Nairobi for the purpose, and the UN High Commission for Refugees.

Most of the ANC exiles are in camps near Morogoro, 200 km west of the Tanzanian capital and about 2 000 km from South Africa.

Some guerillas of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, are based near Iringa in southern Tanzania, where Umkhonto has maintained bush camps for the past 30 years. Others are in camps in Uganda and Ethiopia.

Most Umkhonto guerillas have seen little action in South Africa and are forced to live under

harsh conditions in the bush, say western diplomats in Dar-es-Salaam.

Although the ANC was unbanned in February, the exiles could not return for fear of prosecutions until the amnesty was agreed on.

Many of the exiles have been educated at the Solomon Mahlango Freedom College and a vocational training centre near Morogoro which have been equipped with aid from Scandinavian countries. Mr Manzini said these schools would be maintained for at least five more years. Many youths in the camps felt they were receiving a better education than they could get in South Africa, he said.

Natal violence

According to Mr Manzini, the number of exiles in the camps has continued to grow despite the De Klerk-Mandela negotiations. He said about 30 youths have been arriving each week since the violence in Natal worsened.

Many exiles have built lives in the Frontline states and married spouses from their host countries. The ANC office in Dar-es-Salaam says some face a major problem in being able to find jobs and settle down in South Africa.



MOURNING A VICTIM: Neville Curtis, with a picture of his sister Jeanette Schoon, killed by a letter-bomb in 1984.

Banned Nusas leader of Seventies returns 'to find whites still in dreamland'

NEVILLE Curtis bares little resemblance to photographs of the defiant, long-haired Nusas leader who totted up eight charges for breaking his banning order before he fled in 1974.

He is decidedly heavier and older, and his Australian twang hardly betrays his South African origins. Yet the long years in exile have done nothing to temper the strong views which prompted the Vorster Government to brand him a threat to the security of the State when he was banned in 1973.

Mr Curtis was uncompromising in his opposition to racism then and he still believes there is a long way to go before South Africans can begin to regard their society as normal.

He is both encouraged and depressed by developments in South Africa. "The most impressive thing is to see the huge growth in grassroots organisa-

tions, particularly trade union organisations, to see those functioning everywhere.

"When I left, the students of the South African Students Organisation and Nusas and the Christian Institute, were virtually the only opposition. Last weekend I went to the Yeoville launch of the ANC, and it was enormously impressive to see such a large number of people coming out, doing things, saying things that have been illegal for so long."

But he is still deeply concerned about the role of the security forces in South Africa. "This country is still a security state and has been for 30, 40 years. There is a lot of work to be done before those people who are wielding all that power are prepared to give it up."

Mr Curtis, who stayed at his parents' Norwood, Johannesburg,

EXILED South Africans have been making their way back home since the State President's historic speech to Parliament on February 2. After 16 years in Australia, former banned Nusas leader Neville Curtis returned for a month-long visit. COLLEEN RYAN spoke to him about his impressions, fears and hopes.

burg, cottage during his visit to South Africa, says he was amazed to see how white suburban homes have been transformed into "fortresses".

"There's an enormous tension here in South Africa, a great deal of stress. I think the high crime rate is a reflection of the gap between the wealth of the whites and the poverty of many of the blacks. Whites need to think about that quite seriously — do they want to live behind high walls with all their possessions or do they want to figure out a better way?"

Mr Curtis says he was surprised to note that many of his contemporaries had remained politically active. "Many have stayed active, through the law, through the trade unions and in a whole range of areas. Everyone's got a bit fatter and a bit richer, but surprisingly few have really completely abandoned their politics."

He describes himself as an activist and a communicator and devoted 12 years during his period of exile in Australia to fighting racism.

In 1986 he moved to Tasmania

where he joined a co-operative involved in organic farming. "When I made the move to Tasmania I decided it was final. I have been so rootless over the years and feel very strongly about settling into a community and becoming part of it."

"But now I have one more final decision and that is whether to stay in Tasmania or whether to come back."

"It's extremely tempting ... my heart says come back, my head says think carefully."

One of the deepest emotions Mr Curtis felt on returning to the country of his birth was grief at the loss of so many talented South Africans.

His own sister, who was also living in exile, Jeanette Schoon, and her six-year-old daughter were killed in Angola in 1984 when a letter bomb, allegedly sent by South African agents,

exploded in their flat.

"I think of how much Jenny would have loved to come back to South Africa now. When I think of it I feel like crying. Our family has been torn apart by what has happened and so have many, many others."

Mr Curtis forges great adjustments ahead for whites.

"Their positions of privilege are going to change, they are not going to be running the show. While a few whites have got used to and accepted that role, the majority just haven't thought about it."

"White South Africans must also realise what's been done in their name in Mozambique, Angola and the whole of southern Africa. What's been done is just horrifying, shattering. I don't think people are aware of it. Most white South Africans are still living in dreamland."

Banned Nusas leader of Seventies returns 'to find whites still in dreamland'

Census 330

on exiles

THE African National Congress (ANC) is carrying out a worldwide census of its members and other South African exiles to determine the cost of repatriating them, according to reports last week.

South 16/8 - 22/8/90
An estimated 20 000 South Africans are expected to be part of the ANC's repatriation scheme.

Talk

OZAMBIQUE: IONS FOR FRICA?

adult educator with extensive
Nicaragua and Canada.

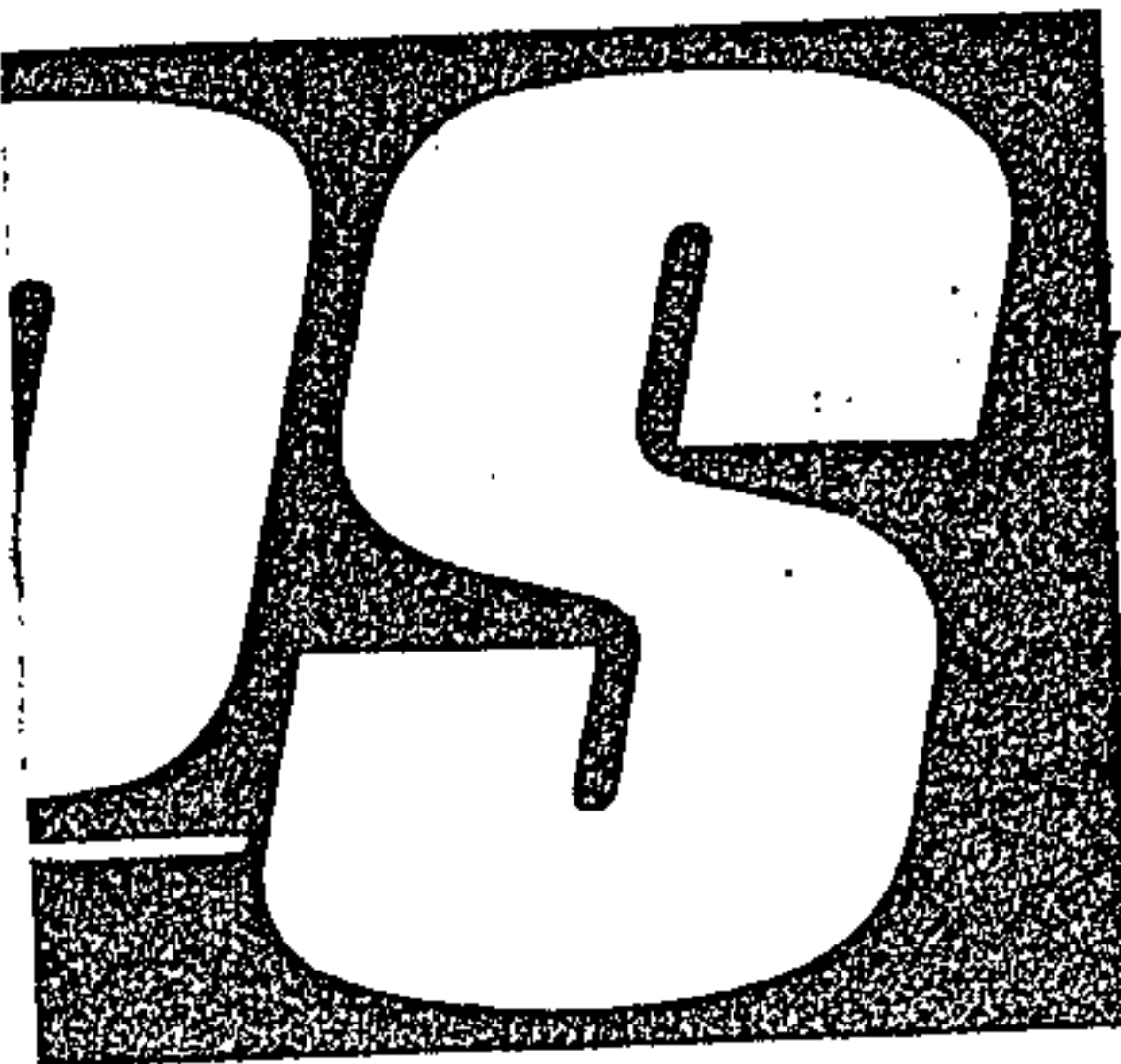
0 pm. Centre for Adult and
ACE Hall, UWC.

ELCOME

contact Joe Samuels at CACE

he Western Cape

AD MARK THE BEST PEOPLE FOR THE JOB C69472



Woods to make trip to SA

Own Correspondent

AT Tink 16/8/90
EAST LONDON. — A former editor of the Daily Dispatch, Mr Donald Woods, sets foot on South African soil today for the first time in 13 years. He will spend around six weeks in the country.

He flew from London last night and intends holding a press conference at Jan Smuts Airport, Johannesburg.

Mr Woods, banned for five years in 1976, said from London yesterday that

330
he would be returning on a working visit.

He would work with a BBC-TV camera team and the American ABC TV service, and write for the Sunday Observer and Time magazine. His New York publisher had also asked him to write a book on his visit.

Mr Woods fled in 1977 to Lesotho, where he was joined by his wife Wendy and their five children. They went into exile in Britain.

Exile Woods is back, 330

Won't forget Biko

DONALD Woods, a former newspaper editor who escaped from South Africa in 1977 after being banned, returned from exile yesterday.

"I was determined I would never come back here unless I could do so freely," said Woods. His return to a battery of cameras at Jan Smuts Airport was a stark contrast to his escape in disguise on New Year's Eve 12 years ago.

"I feel terrific. What a nice welcome," Woods told journalists. A former colleague thrust yesterday's edition of the East London *Daily Dispatch* into Woods' hands as he walked into the arrivals hall.

Woods was the editor

of the *Daily Dispatch* when he and his family fled South Africa. But two months before his escape, the Government had served him with a banning order which prevented him from working as a journalist.

Banned

Woods was placed under partial house arrest and other restrictions affecting his freedom of movement, association, or expression. He was banned after he publicly challenged the police version of the death in detention of Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko.

Biko (30), died in police custody on September 12, 1977. At the inquest into his death, a

magistrate ruled that Biko's fatal head injuries were probably received during questioning but that no policeman was to blame.

"I'd still like to know what happened to Steve Biko," Woods said. "I don't think the circumstances, not only of Steve Biko's death, but also his life, will ever be forgotten."

Woods said he was in South Africa for a six-week 'journey of rediscovery' to see friends and family, to work on a book and a television docu-

mentary and to write newspaper articles.

When Woods left the country in 1977, South Africa's black townships were in turmoil. Only days before his return, they erupted again. But Woods described the current violence as the 'problems of recovery' rather than the 'problems of decline' which he said caused the 1970s unrest.

"I have always felt confident about South Africa's future in the long-term because of the wealth of all the people," he said.



DONALD WOODS

"With the calibre of the people allied with the natural wealth, it would take quite a lot of bad planning for things to go wrong in the long-term." - Sapa-AP

Timeless trees

During the discourse Ibrahim spoke profoundly in the Cape language about his longing for his birthplace: "*Die berge en die blomme en die bome van my fairnest, fairest, beloved Kaapstad ...*" They were there, deep, deep in his soul.

Isn't that the guy Kevin Kline played in the film?

Woods 1915-1919

By KATHY STRACHAN
DONALD WOODS arrived home yesterday "in a much bigger plane than the one I left in".

The former *Daily Dispatch* editor, who arrived at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday after an absence of more than 12 years, said one of the first things he planned to do was "have a lot of drinks with friends and relations all over the country".

Woods was banned for five years in 1976 and fled into exile in 1977. He crossed the border to Lesotho and from there travelled to London.

He said he had come back for six weeks, primarily to work as a journalist. Among other commissions, he will be busy on a book for an American publisher and a BBC documentary about his visit.

He had not believed he would be away from "home" for so long, Woods told a press conference. "I thought apartheid would be over in the 1980s."

Woods said that when he left South Africa "was a hopeless country sliding into a total absence of reconciliation."

"The country was in turmoil when I left — and it still is."

Although there was concern overseas over the present wave of violence, he believed "the mainstream of black and white is coming together — and in its wake are the eddies and turbulence of violence".

But they were the problems of recovery rather than of decline, he added. The view from abroad was "extremely positive at the moment".

"They are waiting to welcome South Africa back into the international community. There are exciting things ahead if the country can carry on with the negotiation process and reconciliation."

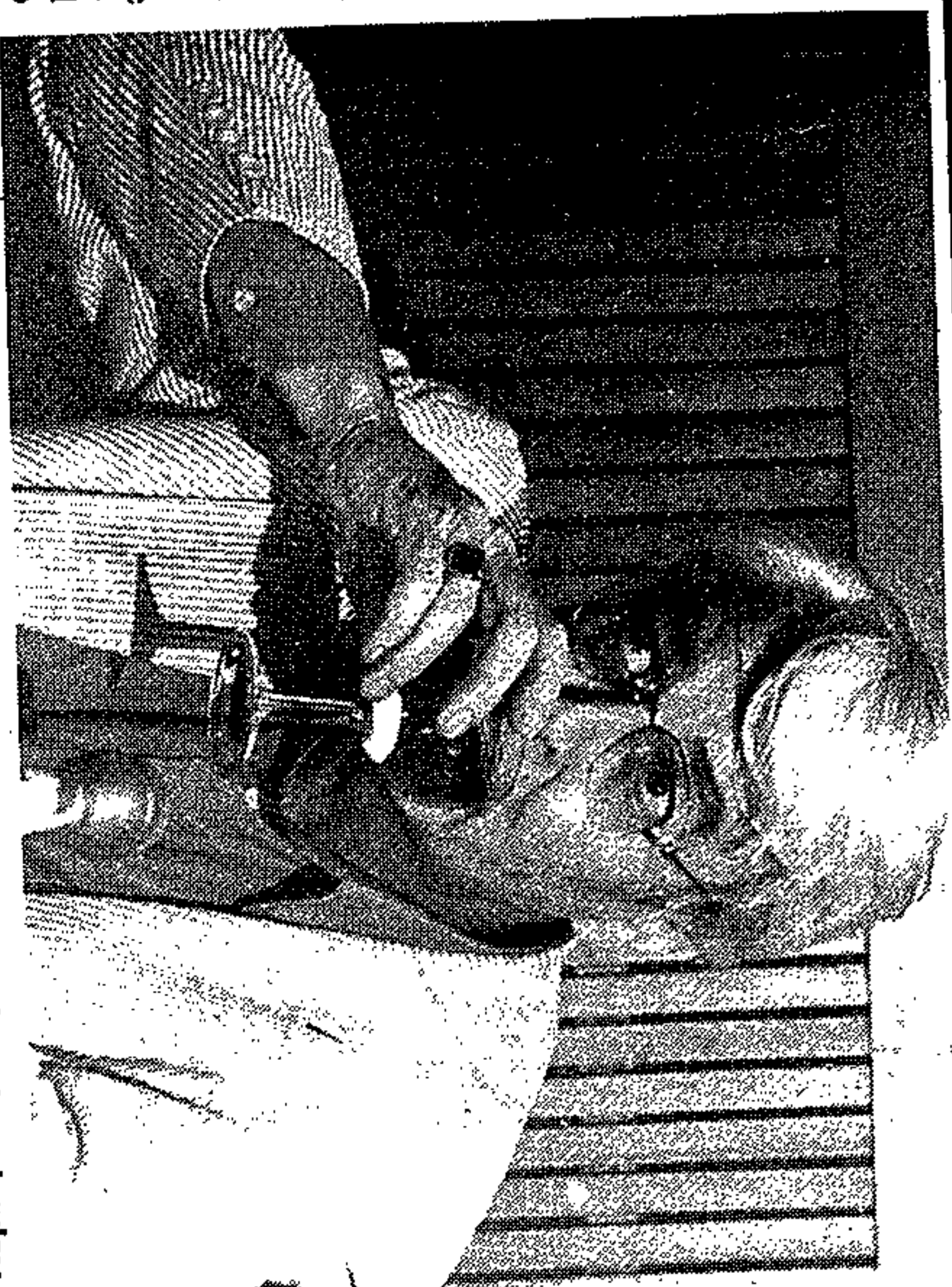
People were impressed by the level of trust between Nelson Mandela and State President FW de Klerk. "I would not be surprised if De Klerk became the winner of the next Nobel Peace Prize."

Replying to a question, Woods said he was "not bitter, but regretful" about having to leave the country. "My family and I have been fortunate. It is humbling to see people coming out of 27 years imprisonment without any bitterness."

He still wanted to know what happened to close friend and Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko but "it is not as much a priority now as it would have been four years ago."

"Yet the consequences of his death — and his life — will not be forgotten," Woods said, adding to Mandela's plea for people not to dig into the past. People had to be positive and look ahead, he added.

There had been many privileges in exile: "We had the opportunity to meet fellow South Africans whom we didn't



Cheers ... er ... I mean hello. On his arrival at Jan Smuts airport yesterday — after an absence of 12 years — Donald Woods said he planned to have lots of drinks with friends and relatives

Picture: AVGAL UZ

know before."

Woods is to return for a holiday with his family in December. "We are all keen to come back."

Interested in starting a small radio station, Woods planned to "sniff the air" while here to see what was on offer.

Referring to the film *Cry Freedom*, he said it was pleasing that it had a good reception in this country as it was a conciliatory film and it had brought people to-

gether wherever it was shown.

Woods was greeted at Jan Smuts Airport by flashing cameras and reporters firing questions. Puzzled bystanders meeting the plane asked reporters:

"What's this guy's claim to fame?"

"He's Donald Woods."

"Who?"

"Well, you know in *Cry Freedom* ... Kevin Kline played him," said a journalist.

new yellow ribbons will greet exiles

LAST week's historic talks in Pretoria between the African National Congress and the Government has brought the return of exiled South Africans a step closer — but numerous hurdles confront exiles and groups set up to assist them.

The exact number of exiles who might return home is not known, but earlier this year the ANC, working on 1986 figures, said 20 000 of its members lived outside the country. Other estimates put the total at many more than 50 000, according to Ms Venita Meyer, who is working on the repatriation programme at the South African Council of Churches.

Organisations which are gearing up to help in the programme have pointed to the many practical and logistical problems in coping with this flood of people, particularly in the fields of jobs and housing.

Task forces

A national structure comprising the liberation movements, religious bodies and other interest groups and aid organisations has been formed to try to grapple with these problems.

Ms Meyer said that several different task forces had been established, in fields such as health, housing and training and jobs.

She said the difficulties that lay ahead were daunting. "We have been visiting our regional church councils and are encouraging all organisations and interest groups to become involved" she said.

Ms Ntjantja Ned, national projects co-ordinator of the South African Black Social Workers Association (Sabsa), and a member of the task force dealing with welfare and counselling issues, said that if funds could be found, Sabsa hoped to appoint four full-time social workers to counsel exiles.

Many are excited but worried

COLLEEN RYAN

"The rest will be volunteers.

"We are beginning to contact our 31 branches around the country so that they can participate in local arrangements. The idea is to settle people, as far as possible, back in their old communities and that is where our branches will come into it," she said.

She said several workshops, attended by social workers, doctors and helpers from other interest groups, had been held to discuss the counselling needs of returnees.

Ms Ned said that one of the greatest problems revolved around the fact that South Africa was still under National Party rule. "People are coming back to a country that has not essentially changed. The Government is not yet in transition. Granted, the Government is now talking to the ANC, but many forms of discrimination still exist."

Ms Meyers said many exiles who had already come home had experienced disappointments: "People have always wanted to come home. Some had reached the end of their tether in foreign places and made immediate arrangements to come home after the unbanning of the liberation movements. But they did not take into consideration that arrangements had not been made for them."

Ms Ned said: "Another problem we face is that because of the Government's resettlement policy, millions of people have been forcibly removed. Some returnees have lost contact with their fami-

lies. Where they used to have homes there are no longer homes."

Returnees also faced adjustment problems. "Some people may not be readily accepted, they may no longer fit in. For many years, nobody has spoken about these things. People have often been too afraid to say they have a child or a brother in exile." Many people had been harassed because a family member had left the country.

According to Ms Ned, many returnees had lost touch with their families. "Many exiles have had no access to their families during all these years, either by way of phone or writing. The families who stayed behind and returning exiles will have the problem of unfulfilled expectations," she said.

Many exiles were excited but also afraid to be coming home.

"I met one man outside the country who said he had left 27 years ago. He had worked for a liberation movement and had been getting mainly allowances. He said he was the only son in his family. When he returns he will be head of the household, but he said he does not know how to go about looking for a job, let alone how to operate a bank account."

Another issue centred on the deprivation experienced by millions of blacks here.

"The question could arise: why are we singling out for special attention people who are returning home, helping them with housing, employment and counselling?

Deprived

"This at a time when there are already millions here who are homeless, jobless and who have been deprived of welfare services."

Ms Meyer said it was essential to counsel not only returnees, but the people who had stayed behind. "We are not demanding special treatment for these people, but we want to make their return as efficient and dignified as possible."

SATURDAY AUGUST 18 1990

ANC exiles face

By TOM HOOD
Business Editor

SOUTH Africa's huge housing shortage is likely to come under immense pressure from rising immigration and the return of thousands of ANC exiles.

The number of immigrants has started to outstrip the numbers leaving the country and the country is gaining at least 1 000 families a month, according to official figures.

Many of the immigrants are returning South Africans trying to capitalise on the low rand by selling their property in Britain or Australia and buying houses here at a fraction of overseas prices.

Agents report many inquiries from people in Britain who want to retire to South Africa, buying property cheaply and receiving their pensions at the

bargain rate of about R5 to the pound.

"Television scenes of violence from Natal or the Transvaal seem to have little effect on people overseas. They are so accustomed to seeing violence everywhere," said Mr Scott McRae, managing director of a country-wide property company.

"The country has received enormous publicity from Mr Mandela and President De Klerk and people in Hong Kong who had never heard of South Africa a year ago are now inquiring about coming here."

Vacant flats and houses to rent are so few that rents have started to rise even in the deepening economic recession, say Cape estate agents.

"There is a big demand for anything below R1 000 a month in the Peninsula," said a spokesman for Steer and Co,

one of the largest letting agents.

The millions of homeless black families will soon have their numbers increased by the return of ANC exiles — estimated to number between 20 000 and 40 000.

Their return involves planning and logistics on the scale of a military invasion, including a huge airlift by the United Nations mooted.

Most of the blacks returning may be able to find accommodation in the "extended family" tradition but thousands of others — including wives and children who have never set foot in South Africa — will need to be found homes.

The possibility of taking over a 54 storey Johannesburg skyscraper, the Ponte City block of flats in Berea, to house up to 2 000 ANC exiles, has been disclosed by the South African Council of Churches general secretary Frank Chikane.

Johannesburg property brokers said today they knew of no agreement to rent or buy the building and any purchase might require government funds — help which the ANC might be reluctant to accept.

The building could be used as a staging post or temporary hostel if the exiles returned in small groups.

A report from Weekend Argus correspondent in Johannesburg indicated that thousands of exiled members of the ANC may be brought back in a huge airlift operated with United Nations help.

A property economist suggested that immense problems faced those returning. While many had been living rough, others had become accustomed to schools and housing standards that could not be satisfied by living in the equivalent of squatter settlements.

Thousands of exiles

yesterday

Capt T.M.K 20/8/90 *(330)*

2 former exiles join UWC

THE Centre for Development Studies (CDS) at the University of the Western Cape has gained two exiled researchers. According to the UWC Campus Bulletin they are medical Dr Manto Tshabalala and agronomist Dr Barnie Mackay. Both were previously based in Lusaka and have been in exile for 29 years. Both completed their studies in the Soviet Union.

MK's Grosskopf 'coming home'

Cape Times 20/8/90

330

MR Hein Grosskopf, the 26-year-old Afrikaner Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) combatant whom police have named as a suspect in three separate bombings, announced in an interview published in Rapport yesterday that he is coming home soon.

Interviewed in Lusaka where he is staying, Mr Grosskopf said he was excited at the prospect of a reunion with family and friends

in Stellenbosch. His father, Professor Johan Grosskopf, is a former editor of Beeld.

"I am looking forward to 'boer-ekos', especially my mother's bean bredie," Mr Grosskopf said.

As regards the bombings, Mr Grosskopf would say only that he was a member of MK, which had accepted responsibility for the blasts in question.

A R50 000 reward offered by police for information leading to his arrest still stands.

Mr Grosskopf could not be reached in Lusaka yesterday.

His mother, Mrs Santie Grosskopf, said she had seen the article about her son's return, but that it was family policy to keep a low profile so she had no comment to make.

August 20 1990

Call to halt auction of mega-block

By Shirley Woodgate

Pressure is mounting to halt Wednesday's auction of the mega-block Octavia Hill in Fordsburg, with the National Co-ordinating Committee on Repatriation, the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) all urging President de Klerk to intervene and help stop the sale.

Stressing the current housing shortage, South African Council of Churches general secretary the Rev Frank Chikane said the complex would be an excellent reception centre for exiles returning to the southern Transvaal region.

Worse off

PAC spokesman Philip Dlamini said: "Octavia belongs to the poor and it is our duty to take it back to this sector of the population when we take over."

"This sale by the House of Assembly is part of Government strategy to remove all property in its care and give it to the rich."

"Ultimately, when the so-called new South Africa comes into being, we will find that the

poor have nothing — in fact they will be worse off than they ever were before."

Recalling the irony that the eight-block complex was named 50 years ago after the British social worker renowned for her work among the poor, TIC president Cassim Saloojee said: "First we had the Crown Mines property deal which only the rich could afford, now we have Octavia Hill."

Housing shortage

"It is the rich who will benefit and the poor attempting to find accommodation near to the city who will be left out."

"The Government is disposing of its housing stock without reference to the desperate needs of the poor."

"If agreement were to be reached between the Government and the ANC over the return of the exiles, this complex would be useful."

"The authorities should take note that the housing shortage will be further increased once the 20 000 exiles return," Mr Saloojee added.

Calling the sale irresponsible, Mr Dlamini urged the Government to halt the auction.

PE faces huge influx of exiles

OWN Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — This city's acute housing and unemployment crisis will deepen with the return of 15 000 people — exiles and their families — in two months' time.

Details of the influx were given to senior City Hall officials yesterday.

Altogether 20 000 men, women and children are headed for the Eastern Cape. This is 40% of the 55 000 people expected to return to South Africa.

Port Elizabeth's Anglican Bishop Bruce Evans, who is part of the regional structure formed to assist in their resettlement, met municipal officials on the topic for the first time yesterday.

Reacting to the figure, the director of the Human Rights Trust, Mr Rory Riordan, said: "Fifteen thousand is incredibly high. I have never heard of a figure higher than 25 000 exiles in total."

The director of the housing department, Mr Andrew Gibbon, said the problem of returning exiles had to be addressed by central government. Port Elizabeth had the land but not the resources for providing infrastructure for serviced plots, he said.

The national chairman of Ex-Political Prisoners, Mr Benson Fihla, said special departments had been set up to try to cope with the problems of housing and employment.

Returning South Africans add to huge housing demand

By Tom Hood

CAPE TOWN — South Africa's huge housing shortage is likely to come under immense pressure from rising immigration and the return of thousands of ANC exiles.

The number of immigrants has started to outstrip the numbers leaving the country and the country is gaining at least 1 000 families a month, according to official figures.

Many of the immigrants are returning South Africans trying to capitalise on the low rand by selling their property in Britain or Australia and buying houses here at a fraction of overseas prices.

Agents report many inquiries from people in Britain who want to retire to South Africa, buying property cheaply and receiving their pensions at the bargain rate of about R5 to the pound.

Scott McRae, managing director of a Camdons Nationwide, said: "Television scenes of violence from Natal or the Transvaal seem to have little effect on people overseas. They are so accustomed to seeing violence everywhere.

"The country has received enormous publicity from Mr Mandela and President De Klerk and people in Hong Kong who had never heard of South Africa a year ago are now inquiring about coming here."

ANC exiles

Vacant flats and houses to rent are so few that rents have started to rise even in the deepening economic recession, say Cape estate agents.

"There is a big demand for anything below R1 000 a month in the Peninsula," said a spokesman for Steer and Co, one of the largest letting agents.

The millions of homeless black families will soon have their numbers increased by the return of ANC exiles — estimated to number between 20 000 and 40 000.

Their return involves planning and logistics on the scale of a military invasion, including a suggested United Nations airlift.

Most of the blacks returning may be able to find accommodation in the "extended family" tradition but thousands — including wives and children who have never set foot in South Africa — will need to be found homes.

New unlisted property vehicle

UAL Merchant Bank has launched an innovative unlisted property investment vehicle to fund new fixed property developments and acquire developed properties.

UAL Assistant GM John Peters says the Newport Property Fund is, in essence, an unlisted property unit trust (PUT), with the intention being to take it to the JSE within three to five years.

The private placing of units has already started and, according to Mr Peters, is being met extremely favourably by investors. The initial offer has attracted commitments of R150-million, with the balance of the R250-million to be raised by the issue of units to vendors of properties into the trust and by further private placings at a later date.

Repatriation committee loses complex for exiles

South 23/8 - 29/8/90
THE National Coordinating Committee on Repatriation has failed to stop the auctioning of a complex in Mayfair, Johannesburg, which would have "served excellently as a reception centre for exiles returning to the Southern Transvaal Region".

The Rev Frank Chikane, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches (SACC) which is coordinating the return of exiles, had appealed to State President FW de Klerk to stop the auctioning of Octavia Hills — a complex which includes 104 flats, a community centre and offices.

The complex was auctioned on Wednesday. Co-workers on the repatriation

330
committee picketed the auction site.

Chikane had told De Klerk in a letter that the state should instead consider the temporary use of the building for the immediate housing of returnees.

The complex was owned by the House of Assembly.

The repatriation committee is investigating options to give returnees temporary accommodation, education and employment opportunities.

"However, the National Coordinating Committee feels strongly it is the responsibility of the state to cater for all the education, health, welfare and accommodation needs of all South Africans," Chikane said.

ANC, PAC co-operate on return of exiles

By SANDILE
MEMELA

330

IN an effort to make the reception committee for returning exiles non-sectarian, care has been exercised to include many prominent clerics as well as representatives of the ANC, the PAC and Azapo.

About 20 000 ANC exiles are presently planning their return to South Africa in the wake of the negotiated release of political prisoners and indemnity to exiles starting in a phased process from Saturday.

SACC Task Force co-ordinating member Ven-

ita Meya said the National Co-ordinating Committee (NCC) members were largely drawn from the religious section of the community to prevent the body being seen as sectarian.

The chairman of the NCC is SACC general secretary Rev Frank Chikane, who initiated the programme to address the issue of returning exiles.

Other members include Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, president of the Methodist Church in SA, Bishop Stanley Mogoba, Catholic Bishop WF Napier, Methodist Bishop Khoza Mgojo, AME Bishop Sen-

atle and the Rev Paul Makhubo, general secretary of the Council of Independent Churches.

The ANC, PAC and Azapo which will each have two members on the NCC.

The ANC representatives will be Vusi Khanyile and Zanele Mbeki, wife of Thabo Mbeki.

The PAC will be represented by its head of legal affairs, Phillip Dlamini, and a yet-to-be-named delegate.

Azapo will be represented by its vice-president of finance, Peter Jones, and spokesman Pule Pule.



Rev Frank Chikane ... initiator of the programme.



Bishop Stanley Mogoba ... member of the NCC.

Massive global census for ANC members, exiles

CP Correspondent

THE ANC is conducting a worldwide census of its members and South African exiles in order to determine the cost of their repatriation.

About 20 000 South Africans are living outside their country, many of whom are ANC members and scores belong to other anti-apartheid movements.

ANC spokesman Tom Sebina said in Lusaka this week that repatriation of exiles was a priority for the ANC.

The census, he added, was decided upon to determine numbers in order that the ANC, government and charitable organisations could pool their resources to help with the costs involved.

Sebina appealed to ANC members and other exiles to register themselves with the ANC and other agencies worldwide once the process had started and after agencies had been selected.

The ANC is also conducting a census of professionals and students in exile to assess the need for job placements.

Sebina said most of the professionals were based in Europe, Canada, the United States, Africa and Asia.

The ANC spokesman said students would be allowed to continue with their studies and their job needs would be dealt with after their education.

It would be unwise, for instance, to repatriate several thousand students from the ANC school in Tanzania – which provides primary and high school education – in view of the education crisis in South Africa.

The unemployment crisis in South Africa is going to be a problem for repatriated exiles with skills, because they could end up jobless, while the rest will also need homes and other welfare assistance.

The ANC has appealed to government to repeal some of its repressive laws and grant general amnesty to all exiles so they can come home.

Sebina has expressed fears that most exiles who left South Africa without passports will be charged for leaving the country illegally – as in his own case.

The ANC was committed to a process of abolishing negative security laws, the Suppression of Communism Act, the Internal Security Act, the Unlawful Organisations Act and their subsequent amendments.

South African lawyers have also found more than 100 repressive laws which, for instance, can prohibit the Press from publishing certain articles.

Said Sebina: "Regarding the pre-constitutional talks on August 6, the ANC is demanding the removal of these laws so the majority of exiles can be allowed in the country, and they must be indemnified against prosecution."

"The government can easily use these laws to detain and imprison these people for having left the country without valid travel documents."

Asked whether the ANC was acting too slowly in view of the accusation by government that the organisation was dilly-dallying, Sebina replied: "Constitutional talks must go on."

"In fact, we want to ensure that government contains the violence and in its place creates stability for a conducive climate for final talks on a democratic future for South Africa."

He said ANC members and other South Africans "are itching for a quick return home, but this has to be done properly in order to make them comfortable when they come back to South Africa".

THE African National Congress this week unveiled its plan to repatriate thousands of exiles.

Estimates of the number vary from about 10 000 by Government sources to 30 000 by the ANC.

The first returnees, who will be granted indemnity in terms of the Pretoria Minute, are expected home in less than six weeks.

The ANC was at pains this week to warn its internal supporters that this would be no victorious homecoming.

The organisation said it wanted to keep the exercise "low-key", mindful that the exiles would be coming home to massive homelessness, large-scale unemployment and a deep education crisis.

The ANC is also anxious to dispel the notion of a well-funded movement flying thousands of members in on United Nations planes and buying all available property to accommodate them.

Said Vusi Khanyile, head of the ANC's finance department: "People seem to have this mistaken belief that the ANC has stacks of money and is ready to buy every building on sale."

"We have limited financial resources and will not be able to buy a house or rent one for each of the people coming home."

"With all the goodwill in the world, the repatriation

By MANDLA TYALA

programme cannot be met by charity and private donations alone.

"We are mobilising various communities to come up with innovative ideas to ensure their sons and daughters coming home will live in dignity. In fact, some areas have established reception committees on their own initiative."

Mr Khanyile said South Africa would not see a Nami-

Thousands expected, but it will be a low budget homecoming

bian-style operation which housed returning exiles in tents in reception centres before they were integrated into their communities.

"That was different," said Mr Khanyile. "Those people came home at the end of a conflict. There was a deadline. They had to be integrated speedily into society before the elections could begin."

"Our people are coming home in the middle of the conflict. They are coming home to join the struggle against apartheid."

Mr Khanyile also ruled out reported plans of a massive United Nations airlift.

This is the ANC's plan:

- An external repatriation committee has been set up to take a census of the exiles. The ANC says it does not have exact figures of displaced South Africans wishing to come home under its auspices, but return forms have started flowing in.

- The ANC will continue to run external operations established to create employment for the exiles — farms, schools, clinics and manufacturing firms.

- Internally, a social welfare department, to be headed by Mrs Winnie Mandela, has been set up. Its main function will be to help the ANC respond to the needs of returnees.

- Owing to the crisis in education, the ANC is encouraging exiles studying abroad not to abandon their studies.

- The organisation says it has not yet bought any properties in SA to accommodate exiles, but it has compiled an inventory of idle properties.

Return of the ANC

STW 26/18/90

exiles

Estimates of exile numbers double 330

PETER DELMAR

THE number of exiles returning to SA soon could be as high as 40 000 — double previous ANC estimates.

That is the figure currently being used by officials of the multi-party National Coordinating Committee (NCC), which will oversee the reception of exiles. The figure includes "non-aligned" exiles as well as those associated with various liberation movements. *6/10/90 28/8/90*

It is expected that the whole repatriation programme could cost as much as R100m. An NCC spokesman said the committee — which is based at the SA Council of Churches headquarters in Johannesburg — was currently working on a rough budget of R8m for the preparatory phase.

This will include training of officials involved in the programme and the setting up of infrastructure.

An international educational organisation, which officials declined to name, has offered to fund and run a R8m training centre, probably in Johannesburg, to provide a range of courses for those returning.

Exiles are expected to start returning within the next two months, but the repatriation will start in earnest next year.

Eight major reception centres are likely to be established around the country.

The committee was appealing to business to play a role in funding the massive exercise, in addition to providing temporary housing and office space.

Employers were encouraged to provide information on jobs available, the spokesman said, adding that many of the exiles had skills which were in short supply in SA.

40 000 exiles expected home soon

Mr Tins
29/8/90
320

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The number of exiles returning to South Africa soon could be as high as 40 000 — double the previous estimates of ANC returnees.

This is the "ball park" figure now being used by officials of the multi-party National Co-ordinating Committee (NCC) which will oversee the reception of exiles. The figure includes "non-aligned" exiles and those associated with all liberation movements.

It is expected that the whole repatriation programme could cost as much as R100 million. According to an NCC spokesman, the committee — which is based at the SACC headquarters in Johannesburg — is working on a rough budget of R8m for the initial phase.

The spokesman said the committee is appealing to business to provide temporary housing and office space as well as funding.

Employers are encouraged to provide information on jobs available, the spokesman said, adding that several thousand exiles are believed to have professional and technical skills, many of which are in short supply.

'A free Press vital'

THERE could not be a workable democracy in South Africa if the media was not totally unfettered, former *Daily Dispatch* editor and author Mr Donald Woods said in Cape Town yesterday.

Speaking at a luncheon of the Cape Town Press Club in his first public speech since returning to South Africa after 12 years in exile, Woods spoke broadly on the view of South Africa from the outside world and the implications of that view.

Sowetan 30/8/90

Exiles

The outside world's continuing interest in South Africa had been underestimated over the years and, in fact, people could "not hear enough about South Africa", he said.

He said there was "massive deception" over the lifestyle of exiles and he had "often heard rubbish such as, for instance, that the ANC and PAC have been living off the fat of the land while in exile".

Hope

That was simply not true, and he hoped the new South Africa would debunk "the old South African capacity for delusion".

The "soul of South African journalism", however, was alive and well and he was hopeful for the future of the country. - Sapa.

48A 330
B1 Day 31/8/90

ANC plan for hundreds of exiles to return for congress

THE ANC is expected to make a special effort to repatriate hundreds of its supporters in exile before its first national congress in December.

The National Co-ordinating Committee (NCC), which is planning to receive exiles, estimates that about 40 000 people are likely to return to SA soon.

ANC spokesman Naledi Tsiki said the organisation was still working on a figure of 20 000 of its sup-

PETER DELMAR

porters being in exile, but would not be drawn on when they would return or how many the ANC would repatriate in time for the congress.

Tsiki said the ANC hoped that exiles would start returning by next month. Repatriation would have to be a lengthy process because of a shortage of resources and to ensure that the process was orderly, he said.

Various foreign govern-

ments and bodies had promised material and financial aid, including Scandinavian, European and North American governments. The ANC was still negotiating with foreign governments the details of this assistance.

The NCC will provide temporary reception and accommodation facilities for most of the exiles and the ANC is initiating its own plans to house, relocate and find jobs for its supporters.

The NCC and the ANC are looking to local business to contribute to the repatriation programme.

Naledi said that in addition to seeing to the initial needs of returnees, the ANC was concerned about their longer-term requirements, particularly housing and employment.

The ANC could also initiate counselling services to help supporters reintegrate into their communities.

ANC against Aids tests for exiles

By CHRIS BATEMAN

THE ANC was "absolutely opposed" to the compulsory testing of returning exiles for the Aids virus and had implemented a comprehensive Aids education campaign as soon as the killer disease became evident in Africa.

This was said by a senior ANC spokesman in Johannesburg yesterday.

She was reacting to news that six HIV-infected ANC Umkhonto we Sizwe prisoners had been transferred from the Pollsmoor Prison hospital to jails nearer their homes on Monday.

A seventh prisoner, originally a Uitenhage resident, was transferred from Pollsmoor Prison to Somerset Hospital on Monday and is in a "seriously debilitated" condition, lawyers representing him said yesterday.

The ANC spokesperson said her organisation totally supported an individual's right to a private life and

called for the immediate release of imprisoned Aids sufferers who needed "extra care and attention".

Imprisonment made it "virtually impossible to come to terms with your own mortality", while the disease demanded as little stress as possible, she added.

ANC members were "highly responsible", and she hoped that individuals who suspected they might be infected with the virus would voluntarily go for testing.

"There can be no question of compulsion," she emphasised.

As soon as Aids became evident in Africa the ANC had embarked on a policy of education which included teaching how the disease was contracted and how to avoid it, she added.

● Prisons Services public relations directorate chief Brigadier Erica van Zyl said in July this year there were 48 Aids-carrying prisoners in SA, 17 of them at Pollsmoor. Seven of the Pollsmoor Aids victims were security prisoners.

Hani is given 41 hours

CAPT Tintj
31/8/90
330

Political Staff

THE ANC has chosen Mr Chris Hani, the chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe, to head its team to discuss the suspension of the armed struggle.

And the government last night granted Mr Hani a 41-hour indemnity to consult the organisation's national executive, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said in a statement.

Mr Coetsee said Mr Hani must abide by the provisions of the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes. He is allowed to be in South Africa from 6am on September 4 to 11pm on September 5.

The purpose of the indemnity was "definitely not to put him in a position to take part in any delegation," the statement said.

The police have warned that Mr Hani, one of three ANC leaders whose indemnity from prosecution was withdrawn last week, is liable for arrest.

Mr Hani, the head of Umkhonto we Sizwe, has been in the Transkei since his indemnity was withdrawn.

Security sources have claimed he was involved in a plot to smuggle arms and ammunition into SA.

Yesterday, however, the ANC named Mr Hani, who is a member of its national executive, to head its seven-person team in the joint working group, which is due to report back to the government and the ANC by September 15.

The other members are Mr Thabo Mbeki, Mr Jacob Zuma, Mr Joe Nhlanhla, Dr Pallo Jordan, Mr Mathew Phosa and Mr Joe Modise.

The ANC said the first meeting was due to be held next week, "on a date still to be announced".

Zulu
dec
the
Nat

PA

The
PA
cor

A

Th
pul
ile

C

Th
ab
a

G

W
G
to
ro

Al
Bl
C
F
T
T

Go
Go
Ra
FT
BD
Do

The joy and despair of coming home

Star 3/9/96 330

After 10 years in exile, South African Communist Party worker Geraldine Fraser was allowed to return to South Africa a month ago at the request of the SACP. Regina Nzo returned in July after 24 years away. They are among the first exiles to return. They spoke to **DAWN BARKHUIZEN** about the hardships involved in coming back.

Geraldine Fraser: Within a month of being back, South African Communist Party worker Geraldine Fraser (30) hit the headlines.

It was she who was under surveillance by police in Johannesburg last week.

It was her comrades who caught the police "spy" and presented him to pressmen in a rather unconventional manner.

Meeting this warm, humorous mother of two, it is easy to see why friends might seek to protect her. She is the size and weight of a feather.

"We can go for coffee," she says, "but you'll have to bring me back here."

"After that happened, we're taking precautions."

Coming back to South Africa after 10 years on the move has been hard.

There are practical problems, such as housing. She believes she must go back to the community from where she came, and it is in the townships that the problem of housing is most acute.

Without the resources to find a place to stay, she has had to rely on friends and family.

Living temporarily with her parents-in-law in Soweto, Mrs Fraser has come face to face with the harsh realities that face the community.

A school must be found for her seven-year-old daughter, and uniforms must be bought. Time must be set aside for



South African Communist Party worker Geraldine Fraser ... back in South Africa after 10 years in exile. She has two children, but her husband is still out of the country.

her children. It is imperative they do not grow to resent her involvement in politics.

She has been separated from her husband, an activist, who is still in exile.

Another difficulty has been the realisation that, despite constitutional changes, general attitudes in South Africa remain relatively rigid.

"While in exile we were always with highly conscientised people. My children have grown up totally unaffected by racism."

"Perhaps my expectations in coming back were too high, but I have been shocked and disturbed by some of the narrow



Regina Nzo, ANC functionary and wife of secretary-general Alfred Nzo ... back home after 26-year absence.

© Pictures by Jacob Rykloff.

here. But I believe it is necessary to be back, and will have to develop mechanisms to be safe.

"In fact, the incident has only reinforced my belief in the need to work collectively for change."

"Being back has been a wonderful, warm feeling. It is good, and I am here to stay."

"I'm still looking over my shoulder, but I know that I am not the only one. I can joke about it and tell my kids not to worry because we'll handle it."

Regina Nzo:

The most striking thing about ANC exile Regina Nzo (60) is

her warmth and positive vision for a future South Africa.

For the past 26 years this soft-spoken grandmother has paid a hefty price for her political convictions, giving up a home and family for a hopscotch existence in India, Zambia, Tanzania, Zimbabwe and Botswana.

To survive, she had to come to terms with danger and personal pain. There were bombs disguised as Christmas cards. There was anguish at being separated from a six-year-old son, and guilt at being absent from a blind mother's deathbed.

Precious hours that could

have been spent with her husband, ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo, were sacrificed to a demanding cause.

Much of the energy which Mrs Nzo could have used to create a home was directed towards making homes for others. She taught at a nursing school in Tanzania for 10 years and worked full-time at a home for children and pregnant mothers for three years.

From 1983 to 1986 she was the superintendent of a creche in Lusaka.

In all the time away she never once lost sight of her South African identity, never once stopped to think she might not come back. In July she did.

Her reaction was simple: "East, West, home is best."

Instead of the bitterness that one might expect, she has brought with her hope, compassion and a broad outlook on life.

Even on the subject of her husband's career, she is philosophical: "I had my own tasks that took me away from him. He was always very supportive."

"During the time I was away, I developed. I try to analyse, to look at things broadly, to focus on solutions rather than sit and moan about problems."

Had Mrs Nzo stayed in South Africa, she might perhaps, by now, have had a house, she says. Now she has to live in a residential hotel.

"We have been looking for a place of our own, but find that even when flats are advised as being non-racial this is rarely the case."

"Housing has been a big problem for many of the 'comrades' coming back."

"When I left South Africa it had problems. I returned to find worse problems."

"At the end of the day, the rich people go back to richer corners and poor people crawl into more dilapidated shanties."

"But I'm an optimist. I take things as they come and will not let the problems of South Africa overwhelm me."



NATIONAL

Argus 3/9/96

18

330

Pretoria 'targeting' Hani, says ANC

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The government is "targeting" African National Congress military chief Chris Hani, who, according to ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma, will not come to South Africa for meetings this week.

"They know full well Mr Hani has not said anything different from what any other ANC member has said, but he

is being targeted," Mr Macozoma said today.

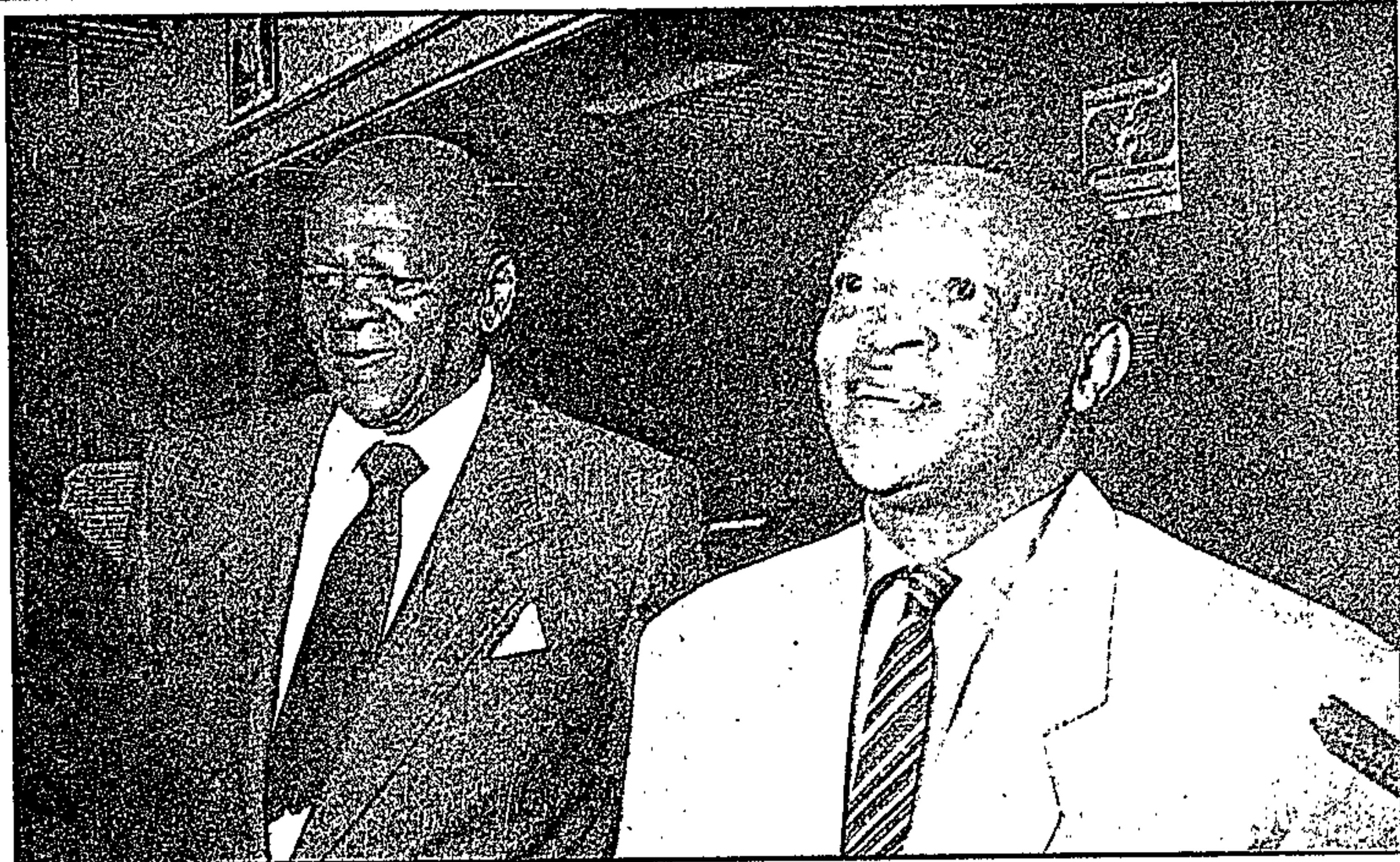
He said Mr Hani was still in Transkei and would not come to South Africa for the meetings this week.

At the weekend Mr Hani rejected the 41-hour indemnity from September 4 to 6 granted by the government after requests by the ANC, which said he needed to attend the nation-

al executive committee this week.

Asked about the implications of Mr Hani's absence, Mr Macozoma said it was his attitude that the government should answer that.

"There are certain issues which cannot be discussed without Chris Hani, without his involvement. The government must be asked what would happen if he is not there."



Father and son re-union! Exiled musician Hugh Masekela is welcomed back home by his father Thomas at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday after 31 years in exile. Pic: JOE MOLEFE

Sowetan 5/9/90

330

Dollar Brand back home for good

330
5/9/90

By ISMAIL
LAGARDIEN

ABDULLAH Ibrahim - formerly known as Dollar Brand and baptised Adolf Brand 56 years ago - who rose to international acclaim as a jazz pianist after leaving South Africa in 1977 - yesterday said he was back in the country permanently.

Ibrahim, who arrived at Jan Smuts in Johannesburg on Monday as a guest of the *Weekly Mail Film Festival*, said that because of professional and personal commitments his ultimate return would be phased in.

Decision

"I am definitely here to stay, but the kids are still in school and my wife (Satima B Benjamin, a singer) has professional commitments. And no matter where we stay we would have to travel internationally," the soft-spoken Ibrahim said.

He agrees that the initial decision to leave South Africa was perhaps a career move, but the restrictions imposed on an artist by apartheid had a great deal to do with his expatriation.

It was a combination of things, he said.

"Firstly, apartheid made it impossible to function creatively."

His particular brand of music, "takes a long long time to perfect".

Record

Inspired by the late Kippie Moeketsi, it was necessary to leave the country to reflect and look within "to our indigenous self, and find the inspiration from that".

Ibrahim will move back to his house in Cape Town and establish a network and management system for local musicians and will also perform and record.

Being back, he said, has left him momentarily inarticulate. Pausing to think while fiddling with Muslim prayer beads, Ibrahim also said that he was here to clear the way for the return of other expatriate musicians.

Boycotts

"We confer regularly and it was decided, when this invitation from the *Weekly Mail* came, that the time was right for me to come and clear the air," he said.

There have been too many confusing bits of information coming out of South Africa with regard to boycotts, invitations, can dos and cannots, he said.

With this visit he hopes to string together the right notes to which South Africa's musicians abroad can dance to.

Masekela on *Sowetan* 5/9/90 330 two-week visit

WORLD-renowned jazz trumpeter Hugh Masekela arrived in South Africa yesterday after 31 years in exile.

His visit coincides with that of another exile, Abdulla Ibrahim, who arrived on Monday to perform at the *Weekly Mail* Film Festival.

Speaking at a Press conference at Jan Smuts Airport, Masekela said: "This is a happy re-union for me and my family to be meeting at home after 31 years."

He was met at the airport by his 81-year-old father Thomas, sister Barbara, who is in the ANC's Cultural Department and other members of his family.

The immaculately dressed

By KENOSI MODISANE

musician addressed the media mostly in the township *lingua franca*. He said: "Being away from home does not mean that one should abandon his roots."

Asked about political changes taking place in the country, Masekela said: "There are no changes in the country. All is just a media celebration."

He said he was not yet convinced he would be allowed to enter the country.

"I still have to spend some time in the country and find out if *ek is nog nie hot* (if he would not be arrested).

When he was whisked away in a

friend's Mercedes Benz he said: "I wish this was a Putco bus so that I could enjoy the rattling noise I last heard three decades back."

Masekela, who left the country in 1959, will be in the country for two weeks.

He arrived from New York with bass guitarist Bakithi Khumalo, who has been working with him overseas.

He said he had no plans to perform during his stay "but would only know after consulting the people who made his visit possible."

"I am grateful for being a South African and thanks to our great music which established us among the best in the world," he said.

'Exile flood'

From XOLA SIGOYELA

PORT ELIZABETH. — Organisations here have begun frantic preparations for the expected flood of some 15 000 exiles due to begin arriving in a matter of weeks.

The majority of returnees is expected to head for the Eastern Cape, a region already suffering from a massive shortage of housing and jobs.

According to preliminary estimates, 20 000 people are expected in the region, representing 36 per cent of the 55 000 people expected to come back to the country.

The influx is expected to begin in about eight weeks, but organisations are hamstrung by a lack of information.

According to Anglican Bishop Bruce Evans, the exact number of returnees is difficult to determine because it is not known how many of the exiles want to return. South 30/8 - 5/9/90

A committee set up to deal with the influx met with the Port Elizabeth City Council to inform it of the need to make

land available for the exiles. 330

The Ibhayi city council has already announced it is setting aside land for the exiles.

The town clerk, Mr P K Botha, said the city must accept the majority of those who had left Port Elizabeth would return.

He said the municipality would approach the relevant authorities to make land available for housing.

He recognised that all those coming from exile would need jobs.

It is not known how many of the returnees are skilled and unskilled, and how many are professionals.

The director of the Human Rights Trust, Rory Riordan, believes such an influx can only be handled by the South African government or the governments of major democracies.

The committee on repatriation in the Eastern Cape consists of representatives from the council of churches, heads of churches, the ANC, the National Medical and Dental Association (Namda), the National Association of Democratic Lawyers (Nadel), and trade unions. — PEN



WELCOME HOME: Abdullah Ibrahim is greeted in Johannesburg by Sipho "Hotstix" Mabuse
South 6/9 - 12/9/90 **330** *[initials]* PIC: RASHID LOMBARD

Abdullah Ibrahim arrives to 'touch emotional base'

By MONO BADELA

A BIG bash for exiled musicians is planned for later this year, says Abdullah Ibrahim who arrived in South Africa this week after 15 years of exile.

In an interview with **SOUTH**, Ibrahim, formerly known as Dollar Brand, explained that the concert would be undertaken on a "massive scale" in consultation with South African Musicians' Alliance (Sama), The ANC's arts and cultural department and Mapp.

Ibrahim is also here to consult, plan and discuss with all cultural structures involved in the staging of a "Reception Cultural Festival" for the homecoming of exiles later this year.

He said musicians would be brought to South Africa before the end of the year.

"Call me the scouting party," he said.

Arts centre

In response to Sama's attempt to prevent him from performing in South Africa, the tall, elegant and soft-spoken Ibrahim dismissed the question by saying:

"I think we've resolved that problem. I think it was just a lack of communication within the different structures of different organisations and a lack of communication between us as musicians."

He said he was back also to discuss and plan with cultural structures in Cape Town the building of a performing arts centre in the mother city.

"We're meeting with Mapp in Cape

Town and the people of Manenberg's People's Cultural Centre.

"There's been a lot of positive response to this project. We think it will be used as a pilot project that can be taken as a blueprint for other centres."

He said he was planning to do extra piano solo concerts in Cape Town, Johannesburg and Durban.

Ibrahim explained that he accepted the invitation to visit South Africa because it was initiated by Mapp.

"I discussed the invitation with exiled musicians and we thought it would be a good idea for me to come and basically to meet all the structures and try to resolve this."

Cultural boycott

"I have already made up my mind to move back to South Africa but I do not work as an individual. I hope while I'm here I will be able to facilitate the gradual return of other exiles — particularly performing artists."

He said exiled artists have tried to speak with one voice and the big question now was how to get all the artists back home "as smoothly and quickly as possible".

"We have skills to share with our brothers and sisters."

Ibrahim plans to hold workshops and to teach budding musicians. "People like me have not only acquired performance expertise over the years, but also marketing skills."

"Maybe my skills can be of some use. I shall be putting them at the disposal of the people of South Africa."

ANC director of publicity and

information, Dr Pallo Jordan, stressed there was no question of Ibrahim breaking the cultural boycott.

Ibrahim who arrives in Cape Town on Thursday afternoon, said: "I know, of course, that District Six is no longer there but I would love to get that sensation of breathing the very fresh air around there."

"I'm looking forward to go home to Kensington, possibly to touch the emotional base."

"Of course the most important thing is to actually meet the people, get some consensus of how we can help lift the cultural level and to help move things forward."

Chikane in Kenya to help exiles

South 6/9 - 12/9/90

330

By NOEL BRUYNS

THE Rev Frank Chikane, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches (SACC), was in Nairobi this week to discuss the return of South African exiles in Kenya and their problems.

Both the ANC and the PAC have welcomed the efforts of the churches, in particular those of Chikane, to help solve the problems of these exiles.

An SACC statements said both liberation movements expressed concern about grievances and complaints expressed by some of these exiles against their respective organisations.

They were ready to address their problems as soon as contact could be made with them.



Rev Chikane

The exiles fled to Kenya after a misunderstanding with the ANC and the PAC earlier this year, a statement from the All Africa Conference of Churches (AACC), based in Nairobi, said.

Earlier this year, Archbishop Desmond Tutu — who is president of the AACC — made arrangements through the conference and the National Council of Churches of Kenya to secure temporary accommodation for the exiles.

The ANC and the PAC have stated they would have no problems with the churches facilitating the return of these exiles to South Africa once the government granted indemnity against prosecution.

The SACC said Chikane would hold further discussions on the return of exiles with the ANC and the PAC.

He would also seek an urgent meeting with the government to arrange for indemnity against prosecution and ensure their safety on their return.

Chikane and the National Coordinating Committee for Repatriation of South African exiles have made it clear they will not assist exiles if they would be detained or persecuted by the government on their return.

Another Great Trek - this time back home

WLE Man 719-13/9/90

●From PAGE 1

the end of the year.

There are roughly 60 ANC exiles back in South Africa now, and perhaps double that number who are non-aligned. The World Council of Churches (WCC) has estimated, conservatively, that the total number of South African exiles exceeds 100 000 — the size of a respectable Reef town.

The mechanics of repatriation are immense: Where are South Africa's 100 000 going to go? And who's going to pay for them to get there? Where will they live? What will they do?

Either the ANC has decided to delay the homecoming for a while (perhaps with inside information about the lagardliness of the Pretoria Minute's working group), or it is simply not prepared for a migration of this magnitude, for there is very little evidence of on-the-ground preparation. The movement has set up a repatriation task force — headed internally by Winnie Mandela — and is conducting a head count in its 38 missions worldwide; it is also participating in a national co-ordinating council (NCC) that has been convened by the SACC.

The NCC has set itself up to administer the return of all exiles, regardless of political affiliation, and SACC general secretary Frank Chikane has isolated seven categories, including non-aligned individuals, rank-and-file members of the liberation movement, trained and armed soldiers, defectors, prisoners on both sides, conscientious objectors and even askaris — former ANC members who have been "turned" by security forces.

The NCC has just sent a budget for immediate needs to the WCC — which has taken responsibility for finding the funds necessary to finance the repatriation process — calling for R8,2-million by the end of September. This is primarily to cover the costs of setting up a staff and a series of task forces to plan the reception and resettlement process. A comprehensive budget is being prepared; the WCC estimates each exile will cost at least R3 500 to resettle — ultimately, a bill of R350-million.

The projections are, to be fair, a little more terrifying than the reality. A national consultation conference convened in May and attended by church organisations, social welfare groups and liberation movements emphasised, for example, that "the decision to return was entirely voluntary": many exiles might not decide to return immediately or at all, particularly those who are non-aligned and who have been away for 30 years or more. And right now, says NCC co-ordinator Venita Meyer, "our advice to all exiles is to stay away until we can guarantee their safety".

Meyer believes the repatriation process needs to be staggered over a long period of time. "This will enable us to process the returnees more effectively, and will also allow time for communication between those who have returned and those who have yet to return. That way, exiles can orient and help each other."

Ideally, Meyer says, a system would be set up whereby exiles are counselled before they leave on what they should expect upon arrival.

The NCC believes the government "has an obligation to provide for its citizens, especially those who have suffered as a direct result of its policy and practice".

Into this category of apartheid victims fall the exile; the NCC is calling for government involvement ranging from the giving of land (particularly that expropriated through forced removals) to the provision of money from special funds: the Steyn Fund, for example, was used to resettle returning servicemen after World War II.

There is also the possibility that the United Nations High Commission on Refugees (UNHCR) might become involved, administering the transportation of exiles both to the entry points

and then to their final destinations within South Africa. UNHCR would provide the returning exiles with travel documents, would offer limited material assistance and would, perhaps most importantly, ensure their safety by policing the terms of the indemnity.

Namibian advisors to the NCC have stressed the importance of involving the UN in the repatriation process. UNHCR Africa director Nicolas Bwakira confirms, from Geneva, that "we have been approached by both the ANC and the government, and discussions are under way." The South Africans, however, are reportedly sceptical at present.

The ANC's head of finance, Vusi Khanyili, has publicly ruled out the possibility of an UN-administered airlift, and has said South African repatriation would work very differently to the Namibian one.

Rather than all being housed together as exiles initially were in Namibia, the South African returnees will pass as quickly as possible through primary reception centres before being helped, by regional offices of the NCC, to move on to their home communities.

"The temptation among the exiles might be to stick together," explains Njanje Ned, head of the South African Black Social Workers' Association (Sabswa) and member of the NCC's task force on welfare and counselling, "but it is imperative that they do integrate quickly into South African society. This will make it easier for them to find jobs and housing, it will present less of a security risk, and it will also prevent exiles from being lumped together and stigmatised by all other South Africans."

The YMCA/YWCA have pledged to offer all their regional centres as primary reception centres, and the NCC is looking to rent blocks of flats or hotels that can be used as further sites.

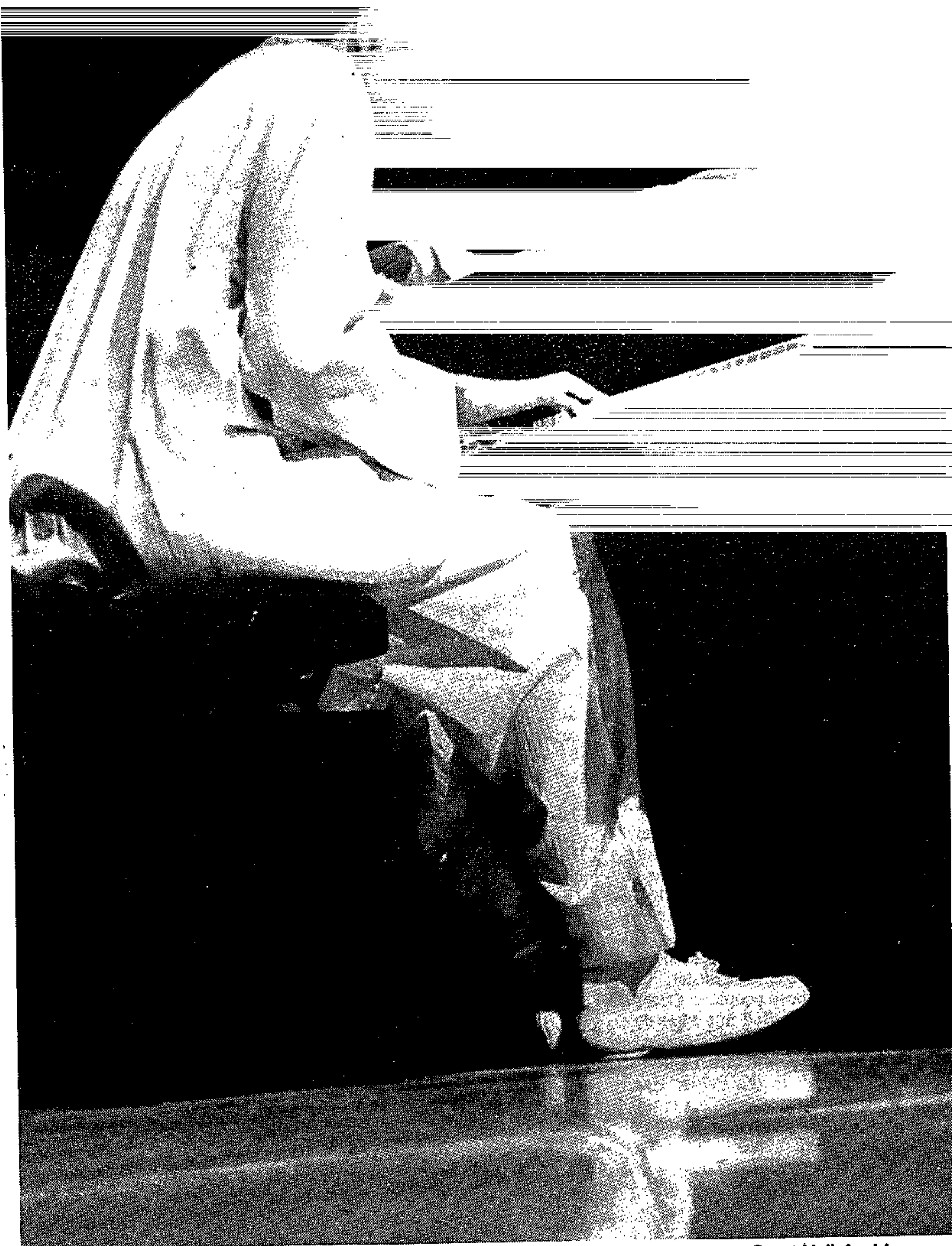
As in Namibia, the NCC intends the first plane-load to be filled with professionals — doctors, social workers, lawyers, administrators — who can then assist with the integration of the rest.

"These people," says the NCC's Meyer, "have high expectations. They've been living for the moment of return. But they'll be coming back to look for homes and jobs in a country with a severe housing crisis and unemployment."

And, adds SABSWA's Ned, "they will have to readjust to being treated as secondary citizens under apartheid".

To deal with the problems of reintegration, the NCC has set up its task forces even as the Working Group discusses the terms of indemnity. Already, certain major problems have presented themselves: the government has demanded that all returning exiles from other African countries be screened for HIV before being allowed to return, but both the ANC and the National Medical and Dental Association have said this is unacceptable. ANC doctors have estimated a high percent of its membership in Africa is HIV-seropositive.

Education and training is another important priority. There is a joke that there are more South African PhDs abroad than at home, and while it is true that the exile community is highly qualified, there are also tens of thousands of people, now in their late twenties or early thirties, whose schooling was disrupted by the Soweto uprising and who have consequently been trained as soldiers. This militarised population will have to readjust to civilian life by training for jobs and, psychologically, by learning to function in an open society after a decade or more of secretive, disciplined life.



In concert ... Abdullah Ibrahim comes home to a grand piano on the stage of the Wits Great Hall for his Wednesday night concert — a highlight of the Weekly Mail Film Festival Pictures: KEVIN CARTER

Hugh Masekela slips in for a short stint

CELEBRATED musical exiles are trickling back to South Africa, but not as "returnees" — not yet, anyway. They, like others still watching home from abroad, have many personal and professional matters to take into consideration.

The jazz pianist and composer Abdullah Ibrahim — still known here as Dollar Brand, the name he gave up abroad when he became a devout Muslim — flew into Johannesburg on Monday: seven months and one day after FW de Klerk's speech that made exiles consider returning home.

Abdullah was last in South Africa 14 years ago on a visit; and his current trip is also brief, at the invitation of *The Weekly Mail Film Festival*. But this trip is also an exploration of what was once home — and he intends to make it home again for himself, his wife and their two children born in exile. The four will arrive in December for what could be a replanting of roots in Cape Town for Abdullah and Satima; but with their teenaged children returning to New York to complete their education.

The separation will not be total, though, since the musician parents will still be commuting around the world giving concerts.

Two mornings after Abdullah's arrival another musical celebrity landed at Jan Smuts Airport: jazz trumpeter and composer Hugh Masekela, who had never set foot in South Africa during his 31 years in exile. There was a time, though, when he could see the beloved

A second jazz celebrity slipped into Johannesburg this week — Hugh Masekela, after 31 years in exile. **ARTHUR MAIMANE** reports on the first moments he and Dollar Brand shared

country from his home in Gaborone. He abandoned that home-near-home after one of the SADF's cross-border raids in which innocent people were murdered in a house close to his own.

Abdullah's arrival was a high-profile occasion because of his connection with the film festival. By the time we met at the Braamfontein Hotel in the early evening — our first get-together on home soil in more than three decades — he was still, he said, "traumatised" by the day's events. But he loosened up over a celebratory dinner — his strictly vegetarian — at a Melville restaurant, perhaps because the tall, quiet and self-effacing man was not recognised by other patrons, or they were too cool to stare and ask for autographs.

After dinner he rushed off to Klipfontein for a reunion with more of his family — the people who will most help him to feel at home when he returns in December.

(There will be a flood of black and white exiles in December, coming back briefly to celebrate Christmas under clear-blue skies and away from the frozen murk of Europe and North America).

On the evening of Hugh's low-profile arrival for a fortnight's visit from his home in New York, he did not show any symptoms of trauma. There was a small party for him at the home of playwright and composer Mbongeni Ngema, with whom he collaborated on the hit musical *Sarafina!*

The house is near a golf course in Bryanston, a far-northern, and thus very secluded, suburb; but the atmosphere was "strictly location" — as we would've said when Hugh and I were last together in Jo'burg back in the Fifties. In those days we would've been arrested in such posh surroundings, where domestic servants were the only black people to be welcomed.

Unlike the lanky Ibrahim, Masekela is a chunkily-built extrovert. He talked a blue streak in four languages, three of which — Tswana, Zulu and *die tsotsitaal* — we none of us had much opportunity to use abroad. But he's totally fluent because he has the advantage over me of a South African wife, Jabu, and her family in New York.

Whether he plans to become a "returnee" rather than a visitor, only time will tell. But if he does decide to commute to gigs around the world from Johannesburg while Abdullah does the same from Cape Town, they are bound to have an influence at home. Not so much as gurus for later generations of jazz musicians but — and more importantly — in breaking down the present power structures in the industry which exploit black musicians.

JAZZ EXILES COME HOME

Music greats bring back food of love

By PNINA FENSTER

ON his return to South Africa after 15 years in exile, jazz musician Abdullah Ibrahim was asked whether performing in Johannesburg was any different to New York or Frankfurt.

He replied with a question: "If you travel, where is your best meal?"

"I've eaten at some of the world's most fantastic restaurants, but the best food is always at home."

And as far as the exiles were concerned, this has been a week where music — the food of love — has finally been on the menu at home.

On Wednesday and Thursday nights Ibrahim (once known as Dollar Brand) opened the Weekly Mail Film Festival after years of living in New York and performing to international acclaim.

Venues in Johannesburg and Cape Town were packed with everyone from Soweto tycoons to ANC representatives, from children to old men. Those who couldn't get tickets stood outside listening.

Feelings

Ibrahim left South Africa in what he describes as "a mood of despair" but returned home to see "stunning social changes".

"I know there are a lot of negative things happening. But the new social perspective is amazing and the mood of the people is very hopeful."

And whatever feelings he "couldn't crystallise into words" were expressed on his piano.

The most remarkable moment at the Wednesday night concert came when he invited fellow jazz exile Hugh Masekela on to the stage.

The two embraced amid thunderous applause and Masekela greeted the crowd with the cry "Amandla".

Masekela, another international talent, first learned to play the trumpet with the help of his school chaplain, Father Trevor Huddleston. And it was with Huddleston's help that he was given a trumpet by jazz giant Louis Armstrong.

Masekela left South Africa after the Sharpeville shootings in 1960 and has been in exile ever since. He refused to come home even when he was as close as Lesotho, Botswana and Zimbabwe.

And he proved his belief that the fight against apartheid shouldn't be seen merely as a fashionable cause when he refused to perform at the recent Wembley Stadium Mandela Concert.

Mammoth

At the time he said he looked forward to playing for Mandela and his colleagues — but only "at home under the right conditions in a free country".

In the light of that, his arrival in South Africa two days after Ibrahim — even if he didn't play a single note on stage — was significant.

But the return of Ibrahim and Masekela will be a relatively small event if proposals for a mammoth concert of South African exiles on November 10 succeed.

The line-up should include Letta Mbuli, Mirriam Makeba and Caiphus Semenya.



SWEET SOUNDS OF HARMONY... jazzmen Hugh Masekela and Abdullah Ibrahim face the music of a home crowd's applause
Picture: JOE SEFELE

US collector promises to return war relics

By MEGAN POWER and PATRICIA CHENEY

AN American collector accused of plundering one of Natal's famous battlefields has agreed to return irreplaceable war relics to South Africa.

Gregory Marcinek, 40, of Dallas, Texas, this week denied looting the Nkambule battlefield, where British troops and Zulu fought in 1879 and which is now a national monument.

He told the Sunday Times that most of what he took was "junk" but that it would be returned.

Lost

Andrew Hall, Natal regional representative for the National Monuments Council, welcomed Mr Marcinek's undertaking to return the remnants of guns, uniforms and other equipment.

"Unfortunately, some of their significance would be lost due to the method used to dig them up."

"And there is another American in Natal who is

doing a similar thing but we haven't been able to trace him yet."

Mr Marcinek said he had visited Nkambule in 1988 and 1989 and had collected artefacts there with the permission of farmer Maurice Taylor, on whose land the battlefield lies.

Mr Taylor has denied the claim.

NMC archaeologist Janette Deacon said Mr Marcinek did not have permission to excavate the site or export the artefacts, which were later offered for sale to fellow collectors in a catalogue published by the Texan.

"What he did was illegal and the matter is now in the hands of our legal advisers," she said.

The NMC was first alerted to Marcinek's actions in July by a military historian in Britain who sent extracts from Mr Marcinek's catalogue to the council.

"Among other things, he was selling a remnant of an Enfield musket for R450 and four general service buttons for R625," said Dr Deacon.

"He also asked people to join him on tours and invited them to dig for artefacts," she added.

Garbage

Mr Marcinek told the Sunday Times that while walking around the Nkambule battlefield in 1988 he was offered a bag of old cartridge shells by a local Zulu woman.

"She asked for R5 but I said I would give her R200," he said.

"She took me to an old British army garbage dump

that the Zulus had dug up. Most of what I took was junk."

"It would have been a different matter if the stuff was lying on the ground where its location might indicate something of historical significance."

But Mr Hall said it made no difference whether it was a dump.

"The main thing on an archeological site is that the artefacts remain in their context," he said.

Dr Deacon said that she had faxed a letter to Mr Marcinek on July 25 asking him to stop moving any material from South Africa's battlefields.

She sent a second fax to Mr Marcinek last month asking him to return the material but has not received a reply. A further letter was sent this week demanding a reply.

ANC 'caught with its pants down' on exiles

By MARK GEVISSER

A CRISIS is looming in the Transkei where, according to church officials, hundreds of African National Congress exiles have returned without warning, and many more are expected.

Hlophe Bam, SA Council of Churches deputy secretary general in charge of repatriation, organised a high-level delegation of the National Co-ordinating Committee to visit the region this week because, she says, "we have been caught with our pants down".

According to the Reverend Gibson Luidi of the Transkei Council of Churches (TCC), "there are probably already 300 exiles in the Transkei, and there has been no formal structure to receive them".

Social workers and health workers in the Transkei and Johannesburg have expressed discontent with the ANC for not giving them adequate warning, but, says Jackie Selebi, the ANC National Executive Committee member in charge of re-

patiation, he knows of no more than 15 members who have returned to the region. "We haven't given anyone permission to go to the Transkei."

The TCC reports, however, that many exiles who have arrived at the council's offices looking for support say they were given the go-ahead by the ANC.

Sources say that because Unkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani is based temporarily in the Transkei, there has been a build-up there of MK cadres. ANC Transkei Interim Regional Com-

mittee member Zola Dabula says there are three categories of exile returning to the region at present: MK cadres, ANC Head Office employees based in Johannesburg visiting family, and rank-and-file members who are back permanently. Because many ANC members in exile are supported entirely by the movement, they arrive at the ANC offices in Umtata expecting not only assistance, but money as well. "They received stipends from the movement outside, and it hasn't been explained to them clearly enough that they will no longer be getting these."

EXILES *FM 21/9/90* **COLD COMFORT**

330

The ANC is expecting 3 000 of its exiled supporters home in October, and 600 a week thereafter. But no accommodation has yet been organised, few jobs have been found and arrangements are generally chaotic — and there is no money.

In terms of the Pretoria Minute, exiles can begin returning home from October 1, and all should be home — those of the estimated 20 000 who wish to return, that is — by the end of April next year.

The SA Council of Churches (SACC) has set up temporary housing and interim relief grants — but not nearly enough to cope with such an influx. In addition, says an SACC spokeswoman, there is poor communication between the SACC and the ANC, and not much of the money promised by foreign donors has arrived.

FM 21/9/90 330

No SA company has offered cash to help repatriate exiles. The SACC spokeswoman says some SA companies have offered jobs, but these are for "the cream, they want PhDs because they want token people, they are not interested in the others who are less qualified."

While many returning exiles will be put up in private homes, the accommodation shortage everywhere means this is not a solution.

The ANC has been criticised — by organisations and subcommittees set up to discuss the return of exiles — for not working fast enough or providing clear instructions about the nature and number of returning exiles.

The ANC also keeps replacing the people appointed to look after repatriation; organisations which have offered assistance have, in most cases, not been told how they can help — or even had their offers acknowledged.

The ANC failed to respond to requests from the *FM* for interviews with members of its repatriation committee.

"The whole thing is a shambles," says a senior SACC official involved with repatriation.

Charlene Smith

Fleeing to South Africa

Sowetan 28/9/90

330

20 000 exiles may be back in SA by April

20 000 exiles may be back home by April

Sowetan 28/9/90

330

From Page 1

political organisation and are now returning home by themselves - desperate for houses, jobs, and assistance.

about 160 people are already returning every month, according to Dangor.

The ANC alone has about 20 000 supporters in exile, most of whom are expected to return by April next year in terms of the Pretoria Minute.

Sowetan Correspondent

ABOUT 3 000 political exiles are expected to return home to South Africa next month - the first batch to receive indemnity as from Monday in terms of the Pretoria Minute.

But the committee which handles the return of exiles has found itself largely unprepared for its task of re-integrating them into their communities.

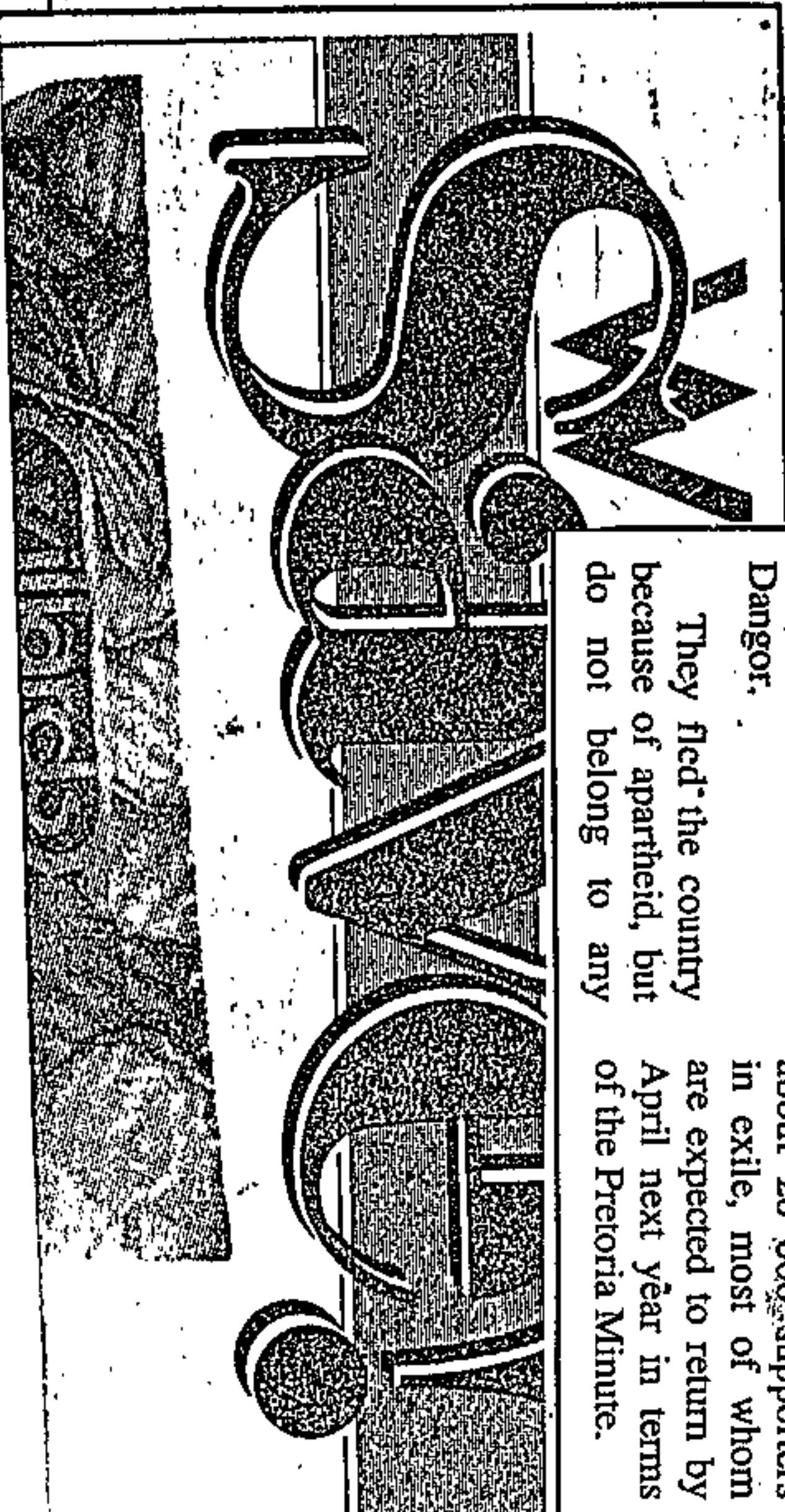
"We certainly don't have money. But that is not the most serious of our problems."

Official figures on the NRC's financial resources could not be obtained. However, it is speculated that the organisation has money to assist less than 100 people.

Substantial pledges have been received from several governments and the business sector, but actual cash is still awaited.

Apart from the 3 000 ANC-affiliated exiles who are expected to return, Mr Jackie Selebi, confirmed.

To Page 2



100 000 exiles in the wings

Star 29/9/90

330

AN estimated 100 000 exiles are expected to return home between next week and April next year, according to the African National Congress's official mouthpiece, Mayibuye.

In an article on the "The homecoming", the latest issue of Mayibuye said for some time now thousands of political prisoners and exiles had been preparing themselves to return home, and the Pretoria Minute accord between the Government and the ANC, which had "transformed the vague yearning into concrete dates", would soon make the massive homecoming possible.

Mayibuye said the National Consultative Committee (NCC) on repatriation — made up of representatives of

KAIZER NYATSUMBA

the South African Council of Churches, the South African Catholic Bishops Conference, and the various liberation movements — had already started making arrangements to cope with the huge influx of exiles and released political prisoners returning home.

The newsletter said the expected 100 000 exiles were grouped into seven categories. These were ordinary members of the liberation movements, trained soldiers, non-aligned groups, conscientious objectors, those who had defected from the liberation movements, prisoners and those who had left the country for other reasons.

Escaped fighters

S1 Times 30/9/90

call for end to violence

By DE WET POTGIETER

TWO young ANC members who fled from their camps in Tanzania and Zambia this week called on Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Nelson Mandela to join hands and stop the bloodshed in South Africa.

The two, a Zulu who escaped from an ANC camp at Dakawa in Tanzania on February 28 and his Sotho comrade, were extradited to South Africa this week after Namibian police found them at Katimo Mulilo in the Caprivi.

In an interview with the Sunday Times, the two young men said the exiles in the camps were homesick and tired of the struggle.

The Zulu appealed to Mr Buthelezi to make a public pledge to all Zulus in exile that they would be allowed back into Inkatha if they returned.

"Our place is with our people and the Zulu in exile wants to come back to take part in building the new South Africa," he said.

Uncertain

The two men, who asked not to be named for fear of reprisals against their families, said several other exiles had escaped from the camps and had taken other routes back to South Africa.

They said young exiles were upset because they had left the country to be educated — but received only military training.

"What is going to happen to the thousands of young comrades coming back to the new South Africa?" one of the men asked.

"There is a lot of unemployment in the country. Our comrades are concerned about their future in the country in these uncertain circumstances."

They also complained about the way Xhosa members in the ANC received preferential treatment in the camps.

"They are saying the struggle is for the Xhosa and we — the Sothos, Zulus, Shangaans, Pedis and Ndebeles — are just the manpower," explained one of the young men.

First of 3 000 exiles are due home today

GOVERNMENT has not yet approved indemnity for about 3 000 ANC exiles expected to start returning to SA today.

An ANC spokesman said yesterday the organisation had submitted the names of 3 000 people for indemnity from prosecution. However, government had not yet responded. 6/Day 1/10/95

A Justice Department spokesman said yesterday the ANC had supplied the names of supporters it wanted indemnified, but had not told government what it wanted them indemnified from.

Business Day Reporters

ANC international affairs head Thabo Mbeki said on Friday returning exiles faced a shortage of accommodation and work, and he appealed to the private sector to help them integrate into the community. Many of the returning exiles were well qualified people.

ANC sources predicted that possibly more than 100 ANC-related prisoners could be released from Robben Island today.

Star 1/15/90

Exiles face hardship

330

What do you do with some 20 000 political exiles returning to a motherland where the jobless and homeless run into millions?

This is the daunting task facing the National Returnees Committee (NRC), which was formed two months ago.

For the first time, rival political groups have been brought together, sharing the responsibility of preparing for a massive operation affecting various liberation movements and their members.

The committee consists of representatives of the ANC, PAC, Azapo, Black Consciousness Movement as well as officials of the South African Council of Churches (SACC), the World Conference on Peace and Religion, and the South African Catholic Bishops Conference.

This inter-racial, inter-ideological and inter-religious committee of 21 will face its first test this month when 3 000 exiles, all ANC members, return in terms of the Pretoria Minute.

But sources say that in spite of pledges from several governments, international aid organisations and big business around the world and in SA, the NRC at this stage has money to provide fewer than 100 people with the bare necessities. Sources say more than R4 million from the World Council of Churches will soon be received.

The first batch of 3 000 ANC exiles arrive home this month, eager to pick up the lives they left behind years ago. But they face harsh socio-economic realities and slim prospects of material assistance,

writes

**Political Reporter
ESMARE VAN DER
MERWE.**



Mohammed Dangor.

The ANC's head of repatriation, Jackie Selebi, is not too perturbed. While admitting that money is a huge problem, he notes that the first group of exiles will return only at the end of the month — giving the ANC and the NRC time to find resources.

Discussions with the Government have also taken place and will be resumed soon, because the Government accepts that it has a responsibility to assist in the reintegration of exiles into society, says Mr Selebi.

The Government, in terms of the Pretoria Minute, will today start granting indemnity to the first 3 000 returnees.

But in the meantime, notes NRC spokesman Mohammed Dangor, an average of 160 re-

turnees show up at the SACC head office in Johannesburg every month. Many do not belong to any political organisation, but are returning regardless of efforts to control the repatriation process.

The NRC, says Mr Dangor, needs R5 000 to "keep alive" one returnee for two months. This figure covers only accommodation, pocket money, transport, food and bedding, and excludes other necessities such as medical services, adjustment programmes and counselling.

Mr Selebi, a national executive member and secretary of the ANC's youth section, expects the Government to respond positively.

He says the first people to return will be the ones needed to build ANC structures.

Returning ANC exiles face probe

330

Sowetan
2/10/90

THE 3 000 African National Congress exiles, who were due to start returning yesterday, will first have to fill in questionnaires disclosing any possible offences committed by them before they are allowed into the country.

Official sources yesterday said the ANC had submitted a list of 3 000 exiles to be granted indemnity under the Pretoria Minute.

However, the list contained no details of the offences for which the people should be indemnified.

This problem had been discussed with the ANC and agreement had been reached that a questionnaire should be filled in for each exile.

Although officials on both the Government and ANC side remain tight-lipped it seems that the exiles are being dealt with under clause two of the Pretoria Minute.

This states: "Indemnity which can be dealt with in categories of persons and not on an individual basis will be granted as from October 1 1990. This process will be completed not later than the end of 1990".

A State form to be filled in by 3 000

The categories of people who can be dealt with in this way are supposed to have been agreed upon by the joint ANC/Government working group on political of-

fences in its report submitted to both principals late in August and apparently accepted by both late last month.

It is not clear which offences have been included although it is believed that these include only purely political offences such as treason or leaving the country without passports.

Under the Pretoria Minute more controversial cases will have to be considered individually.

Exiles must list offences

By Kaizer Nyatumba and
Peter Fabricius

The ANC took issue today with the Government over bureaucracy surrounding the return of political exiles.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said today the ANC took exception to the Government's plans to make returning exiles disclose, in questionnaires, any offences they had committed, before they were allowed into the country. This was a departure from the spirit and letter of the Pretoria Minute, she said.

Conditions for the return of the 3 000 exiles, she said, had been agreed upon. "Our understanding was that these people would be granted a blanket in-

demnity and allowed to return home without filling in any forms whatsoever," she said.

Miss Marcus said all 3 000 exiles were ANC members who were stationed in various places outside the country. The issue of the exiles' accommodation in the country was being taken care of by the National Co-ordinating Committee.

"They (the exiles) are ready and we are ready. The Government's indecision is affecting the prospects of creating proper conditions on the ground and that is the unfortunate situation," she said.

Official sources said the ANC had submitted a list of about 3 000 exiles to be granted in-

demnity under the Pretoria Minute. However, the list contained no details of the "events" for which the people should be indemnified.

This problem had been discussed with the ANC and agreement had been reached that a "sort of questionnaire" should be filled in by each exile.

The categories of persons who can be dealt with in this way are supposed to have been agreed upon by the joint ANC/Government working group on political offences in its report submitted to both principals late in August and apparently accepted by both late last month.

Star 2/10/90

330

From MOIRALEVY

LONDON. — With indemnity for political exiles a step closer, euphoria within the exiled ANC community here has given way to realism and hard thinking.

While talk over the past weeks has centred around plans for returning home, ANC members point out that there will be no en masse migration from Europe.

The leadership is mostly concerned with organising the resettlement of tens of thousands of MK combatants, who are solely depend-

Realism replaces euphoria

ent on the ANC.

There are said to be elaborate plans being negotiated to retrain those in the camps, taking them on short skills training and upgrading courses, to enable them to contribute to and integrate into community structures on their return.

An ANC member said in London this week that funders were being mobilised for such training schemes.

Souths 4/10 - 10/10/90
Mr Ciphu Pityana said ANC members would be trained and later employed as administrators in community projects.

There is a great deal of concern on the part of the movement not to just drive people to the borders and leave them to sort themselves out. The movement is concerned to locate them within a welfare programme.

"There is also much concern to try to address their needs for skills, enabling them to pursue independent lives. The most important thing in my view is to enable people to integrate into the community structures, and secondly, to have the opportunities and possibilities for training," Pityana said.

Other ANC sources have been at pains to point out that the exiled membership

in regions like London face a different set of constraints. They are expected to 'think hard and fast about what they are returning to'.

They are 'encouraged to secure jobs and, if possible, accommodation before their return.' (330)

Individuals in London who have secured jobs in South Africa are taking steps to return after consulting the chief representative.

But they point out that October 1 was simply the date from which return became possible; it was not intended to be the day 'the flood gates opened'.

District Six building earmarked for exiles

South 4/10 - 10/10/90

330

By MUSA NDWANDWE

A BUILDING in the heart of District Six has been earmarked as a "home" for hundreds of Cape Town exiles due to come home in the next few weeks.

This has been confirmed by a spokesperson for the National Co-ordinating Committee for Repatriation (NCCR) which is presently negotiating the purchase of the building in lower District Six. About 300 Cape Town returnees are among the 3 000 returnees.

Liberation

The NCCR comprises all the major liberation movements and several religious bodies and includes representatives of present and ex-political prisoner organisations.

"We consider the process of returning of exiles as humanitarian and above ideological differences," said Imam Hassan Solomon, chairperson of the NCCR's Western Cape regional committee.

Apart from providing housing, the repatriation committee faces several other tasks.



Jackie Selebi

"Unlike Namibia and Zimbabwe, our comrades are coming into a country which is not free," he said.

But exiles will not receive preferential treatment, said committee members.

"They are aware of the problems and our task is to assist with re-integrating them back into society," said Solomon.

Meanwhile, a deadlock has been reached between the government and the African National Congress on the general amnesty for the first group of returnees.

The ANC has rejected the government's demand that all exiles complete a questionnaire before being granted indemnity.

"All we want is the return of all exiles," said Mr Jackie Selebi, ANC's head of repatriation. Many ANC members are expected to be in the country in time for the national conference in December 16. The ANC and the government were due to meet on Thursday.

COMMENT

Don't prolong SA's diaspora

South 4/10 - 10/10/90

330

THE return of approximately 40 000 South African exiles and the release of hundreds of political prisoners in terms of the Pretoria Minute have emotional implications for millions of this country's people.

The exiles find themselves, figuratively, in all four corners of the earth — driven from the land of their birth over the past 30 years by apartheid and repressive laws.

Diaspora

Evidence of this South African "diaspora" is ever-present and visible no matter where one travels in the world. So is the pain of homesickness for loved ones, or the sneek of Cape Town or the bright-flowering cosmos of the Highveld.

At home, thousands of parents and relatives have lost all contact with children or cousins who had left many years ago and have not been heard of since.

IN its tussle for power over the ANC, the government has lost sight of the human face of suffering in South Africa. Feeling it most at the moment are relatives of thousands of exiles the government does not want to allow back home. The government is stalling unnecessarily on providing indemnity for the first 3 000 exiles who were expected back home on Monday:

In many instances, it is not known whether some of these exiles are alive or dead.

There are children born in foreign countries who yearn for a motherland they have never seen. There are graves to be visited and old and new acquaintances to be made.

This is the human face of life in exile that the government seems not to understand or have sympathy for.

Agreement

The ANC has done enough — and more — to abide by the agreement of the Pretoria Minute governing the return of exiles.

The security arm of the government must now realise that because of the peace process, they have lost the war. While there may be thousands of exiles they may wish to perse-

cute for their actions, the time for that has passed.

More sickening is the impression that the exiles are being used as pawns and their return to South Africa made subject to the whims and political stratagems of the government.

Remorseful

If it is remorseful and penitent about apartheid and its consequences, as claimed by Deputy Minister Leon Wessels in Stockholm recently, it should be in the forefront to remove all obstacles delaying the return of the exiles. In fact, the cost of resettlement must be borne by a government largely responsible for the flight to foreign lands by so many of our people.

The government's cynicism reached new heights this week when it refused to grant in-

demnity to the first batch of 3 000 exiles the African National Congress wishes to bring home in terms of the Pretoria Minute.

In order to score points and attempt to dictate the pace of the negotiation process, the government is toying with the lives of thousands of South Africans.

Sacrificed

Political prisoners and exiles — the people who have sacrificed the most to eradicate apartheid — are now told to wait while at the same time the pain of their relatives, all with heightened expectations, are prolonged. This week many family reunions were dashed.

It is now time to repair the ravages of war and dissent. Time for exiles to return and make a contribution to building a new South Africa.

It is time this government stop toying with the lives of South African people and show their country and the world that they are seriously committed to a negotiated settlement in this country.

Sorry, UN, our laager mentality is still at work

11/10/90

330

South Africans on both sides of the negotiating table are reluctant to accept help from the United Nations with the repatriation of exiles. MARK GEVISSER reports

In refugee circles they call Thorvald Stoltenberg "the High Priest". You simply do not move large groups of people from one country to another without his assistance and protection as United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

His agency has moved Ethiopians and Estonians; it has protected Cambodians and Chadians. It repatriated Zimbabweans in 1980 and Namibians in 1990.

The way things are going though, he won't be assisting South Africa. Despite the willingness of the UNHCR to supervise the repatriation of South Africa's 100 000 exiles, and despite the advice of countries which have had similar experiences, both the African National Congress and the government are showing a marked reluctance to involve an outside organisation that functions as a supra-state.

Namibian leaders have urged their South African counterparts, in no uncertain terms, to involve the UN. But, says the ANC, the UN was needed in Namibia because the Namibian people were not involved at all in the process. In South Africa, on the other hand, the liberation movement is in direct negotiation with the government: there is no need for a mediator.

The government is still prickly about the role the UN played in easing South Africa out of its only colony. Officials are worried that involving the UN will lose FW de Klerk vital support on his right flank: it will seem too much like he is relinquishing sovereignty over South Africa, just as Botha relinquished sovereignty over Namibia.

There's a major difference between South Africa and Namibia, though. The Swapo returnees came back to vote in an election and assume their rightful positions as self-determining Namibians. The South Africans are coming back to fight in a struggle that has yet to be won. Rather than the result of negotiations, they are part of its process.

Although the UNHCR was involved in bringing exiles back to Namibia, the UN agency that supervised independence was Untag, the

United Nations Transitional Assistance Group, and it did just what its name says: assisted in the transition from one system to another.

But the UNHCR is a humanitarian organisation with no political affiliation — it acts independently of the UN General Assembly — and one sole mandate: to look after the world's displaced people. In the South African context, this would mean transporting the exiles here on UN travel documents and guaranteeing their well-being once they arrived. Regardless of who they are or what they believe.

The UNHCR's primary function is that of protection: setting the terms of indemnity and policing indemnity once the exiles return. Both sides are correct in saying that this function is not needed in South Africa: the working group arising from the Pretoria Minute is taking care of it. But already glitches in the arrangement of travel documents are delaying the return of the first 3 000 exiles.

South Africa doesn't have missions in Tanzania and Zambia; the ANC doesn't have money to fly exiles home. The UN, on the other hand, has the mechanism to document exiles in their home countries and the resources to bring them back. It could handle everything, from background and medical checks to plane tickets.

But a UN source sympathetic to South Africa says that "the UNHCR's involvement with the Southern African liberation movements has reflected more and more the politics of the General Assembly". He says documentation has proved that funds raised by the High Commission were channelled directly to Swapo and the ANC, and the movements were not held accountable for this money, even though it is in the UNHCR's constitution to supervise all projects.

And so the problem, on the government's side, is the perception that the UN is far from impartial. This, after all, is the international body that isolated South Africa in the first place.

At the height of the township violence last month, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha was asked whether he thought a United Nations Peacekeeping Force should come in to quell things. "The government will certainly not allow any foreign forces to undertake operations within the borders of the country," he said. "That is just not on!" One could hear, lurking beneath the surface of his bluster, the government's indignation at calling upon an age-old enemy for any help.

When discussions were happening over whether or not to involve the UNHCR in Namibia, the South Africans were initially sceptical because of the Commission's obvious bias towards Swapo. They stated, at the

time, that this would create animosity towards the returnees by non-Swapo Namibians. "They eventually realised, though," says the UN source, "that the UN was best placed to contact people and to facilitate travel."

There are many in the government who believe that having an organisation with the UNHCR's experience is so critical that it warrants reconciliation with the UN.

There is also general concern, on both sides, about the UNHCR costs. "The amount of money they would spend here just running their operation," said one church official involved in repatriation, "could be put to much better use actually providing returnees with food and shelter. They bring expertise, for sure, but we already have a lot of that here."

But if the UNHCR burns a lot of cash, it generates much more and, as we know from the calls of poverty emanating from the ANC, it is money, more than anything, that is needed: the World Council of Churches has estimated that R3 500 will be needed to resettle each returning exile; the ANC says R5 000.

The UN's resources — both financial and technical — are needed not only because of the magnitude of this operation, but because of its complexity. "We've got a hundred thousand people scattered all over the globe, and they're coming back not in one batch but staggered over time, perhaps over years. There's been nothing like it. You need an organisation with the manpower and the experience of UNHCR," said one seasoned expert in the "migration assistance" business.

There's something of that age-old laager mentality at work in South Africa at present: we'll draw our ox-wagons close and keep our problems to ourselves.

It is true that South African control would be relinquished to a large extent if the UNHCR came in: the UNHCR, and not the government or the ANC or some combination thereof, would supervise the process. But given how much other work both sides have to do, perhaps a little delegation of responsibility to highly qualified professionals is in order.

With forms like these, who needs indemnities?

SOMEWHERE in Tanzania, sometime in early October. Pen poised, Comrade "Sizwe" sits face to face with the document that will bring him home. The East African sun glints off the "Application for Indemnity" before him, the first official South African document he has seen since he threw his *dompas* into the Limpopo river in 1976. He shakes his head with incredulity. Has nothing changed?

Well, the first few questions are simple. He'll put in his real name, of course, even though he hasn't used it since he left, and for his address he'll write "c/o ANC, Tanzania".

But here comes a difficult one: "South African Identity Number". No way he'll remember that. It's cavorting with the crocodiles somewhere on the bed of the Limpopo. Oh well, he'll make one up.

But how is he going to answer this one? "Furnish sufficient particulars of the event(s) in respect of which indemnity is sought." Well, at least that parenthetical "s" acknowledges that he might have committed more than one "event" against the South African state. That's the problem. He's committed several.

Must he admit, on a signed document that will be handed to the authorities, his record of resistance, from the first time he read a dog-eared copy of the Commu-

An official application form has been issued to ANC members wishing to return. But, as MARK GEVISSER discovers, it's not that easy to complete...

nist Manifesto to the odd power-station explosion to which he contributed?

First of all, he'll never be able to fit it into the eight dotted lines allocated, and second, how will he know that it won't be used against him and the movement? Whether or not they grant him indemnity, there'll be a lovely little dossier on him in The Blue Hotel. Should he lie?

Here's a much more exciting one: "Applicant's motivation for regarding said action(s) as political". At last, an opportunity to tell those *boere* what I think. But then reality hits him like a *konsta-bel's* knobkerrie. He sees himself at the dock, a red-faced judge glaring at him. No way. He'll have to leave this one blank too.

He looks at the last question: "If applicant currently resides outside the RSA, state (a) date of departure (b) point of departure". He laughs out loud. "Put it this way," he writes, "it certainly wasn't Beit Bridge."

ANC exiles' return negotiated

Special Correspondent

330

agreement. 7/10/90

TENSION between the government and the ANC about the security situation could soon be eased as a result of various positive developments during the past week.

In Pretoria, Umkhonto we Sizwe Chief of Staff Chris Hani took his place without any hassles as leader of the ANC's delegation which negotiated with a government delegation on, among other things, the return of exiles and the release of political prisoners.

Tomorrow the government will announce particulars of the agreement reached with the ANC on the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said on Friday the joint working group of the government and the ANC, which was constituted in accordance with the Groote Schuur Minute, had finalised this

agreement. According to the agreement, ANC prisoners whose offences were of a political nature, will be released in groups over a period.

The first ANC exiles – including women and children – will soon return to South Africa. They will not include the large majority of ANC members who have received military training abroad and who have committed criminal offences.

Full particulars on the definition of what constitutes a political offence, which had already been agreed upon by the joint working group before the signing of the Pretoria Minute, will also be released tomorrow.

The agreement on political prisoners provides for the formulation of guidelines which will apply to the handling of members of all organisations, groups or institutions who have committed offences on the supposition that they

were promoting or opposing a specific cause.

According to the Pretoria Minute, the process of release of prisoners and the return of exiles must be completed not later than April 30 next year.

■ The joint working group of the ANC and the government – which investigates the practical implications of the ANC's undertaking to suspend its armed struggle – met again in Pretoria on Friday.

The presence of Hani, who is also a member of the ANC's National Executive Council, especially aroused interest after the government had withdrawn his indemnity against prosecution in August after a series of contentious pronouncements.

He was again granted indemnity the week before last. Hani returned to South Africa from Transkei a week ago.

No statement has been released.

0 Set 2/10/90 330

No clemency for future crimes – FW

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — A cut-off date of midnight yesterday has been set for political exiles involved in illegal or criminal events when the Government considers clemency and indemnity, President de Klerk has made clear.

He clarified the position of clemency and indemnity after the latest round of talks with the leadership of the African National Congress (ANC) in Cape Town yesterday.

The talks ended on a conciliatory note, with a re-dedication to negotiation.

The Government is to consider ANC submissions on the detention of some of its members, Mr de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela announced in a joint statement after the Cape Town talks.

Mr de Klerk pointed out that the process of indemnity might apply more widely than ANC-related individuals only.

This process would be activated after the ANC had accepted a report of a joint working group on indemnity.



President de Klerk . . . stipulated conditions.

Mr de Klerk stipulated the following conditions:

- That no pending or current legal process was suspended by this announcement.
- That no indemnity for anyone or for any event or offence was granted automatically.
- That application for indemnity must be made

through predetermined channels, and only those who fell within the guidelines for "political offences" would qualify for indemnity. The same applied for the release of prisoners.

"In this regard, 45 prisoners have been released since August 6, and 15 more will be released this week. This accords with the spirit of the Pretoria Minute," Mr de Klerk said.

"The Minister of Justice, H J Coetsee, will announce the relevant procedures, guidelines and related matters by Friday," he added.

The statement referred only indirectly to Mr Mandela's previous allegations about a "third force" of Government officials who he claimed were provoking bloodshed in the townships.

"A review in depth was made of the present spate of violence in South Africa. Both sides reaffirmed the need to keep the negotiation process on course, and to act in such a way as to sustain and strengthen the atmosphere of trust necessary to achieve this objective."

ANC unhappy about indemnity cut-off move

Star 9/10/90 (A) 330

By Kaizer Nyatsumba,
Political Staff

The ANC was unhappy today about some details announced by President de Klerk regarding the indemnity cut-off effect from midnight yesterday.

It said a number of vital issues remained to be thrashed out by the two parties' joint working group.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said the ANC was unhappy about three of the four stipulations made by Mr de Klerk. The organisation would raise these issues through the joint working group.

Miss Marcus said the ANC believed people either on trial or facing trial for politically related offences had to be covered by yesterday's clemency and immunity deadline. Consequently, their prosecution would have to be halted.

While the ANC accepted that the

granting of indemnity would not be automatic, it insisted that the process of indemnifying returning exiles had to be as quick and smooth as possible. If all 20 000 exiles had to submit individual applications, the result would "a long and painfully slow process".

The ANC also responded to Mr de Klerk's statement in Port Elizabeth yesterday that it was not meeting its obligations in terms of the Pretoria Minute which stipulated that all armed action and related activities were suspended.

Miss Marcus said a difference of interpretation was responsible for the misunderstanding. As far as the ANC was concerned, the suspension of the armed struggle did not mean an end to recruiting and training Umkhonto weSizwe members.

● Clemency deadline — Page 3.

Details of talks to be made known

330
Sowetan
9/10/90

DETAILS of the deliberations by the working group set up by the ANC and Government on the definition of "political" offences and the return of exiles, may be released in Pretoria this week, a Government spokesman said in Pretoria on Monday.

He said suggestions that a report of the working group would be released on Monday were "speculative".

The group was established in terms of the Groote Schuur Minute.

The African National Congress nominated as its members Jacob Zuma, Penuel Maduna, Joe Nhlanhla, Aziz Pahad, Matthews

Phosa and Sipho Ndlovu, while the Government's group is headed by Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee.

The group was charged with the formulation of guidelines for the release of political prisoners and the granting of immunity in respect of "political offences" committed inside and outside South Africa.

Rejected

A row developed last week when the Government charged that information supplied on 3 000 ANC exiles was incomplete, while ANC officials rejected the format of a Government questionnaire exiles are required to complete in order to qualify for indemnity. - Sapa



Titus Hendricks is carried shoulder high from Cowley House in Woodstock after he and 14 other ANC members were released from Robben Island yesterday. Hendricks, from Paarl, was sentenced to seven years imprisonment for terrorism in 1986. The released men called for "all peace loving South Africans" to support the "peace initiative" and urged ANC members to "give peace a chance". They called on government to quickly remove all remaining obstacles so that negotiations could begin in earnest. Picture: REUTERS

ANC slams government for stand on political offences

THE ANC and government appeared to be at odds yesterday over aspects of the report by their joint working group on political offences.

The ANC accused President FW de Klerk of going "totally against" the Pretoria Minute by saying that legal processes already under way would not be suspended after his announcement of October 8 as the cut-off date for indemnity from prosecution for political offences.

The organisation added that De Klerk's statement also "cuts across the letter and spirit" of the report by the joint government/ANC working group on political offences and indemnity-related issues.

It said in a strongly worded statement that it and the still-secret working group report believed that no one should be imprisoned or in enforced exile after a cut-off date was determined.

Government is expected to release the contents of the report tomorrow. The working group was set up after the Groote Schuur summit in May to consider the question of indemnifying and releasing ANC-related political prisoners and exiles

— one of the major obstacles to negotiations identified by the ANC.

The ANC said that according to its understanding of the report, once a cut-off date had been established all political prisoners would be released and legal proceedings stopped "forthwith". Government would also be obliged to grant unconditional indemnity to all those guilty of political offences, whether inside or outside SA.

The ANC described government's call for people to surrender arms as being counter to Paragraph 3 of the Pretoria Minute in terms of which another joint working group was established to resolve outstanding issues relating to the ANC's suspension of the armed struggle.

"The fate of our arms is an issue which is being addressed by this working group, led by NEC member and MK Chief of Staff Chris Hani," the statement said.

□ The ANC claimed yesterday there were still 3 500 political prisoners, and 358 political trials were under way.

PETER DELMAR
and ALAN FINE

20 DECEMBER
1990

YOUR REF:

Mrs. D.

Christians/kar

Mrs.

Christians

Administrative

Offices

UCT

Dear Madam

Re : Letter

of

appointment

Receipt of
your letter
dated 10
December
1990 is
hereby
acknowledged
and the
contents
thereof

Exile South 11/10-17/10/90 confusion



Imam Hassan Solomons, member of the exiles' reception committee

330

By REHANA ROSSOUW and MUSA NDWANDWE

INSTEAD of providing clarity to thousands of exiles hoping to return home within days, the meeting between State President F W de Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela has sowed even more confusion.

In countries throughout the world, exiles are still in the dark

about who comes home first and how it will happen.

Exiles say they do not know what criteria were used by the ANC to draw up a list of almost 6 000 people they want indemnified.

"Let me put it this way: none of us is packing our bags yet," said the ANC's spokesperson in Lusaka, Mr Tom Sebina.

Sebina said exiles had assumed that there would be a general amnesty from October 1.

They had since discovered from South African newspaper reports that indemnity would not be automatic.

"All we know is what we read in the press," Sebina said.

Criteria

"We read that there is a list of 3 000 names handed to the government but we don't know who in the ANC drew up the list or what criteria were used.

"As far as I know, not a single exile in Lusaka has been informed that his name is on a list."

Sebina said he had heard the list would be published in a Government Gazette this week.

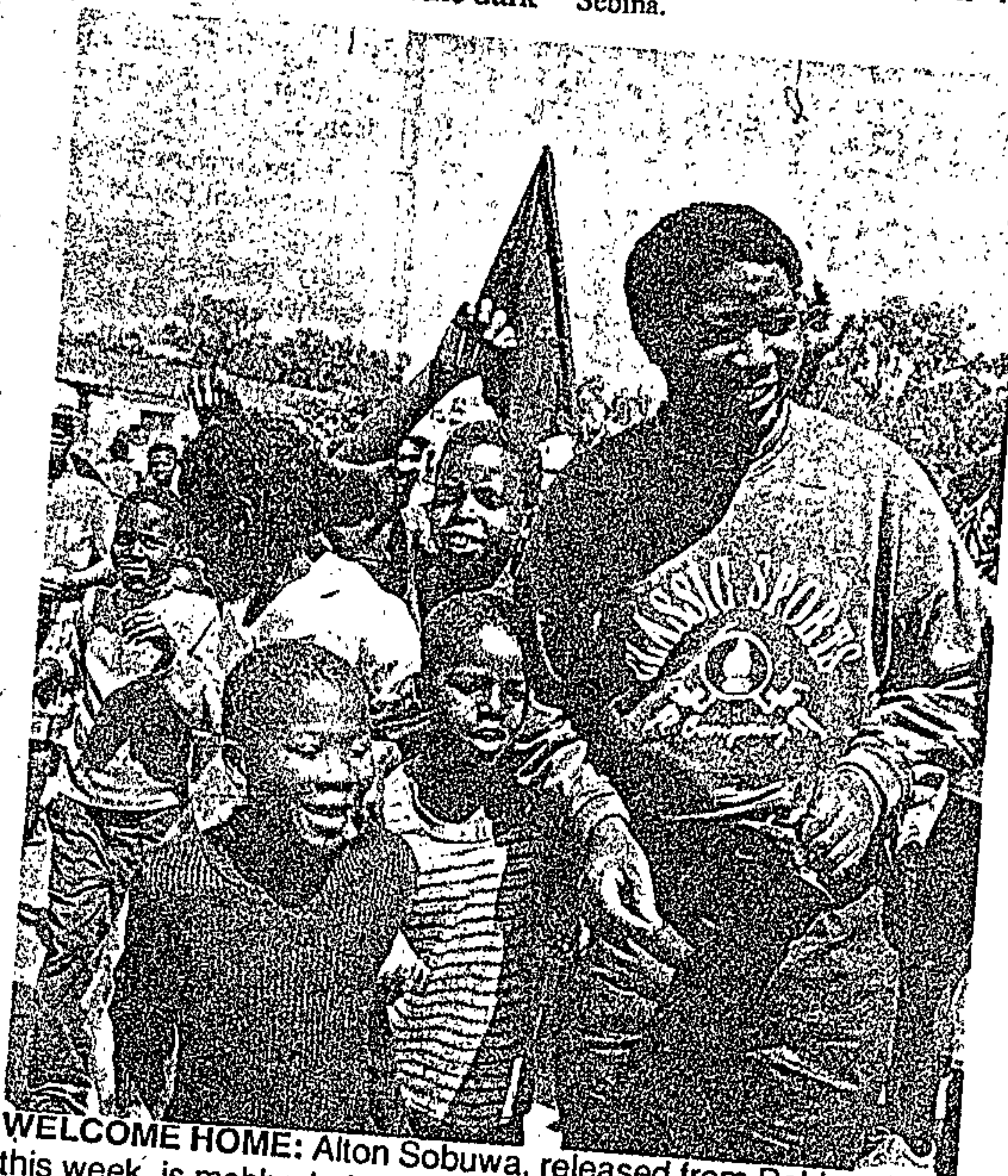
MOIRA LEVY reports from London that exiles in the United Kingdom were as unclear on the question of automatic indemnity.

Setback

The National Coordination Committee for Repatriation (NCC) reports that the ANC has added further names to the list of exiles they want indemnified, bringing the total to almost 6 000.

However, the committee has suffered a serious setback in its planning for a big homecoming as its coffers are virtually empty, according to committee member, Imam Hassan Solomons.

At a two-day meeting attended by representatives from 19 regions this week, members decided they would approach business and traders' associations in a bid to alleviate the crisis.



WELCOME HOME: Alton Sobhuza, released from Robben Island this week, is mobbed after returning to Nyanga East

● The great rush home — See page 7

Turmoil in softball ranks

Imam: Lack of funds hampers preparations

By MUSA NDWANDWE

THE number of South African exiles expected to return to the country in the next two weeks has risen from 3 00 to 6 000, but preparations are being hampered by a serious lack of funds.

In a two-day meeting of the national coordination committee (NCC) to oversee the repatriation, held in Johannesburg, major drawbacks in planning for the big homecoming were treated "in a very serious light".

The meeting was attended by representatives from 19 regions countrywide.

Coffers

"It would appear that we will have tremendous difficulty with finances," said Imam Hassan Solomon, Western Cape regional chairman, who attended the meeting.

"According to our finance secretary, our coffers are virtually empty," he said.

The Western Cape region is expecting about 600 people, but plans to accom-



Imam Solomons

modate them at a building in District Six are being braked because of the financial situation, says Ms Buyiswa Jack, another Western Cape delegate to the meeting.

The critical situation has forced the NCC to reconsider its strategies and target existing government facilities for use in the repatriation process.

"To maximise our presently scarce resources, we should use government resources that belong to our people, after all," said Solomon.

For this to be successful, cooperation between liberation movements was necessary. (330)

"We must be sensitive to other liberation movements' objections towards the government," he said

Jack said business and traders' associations in the Western Cape would be approached "as a matter of urgency" to help alleviate the crisis.

Employment

Apart from finance and accommodation, employment for the returning exile is also a problem. "Employment task forces will approach employers regionally to make jobs available," said Mr Moss Chikane, coordinator of regions of the NCC.

The date for returning has not been given but speculation is rife that people will be flying in before the end of the month.

Meanwhile the Western Cape region of the NCC has appealed to the public to donate old furniture to the Western Province Council of Churches offices at Community House in Salt River.

South 11/10 - 17/10/10

The great rush home

South 11/10 - 17/10/90

From BULELWA PAYI
and BEVERLEY GARSON
GRAHAMSTOWN. —

Groups preparing for the return of the exiles are still battling to get the machinery in place to receive them.

The first exiles had been expected early this month, but their return was delayed after a row over the way in which indemnity is granted.

Mr Jackie Selebi of the ANC said the movement hoped the first group would arrive in South Africa by the end of the month.

Meanwhile, committees involved in the issue are struggling to get ready for the returnees. Ms Venita Meyer, spokesperson for the national coordinating committee on repatriation, said the committee was behind schedule with its preparations.

Homelessness

While the return of the first group of exiles was imminent, uncertainty still surrounded accommodation and employment for them.

"We are expecting the first group of exiles to arrive soon and we are still behind with our plans to welcome them, but we are fast moving forward," she said.

The South African Council of Churches says 40 000 returnees are expected. About 40 percent of these are expected to return to the Eastern Cape, a region where levels of unemployment and homelessness are already high.

Organisers have warned that exiles cannot expect instant jobs and houses. "We can't afford to buy houses for everyone who is returning; we can only provide temporary accommodation.



Then they will have to stand in housing queues like everyone else," Meyer said. It was the responsibility of the government to provide housing for the exiles.

Monthly grants would be given to the exiles for a limited period of time.

"These people will have to look for jobs to support themselves. Fortunately, many companies and universities have contacted us to tell us they were keen to give jobs to those exiles who are return-

ing with skills.

"It won't be a problem for exiles returning with skills to find employment, but those with a lower standard of education — like the men who were trained to be soldiers — might find it more difficult," Meyer said.

Meyer said there would be primary centres where people could stay for a day and secondary centres where they could stay a little longer. These two centres would later be combined.

Attention is also being given to problems of psychological readjustment, both for the exiles and the families they will be returning to, with counselling being organised. A five-day workshop on counselling was held in Durban at the beginning of October.

"We are guarding against any conflict by proper planning, but if it occurs it will have to be resolved at a local, regional or — if there is no solution — national level," Meyer said.

The Eastern Cape chairperson of the repatriation committee, the Reverend Mcebisi Xundu, said committees have been set up in all Eastern Cape region where exiles were expected. The committees would look at issues of health, employment, education, accommodation, communication, transport and finance for the returnees.

Clarke said: "We see our role as creating an environment that will be receptive for the returning exiles."

Committees in small towns of the Albany region are trying to get figure on how many people left their area and to look at available resources to welcome them back.

The Port Elizabeth town clerk, Mr Pat Botha, said the municipality was in the process of looking for land in the metropolitan area which could be used for building houses for the returnees.

However, the municipality was waiting for figures on the number of exiles returning to the area.

Education

"It's extremely difficult to start planning because we do not know what to come group those people belong to. We do not know whether some will prefer to buy property or opt for low-income housing."

In the Border, preparations are under way. According to Mr Phila Ngqumb of the communication sub-committee of the Border's repatriation committee, 45 exiles are expected to return this month.

The committee was looking for accommodation and jobs for them and was trying to find out which exiles had a technical education.

"While we will attempt to look for accommodation for the returnees, it is the government's responsibility to provide the exiles with houses," Ngqumb said. — ANA

Homecoming prospects look bleak for thousands of exiles

By JO-ANNE COLLINGS 12/10 - 19/10/90

ONLY a narrow range of political exiles is likely to be granted unconditional immunity from prosecution in the near future, while thousands seeking to return to South Africa will have to submit to a process of individual scrutiny in which the State President holds an unassailable final say.

This is the implication of the report of the joint government-ANC working group mandated in terms of the Pretoria Minute to plan the phased release of political prisoners and the return of exiles.

While a "consulting body" — whose composition has not yet been announced — may receive appeals against refusals of indemnity by the government, its powers extend no further than "advising" the state president.

And, although ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma yesterday denied that the organisation had agreed to its members detailing in application forms the acts for which they required amnesty, it appears the working group has a substantial check-list of information applicants will have to provide.

This is likely to be clarified today when Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee make a formal announcement on the report and the amnesty and clemency procedures.

Earlier this week President FW de Klerk announced that "clemency and indemnity will only be considered for involvement in events which have taken place before noon on October 8".

The working group report recommends in relation to exiles that:

● The state president grant "unconditional indemnity" to those whose sole

offence was to leave South Africa illegally.

● The government receive recommendations on other categories of exiles to be eligible for unconditional indemnity, in line with the mutually accepted definition of a political offence.

If these proposals are accepted, any trained member of Umkhonto weSizwe — even if not deployed inside South Africa — will not be immediately cleared for unconditional amnesty.

There is considerable interest in whether such statutory political offences as terrorism and subversion, as defined in the Internal Security Act, will be added to the categorised list.

The working group's report also suggests that only a limited number of political prisoners will qualify in terms of parole and reduction of sentence.

Where uncertainty exists about convictions for murder, arson, or public violence — common law offences which may be rendered "political", the final

decision vests with the government and a specially constituted advisory body.

So far, according to the ANC, no more than 60 political prisoners have been released since talks began.

The ANC has also attacked the government for failing to suspend political trials already under way.

It asked this week: "What is the logic of determining a cut-off date (for amnesty) and in the same breath pursuing legal processes or continuing to punish those whose only crime is their opposition to the criminal system of apartheid?"

The HRC reckons that there were at least 290 political trials in progress or pending in September.



FW de Klerk has final say

Big firms will hire exiles on merit'

BRIAN SOKUTU

SOME of the country's major industries this week said they would employ returning exiles on merit, regardless of qualifications obtained from Eastern bloc countries.

Premier Group spokesman Barbara Bester said Premier would "welcome additional skilled people in the South African job market and would certainly give them every opportunity to join the group if vacancies exist and their skills are appropriate".

Shell said the company had not yet been approached by any organisation with a specific request to employ returning exiles.

"However, we are quite willing to look at all applicants for jobs and match their qualifications and experience against those required for the employment opportunities we have available at the time."

Toyota said it used the Human Sciences Research Council to establish the local level of competence of job applicants with foreign qualifications.

Said De Beers spokesman Andrew Lamont: "Our policy remains that we will continue to select and recruit individuals on the basis of merit that the job requires."

Row delays return exiles'

Capt Tins

13/10/90

330

THE growing row between the government and the ANC took a serious turn last night when the Minister of Justice effectively stopped the process for the return of exiles and the release of political prisoners.

Following the ANC's accusation on Thursday of a breach of faith by President F W de Klerk, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, last night declined to release the guidelines on "political" offences until the ANC had cleared up press statements by "faceless and apparently uninformed ANC spokesmen".

Inside:

DE KLERK: EUROPE HAS TO HELP RESCUE AFRICA

See PAGE 3

And in Pretoria, a government spokesman confirmed that this "may delay" the further release of "political" prisoners and the return of exiles.

Mr Coetsee was apparently referring to allegations by the ANC's Mr Saki Macozoma and Ms Gill Marcus on Thursday that the government had committed a breach of faith by releasing information stemming from

Monday's meeting with the ANC in Cape Town.

Mr Coetsee said in Pretoria last night that the government would have released the guidelines yesterday.

"It is, however, not possible to proceed with the announcement of these guidelines and related procedures until clarity is reached on certain press statements by faceless and apparently uninformed ANC spokesmen, nevertheless purporting to be official."

Mr Coetsee said these pronouncements appeared to be in direct conflict with the Groote Schuur Minute, the Pretoria Minute and the working group reports accepted by the ANC.

He said the decision had been conveyed to the ANC.

"The government is ready to proceed ac-

cording to the letter and spirit of these documents once the ANC has clarified their press statements in this regard."

The ANC said that differences between itself and the government would be taken up at unspecified discussions between the two parties.

According to a placatory ANC statement released by its Department of Information and Publicity last night, the ANC was seeking only the full implementation of the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes as agreed to between the government and the ANC.

"The ANC has taken note of the press statement released by Mr Coetsee today and the issues it raises," the ANC statement said.

To page 2

P.T.O.

From page 1

The statement added: "The ANC is encouraged that Mr Coetsee has stated that the government is ready to proceed according to the letter and spirit of the reports of the working groups to which both parties have agreed."

"The faithful implementation of the agreements is all the ANC has been seeking," the statement concluded.

Mr De Klerk on Thursday denied that the government had betrayed a confidence, but said: "However unjust their statement is, we'll deal with it in a manner which can never negatively affect the negotiation process."

Mr De Klerk, currently on a European visit, said he hoped the ANC leadership would also refrain from any act or statement which would unnecessarily endanger the process.

In Lisbon, Mr De Klerk last night appealed to



Mr Kobie Coetsee

the ANC not to endanger the negotiation process.

Speaking to reporters during a one-day visit to Portugal, Mr De Klerk said the ANC attack was

"totally unwarranted".

"The government has no strategy to undermine the ANC. I strongly reject the accusation that there was a breach of faith on the government side and make a plea for them not to act in any way that would endanger the negotiation process."

He complained that the ANC showed incoherence by making conflicting statements from time to time.

"There is a problem of dualism within the ANC and still an adherence in certain circles to the armed struggle," he said.

The documents which Mr Coetsee referred to are the working group report dealing with the definition of political offences, which will determine which prisoners are to be released, and a report detailing a plan for their release and the granting of indemnity to returning exiles. — Sapa-Reuter

CAPE TIMES 15/10/90

Mbeki denies ANC repatriation 'foul-up'

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The repatriation of an estimated 30 000 exiled ANC members is not being headed by Mrs Winnie Mandela but by Mr Jackie Selebi, a member of the organisation's National Executive Committee, Mr Thabo Mbeki, said yesterday.

In a letter to the Independent on Sunday yesterday, the ANC secretary for international affairs also denied a series of allegations of mismanagement of the repatriation process, made by columnist R W Johnson, who is Fellow in Politics at Magdalen College, Oxford.

Mr Mbeki said that at the ANC's initiative, a National Co-ordinating Committee on Repatriation of South African exiles (NCC) was established in South Africa.

"Detailed discussions have begun

with donor governments regarding disbursement of funds they have voted for the repatriation process. These funds were requested by the ANC but will, in the main, be disbursed through the NCC."

This counters Mr Johnson's claim that Mrs Mandela would find herself "handling large sums of money for distribution to various exiles".

He also denied a claim by Mr Johnson that census forms distributed to exiles contained a "loyalty pledge" to the ANC.

On a further claim that the ANC was about to "mess up" the whole repatriation process, Mr Mbeki said: "We are taking all necessary steps to ensure that no mess occurs, precisely because we are dealing with the lives and welfare of human beings who have already suffered pain because of exile."

ANC to
request
indemnity
for 6 000

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG —
The ANC will soon submit to government the names of 6 000 of its exiled supporters needing indemnity — double the previous number it hoped would be allowed to return immediately to SA.

A spokesman for the National Co-ordinating Committee (NCC), which is overseeing repatriation and reception plans, confirmed the number of exiles expected to return.

ANC sources said yesterday that all but a handful of the exiles expected to return soon were guilty only of leaving the country illegally.

They predicted that the ANC would decide today or tomorrow how to respond to the government's decision on Friday not to release the joint working group reports on political offences, indemnity, and the release of prisoners.

PETER DELMAR

THE ANC will soon submit to government the names of 6 000 exiled supporters needing indemnity — double the previous number it hoped would be allowed to return to SA immediately.

A spokesman for the National Co-ordinating Committee (NCC), overseeing repatriation and reception plans, confirmed that the number of exiles expected to return after receiving government's go-ahead had doubled to about 6 000.

The NCC was also facing a shortage of funds. Only half the R8m pledged by foreign donors for its short-term budget had been forthcoming and it was operating on a small grant from Australia.

ANC sources said all but a few of the

6 000 ANC exiles on indemnity list

exiles expected to return in the next few months were guilty only of having left SA illegally.

They predicted the ANC would decide today or tomorrow how to respond to government's decision on Friday not to release the joint working group reports on political offences, indemnity and the release of prisoners.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee decided not to release the reports after an ANC attack on President F W de Klerk's integrity and its release of details of the ANC/government summit on October 8.

Latest talks end anger over exiles

CM 748
17/10/90

330

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA. — A meeting of the joint ANC/government working group on political offences yesterday effectively ended last week's slanging match between the two sides, sources said.

The sources described the discussions here as "constructive" and said it was likely that the group's report would be released by the government next week.

It appeared that differences in interpretation, which contributed to last week's hiccup in the process, had been ironed out and the mechanism for the further release of prisoners and return of exiles would be set in motion soon.

Sources said the differences had largely concerned whether it would be necessary for each individual candidate for indemnity to provide detailed information, or whether many could be dealt with collectively.

The report is expected to be submitted to the leadership of both organisations after changes have been made.

● The working group dealing with the ANC's suspension of the armed struggle also met here yesterday.

Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Mr Chris Hani led the ANC delegation for the first time, while Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok headed the government side.

It is understood that Umkhonto commander Mr Joe Modise and ANC information chief Mr Pallo Jordan did not attend.

ANC in big drive for funds to aid exiles

330
Sowetan 19/10/90

THE African National Congress is planning a multi-million-rand drive to widen its financial base to provide special assistance programmes to help its members returning from years of exile.

ANC head of finance Mr Vusi Khanyile said yesterday that businessmen and companies would be approached, "along with all levels of society".

Khanyile also confirmed that members of the ANC executive committee were having discussions with overseas experts about the creation of a special new develop-

ment bank.

He stressed that the proposed bank was not intended to serve the ANC alone.

"It will be a new financial institution to mobilise funds for development projects aimed at the encouragement of a transformation in society as a whole."

Khanyile denied reports that the organisation had already approached specific corporate giants.

Talks between various business leaders and the ANC executive committee so far had centred on an exchange of views about political changes and the shape of a new society, he said.

However, businessmen and companies would be invited to contribute to the fund-raising programme when it was launched at national level.

"The ANC needs funds for a wide range of requirements. We still need to tackle improvements in the ANC infrastructure as a legal entity in the country and put the movement in a position where it can carry out its full political responsibilities."

South African Chamber of Business said:

"The question of which political parties to fund - whether black or white - is a decision which companies alone must take."

R270m needed for exiles

THE repatriation of all SA political exiles could cost up to R270m, figures supplied by ANC treasury department head Vusi Khanyile show.

In a discussion on the ANC's fundraising activities, Khanyile said the organisation was working on a figure of about R13 500 to resettle each of the estimated 20 000 exiles. This included their maintenance for their first few months back home.

Khanyile described yesterday's report that the ANC was approaching the SA business community for funding as "premature".

He said the ANC's national internal fundraising strategy was still being developed.

He said deputy president Nelson Mandela and other senior ANC leaders had met many SA business leaders for discussions on a wide range of issues and it was "unfair to reduce that contact to ANC fundraising activity". He added that he was not saying that there would not be fundraising from business.

"An organisation of our size and nature needs a broad base for generating income to fund a multitude of activities. An important one is to rebuild it as a legal move-

ALAN FINE

ment. Another is the repatriation programme, and it also has ongoing commitments outside SA.

"It also has an obligation to the broader SA community, for example, political intervention to contribute to a climate conducive to a negotiated settlement — like defusing violence around the country.

"For this we will tap all possible sources of funds including donations from individuals and business."

Asked whether he believed ANC policy was compatible with the interests of large business organisations, Khanyile said: "The ANC has worked out its policies. People who share these views are free to support us. If they decide it is not in their interests that is their choice."

He said among issues discussed with businessmen was the question of their employing returning exiles.

Khanyile said while the ANC's income had not fallen significantly since being unbanned, these new activities meant its financial needs had risen substantially.

● Comment: Page 12

B/Daw 19/10/90

UN body could help return 20 000 exiles

TIM COHEN

330

THE UN High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) is conditionally prepared to repatriate SA's 20 000 political exiles — and its price tag is substantially less than the ANC's R270m. *23/10/90*

UNHCR spokesman Raymond Hall said yesterday the organisation had held talks with the ANC and government and could well be involved in the repatriation of exiles, under the right conditions.

Speaking from Geneva, Hall said the UNHCR was not yet involved in large-scale repatriation because no general amnesty had been granted, institutional discrimination still existed and the organisation did not have a presence in SA.

Figures supplied by ANC treasury department head Vusi Khanyile show that the repatriation of exiles could cost up to R270m, working on a figure of about R13 500 to resettle each person.

The UNHCR said yesterday the expensive repatriation of Namibian refugees had cost the organisation about \$600 per person. If the repatriation of SA exiles costs the same, the UNHCR's bill will come to about R30,4m.

One possible reason for the large discrepancy is that the ANC hopes to provide exiles with permanent accommodation, while the UNHCR will provide only tented accommodation as an interim measure if the Namibian model is followed.

Hall said the UNHCR had already been involved in the repatriation of small numbers of refugees with the assistance of the

□ To Page 2

Exiles

23/10/90

330

□ From Page 1

International Committee of the Red Cross.

If the UNHCR were to become involved, it would only do so if it could ensure the safety and welfare of the refugees on their return.

The organisation would have to be sure that the safety and welfare of the returned refugees was guaranteed before it became involved, he said.

If it did, it would be necessary for the organisation to open an office in SA.

Hall said the repatriation of Namibian refugees was expensive compared with other repatriation efforts because an air bridge had had to be undertaken over southern Angola and because the repatriation had had to happen quickly for the

refugees to be able to register as voters in time.

SA exiles could be repatriated by road, which would make the project much cheaper, but monitoring the progress of returned exiles could increase the cost.

Meanwhile the ANC NEC yesterday welcomed the report that progress has been made in resolving the differences between the ANC and government on the return of exiles and said it looked forward to the speedy implementation of the relevant provisions of the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes.

The NEC also received an interim financial report and agreed the organisation was faced with a serious shortage of resources relative to the challenges it faced.

Tabata's widow in bid to bury husband at home

By MUSA NDWANDWE *South 18/10 - 24/10/90*
THE bereaved 86-year-old widow of former president of the Unity Movement of South Africa (Umsa) Mr Bangani Tabata who died last weekend, is involved in a battle to secure indemnity which will enable her to attend her husband's funeral in the Eastern Cape.

Lawyers for the Unity Movement have approached the South African Trade Mission in Harare to clear the way for Tabata's Cape Town-born wife, Ms Jane Gool, and several other Unity Movement members to enter the country to bury their former president.

Funeral arrangements have already been delayed because it is not certain whether Gool and Tabata's colleagues will be indemnified from prosecution and arrest.

He died after a long illness. The funeral will take place in Lexington near Queenstown. If Gool fails in her bid for indemnity, the funeral will take place in Harare, where Tabata, 81, died last weekend.

"The movement's leaders and members, including Mrs Tabata, who want to come to the funeral are all liable for prosecution," said Mr Alan Wilcox, spokesperson for Umsa.

He could not say how many people were expected to attend next week's funeral.

"Nothing has been finalised yet," said Mr Ali Fataar, spokesperson for the New Unity Movement in Harare. Tabata, whose political career spanned 60 years, was born in Bailey near Queenstown in the Cape. A founder member of Umsa in 1935, he was also president of the African People's Democratic Union of Southern Africa (Apdusa). He was also noted for his writings which includes "The Awakening of a People" and "Education for Barbarism".

Members of the New Unity Movement in Harare described him as an "outstanding orator and theoretician". In 1963, Tabata and other members went into exile to seek support for the Unity Movement.



IB Tabata

pare
e Ed
with
Pen

pare
brol
hea
thei

"

DE

ou

ou

sa

w

sc

n

f

r

j

ANC rethink on congress

South 18/10 - 24/10/90

From MONO BADELA JOHANNESBURG. — The historic ANC national conference scheduled for December 16 may be called off, according to sources close to the movement.

The ANC is due to hold a "crucial" national executive committee meeting on Friday at which the issue will be debated.

A lengthy delay on the return of exiles and the release of political prisoners may force the organisation to decide to hold a consultative (external) conference instead.

There has been speculation for some time that the movement would not be able to proceed with a national conference in December because not enough exiles would have returned to participate in it.

The national conference may be held in June or later next year.

There are serious doubts that the crucial issue of the repatriation of 22 000 ANC exiles and the preparations for a fully-fledged ANC national conference could be tackled simultaneously.

Feverish

"They are two important aspects in the history of the organisation, and time and thorough preparation for both are necessary," an exiled ANC member explained.

A postponement of the conference would come as a blow to people inside the country feverishly making preparations for the December 16 conference — the first such gathering to be held inside the country in the past 30 years.

However, many of the people who elected the current NEC and helped to adopt the current constitution are all still in exile.

Sources close to the National Repatriation Committee were doubtful that rank-and-file exiles would have returned in sufficient numbers to enable a national conference to take place in December.

The ANC has given the government the names of 3 000 exiles whom it wanted to be back home by October 1.

COMMENT

Exiles will enrich quest for a new SA

South
25/10-31/10/90

330

1000

THE coming home of South Africa's exiled community is central to the peace process in this country.

The postponement this week of the ANC's national conference to June next year is indicative that the issue of the exiles and their speedy return and resettlement must be given high priority.

The thousands of South Africans who left their country is a manifestation of apartheid — like the jailing of Nelson Mandela and others, unjust and discriminatory laws and the enrichment of a few at the expense of many — that must be rectified.

The exiles are coming home and it is the responsibility of all concerned South Africans to make this possible.

However, there are several worrisome tendencies

emerging among the oppressed people and their organisations.

Unfounded fears are being fuelled that the exiles will be given preferential treatment in the allocation of jobs and housing.

Rumours are flourishing about jobs being offered to exiles at the expense of the thousands of unemployed inside the country and harming the promotion prospects of those who stayed behind.

Speculation is rife about universities and church and community organisations creating jobs for exiles.

Exiles have sacrificed much in their contribution to the struggle.

Most left South Africa at great expense to their personal wellbeing and safety. Most lived under trying conditions in their host countries, while many of them are soldiers who have lived dangerously on the battle-

field and who are likely to be the last to return.

Yet they are viewed with suspicion by their own people at home!

Despair at the failure of foreign donors or big capital to deliver on pledges made, or contribute at all, to the cost of the repatriation is of little use.

It is incumbent on all concerned South Africans to open their hearts, homes and pockets to bring our exiled compatriots home.

The state has identified the sensitive issue of the exiles as an easy way to sow discord and confusion in the ranks of the oppressed; extra care must be taken not to play into its hands.

Talking about exiles as though they were "aliens" simply strengthens the stratagems of the state.

The ANC also appears to be guilty of fobbing off on to the National Coordinating Committee for Repatria-

tion the task of ensuring the smooth return of the exiles.

Other organisations fool no one when they speak of leaving their exiled members "in the trenches" to continue the fight.

There is a desperate need for the democratic movement and the repatriation committee to work together.

A basic problem seems to be poor communication. Rumours, gossip and slander feed on inadequate information.

It is essential for organisations like the ANC to have an open line of communication to the exiles, cadres in our jails and the underground as well as its rank-and-file membership.

While the repatriation process presents vexing problems, the smooth return of the exiles and their rapid resettlement can only serve to enrich and strengthen the quest for a new South Africa.

EC to pay for exiles

Sowetan 26/10/90

(330)

BRUSSELS - The European Community will fund part of the repatriation of ANC exiles to South Africa, director-general for the development division and head of the southern Africa department in the EC Dr Wim Blonk has said.

Speaking from his EC office in Brussels, Blonk also confirmed the EC had decided to fund strictly developmental operations in South Africa and gradually phase out all other projects which did not comply with the new criteria.

He could not say how much the EC would make available for the repatriation of exiles, but said it would be a "huge sum of money".

This money will be supervised by the Kagiso Trust, the SA Catholic Bishops Conference, the SA Council of Churches and trade unions who are partners of the EC.

The decision to pay for the return of ANC exiles is likely to cause dissension among EC member countries. -Sapa.

EXILES FIM 26/10/90

NOT PRODIGAL

330

The ANC has called on business to donate R15m for a vocational training school for returning exiles. The organisation estimates, however, that it needs at least R250m to repatriate its 20 000 exiles.

Jackie Selibi, ANC National Executive Committee member and head of repatriation, says most returning exiles are unskilled. He says the ANC will be approaching Finance Minister Barend du Plessis for help. Another priority is the establishment of new schools to cope with the influx of exiles' children.

Selibi says the ANC has made few approaches to local companies and organisations for assistance because it is sensitive to the fact that there are already around 3m unemployed and that "while we are asking



Selibi ... new schools
and funds needed

for jobs for exiles, we can't separate that from our demand of jobs for all." While some chief executives are ignoring pleas for assistance because of the ANC's continued support for sanctions, other companies are investigating ways to help.

The ANC and government have been at loggerheads in recent weeks about the return of exiles. Repatriation was to have been granted in terms of categories of persons "and not on an individual basis," according to the Pretoria Minute of August 6. However, government has not met its side of the

CURRENT AFFAIRS

FIM 26/10/90 330

agreement and has demanded also that exiles must note which crimes they committed in SA — including leaving the country without a passport, as most did.

Selibi says that on September 25 the organisation gave the Justice Department a list of 3 000 people for repatriation in October but has still received no word on when they will be indemnified and allowed home.

However, indemnity is really the least of the problems. The biggest is logistical.

Once home exiles will be housed in reception centres — if they have no relatives, or anyone able to accommodate them — for up to 12 weeks. During this time they will receive a small stipend and will have to find somewhere to live. For the first two months after leaving the reception centre they will receive R1 000 a month from the ANC to cover accommodation and living costs. They will also receive a small grant to buy basic household furnishings and goods.

Most exiles will arrive with little more than suitcases of belongings and will battle to find work and housing — and to adjust to an ANC that no longer houses, feeds and clothes them (even if meagrely), as the ANC had always done.

The ANC is still waiting for most of the money promised by overseas donors to help with repatriation — and has apparently not yet received a cent of the US\$7m promised during Nelson Mandela's fanfare trip to the US in June.

Charlene Smith



EC's R20m fund for exiles

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A switch in European Community (EC) policy has forced the Kagiso Trust, which will fund projects worth R90m this year, to cease funding a host of civic associations, cultural organisations and five newspapers.

However, the EC is to fund part of the ANC exile repatriation back to South Africa, according to Dr Wim Blomk, director-general for the development division and head of the EC's Southern Africa department.

The trust's executive director, Mr Dangor, yesterday confirmed that a R20-million plan to repatriate South Africa's roughly 20 000 exiles had been endorsed by the Kagiso Trust.

He said the plan, under discussion by the SA Council of Churches, had been accepted in principle by the EC.

Mr Dangor said the funding for Kagiso's civic projects, which the EC has supplied for over 10 years, will be phased out over the next two years.

He said that although the total amount of funding would not decrease, the trust had changed its focus to development projects and was in

the process of reappraising projects funded at present.

He said about 10% of the projects currently funded — possibly more — would lose their funding over the next two years.

Urban-based civic organisations would be affected and cultural organisations formally supported would face drastic cuts during the next 12 months, he said.

The trust would focus on supplying bursaries, rural development projects, and squatter-camp projects.

Funding for the trust fund's five newspapers — the New Nation, Uma-

frika, South, Vrye Weekblad and the New African — would be phased out over the next two years.

Beneficiaries of the fund particularly affected would be those that have traditionally been engaged only in protest against the system of apartheid, and are inherently incapable of changing.

"Increased demand for resources, particularly in the spheres of education, rural development and addressing the severe problems of squatter camps, does mean prioritising of funds available to Kagiso Trust," Mr Dangor said.

NEWS

Hundreds of youths still leaving SA to be trained for war

EMBITTERED black youths are still streaming out of South Africa despite reforms that are bringing home an earlier generation of exiles.

Hundreds have gone to neighbouring black states this year for military training or academic studies or simply to seek refuge from township violence, black activists told Reuters.

"Exile is better than rotting at home or being hunted down like an animal," said Sibusiso Ndebele, an ANC official based in Natal.

The youths accept that political reform may eventually succeed, he said, but they fear that they will be killed before then. The activists forbade inter-

views with youths planning to go into exile, but government and United Nations officials in Swaziland said hundreds of youths had arrived from South Africa this year.

Described by aid workers as nervous and aggressive, the youths enter illegally in groups of up to 60 and request refugee status. Many are moved to guerrilla camps in Zambia.

But the flow of exiles may have reached wider than Zambia and Tanzania, the only frontline states which admit hosting military camps for

South African guerrillas. Botswana said it uncovered a camp of the radical Black Consciousness Movement this month and arrested an undisclosed number of people.

Two bouts of ferocious violence this year appear to have spurred the exodus. The first was in March, when dozens died in a week-long battle in Natal between ANC activists and the Inkatha Freedom Party of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The second was a six-week war in August and September between the two organisations.

WILLIAM MACLEAN

in Johannesburg's townships in which almost 800 people were killed.

"In Lusaka in April I saw children of five, seven and 10 years of age who had arrived from Natal five days earlier. They were traumatised," said ANC official Moss Chikane.

Some would-be exiles were keen to train as soldiers to wage war should talks with the Government break down, the activists said.

Others were terrified by township violence or wanted to escape a collapsing black school system.

"Large numbers of young people are coming to say they want to leave the country for military training or to continue their studies," said Parks Mankahlana of the pro-ANC South African Youth Congress (Sayco), the country's largest youth group.

"We will continue to encourage them to do so, although we are not involved in helping them practically," he said.

"There is still danger in the townships. The youth say they need arms and training to defend themselves," said Peter Skosana, Sayco leader in the Vaal region south of Johannesburg.

Benny Nioele, a Johannesburg official of the PAC, said it worked "vigorously" to find school places abroad for supporters unable to study at home. Military training would continue.

Sayco's Mr. Mankahlana said military training was necessary despite the ANC's suspension in August of its 30-year armed campaign. "Only the shooting

has been suspended. The recruiting and training continues."

ANC military leader Chris Hani said hundreds of youths had applied to join his guerrilla campaign was "overwhelming. We can't handle it".

The activists said this year's landmark political changes, including the legalising of black movements, had done little to stem an outflow that began in 1976 when killings by police triggered a mass exodus of youth to ANC camps in exile. Not all blacks support the la-

test departures. "It is a tragedy and should not be encouraged," Methodist bishop Stanley Mogoeba told Reuters.

"In 1976 many people left and became marooned abroad. These are children, the people who have suffered most. We want them back at school."

Mr Chikane, who works for the ANC in the northern Transvaal and is on a liaison committee with the Government, said that if youths in his area were being encouraged to leave he would investigate to see if it was in the interests of reform. "Our biggest task is getting people back inside, not getting people out," said chief ANC spokesman Gili Marcus.

'Huge sum' from EC for ANC exiles

THE European Community (EC) will fund part of the ANC's exile-repatriation programme, said Dr Wim Blonk, director-general of the development division and head of the southern Africa department of the EC.

Speaking from his Brussels-based office, Blonk confirmed the EC had in principle decided to fund strictly developmental operations in South Africa and would gradually phase out all other projects.

The decision to sponsor the return of ANC exiles is almost certain to cause dissension among member states of the EC. It is thought the British government in particular will have problems with this decision.

Blonk could not say how much would be made available for exiles, but said it would be a "huge sum".

He promised that all affected projects would be consulted about developments, but emphasised the EC's financial involvement in South Africa was being re-directed away from projects perceived to be politically orientated. - Sapa

Tabata laid to rest

MOURNERS from as far afield as Britain, Zimbabwe, Lesotho and South Africa converged on Lesseyton Village, Transkei, at the weekend to pay their last respects to the president of the Unity Movement of South Africa Mr Bangani Tabata, who died in exile a week ago.

Tabata died in his sleep at the age of 81 at his home in Harare, Zimbabwe, after a long illness.

He left South Africa in 1963 after several spells in detention. He was apparently the first South African to be served with a five-year banning order in the country.

People granted a two-month indemnity by the South African Government to attend the funeral included Tabata's wife, Mrs Janab-Gool Tabata, Umsa vice-president L Nikani, a former Wits University lecturer now exiled in England, Dr N Traub and Umsa executive member R Britten, who is also in exile in England. - Sapa.

Emotional return for Tabata's widow

South 111-7111 90

CAPE TOWN-born widow of former president of the Unity Movement (Umsa) and African Peoples Democratic Union (Appdusa), Ms Jane Gool, set foot in Cape Town this week after 27 years in exile.

330

The 86-year-old Gool flew into the country last Friday from Harare to bury her husband, Mr Bangani Tabata, who died after a long illness.

Umsa members and Gool's relatives were at the DF Malan Airport to give her an emotional welcome.

She held back tears as she accepted a bouquet of flowers from a wellwisher.

Gool has been granted a 30-day indemnity from arrest by the state.

Tabata was buried in Lessyton, Queenstown, last Saturday.



HOMECOMING: Ms Jane Gool, 86, is given an emotional welcome by friends and relatives at DF Malan Airport in Cape Town after being an exile for 30 years in Harare

Don't run risks at border, exiles told

By MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

330

EXILES trying to return to South Africa without travel documents run the risk of being turned away, the government has warned.

And citizens who use foreign passports also have been warned they could lose their South African citizenship if they do not have permission from the Department Home Affairs to use foreign documents.

This emerges from an announcement in Pretoria today by Minister of Home Affairs Mr Gene Louw on guidelines for returning exiles.

SPECIAL ARRANGEMENTS

Organisations and individuals can apply for special travel documents for exiles.

Each exile will be given a travel certificate, which includes a section for dependants.

The certificate, which will bear the thumbprint and photograph of the applicant, will be kept at the port of entry where the holder will be given a copy.

Additional thumbprints will be taken on entry into South Africa.

Exiles must apply for identi-

ty documents within six months of their return.

In the case of alien dependants, permission for permanent residence will be considered simultaneously with applications for travel certificates.

Mr Louw said exiles who were not members of any organisation could apply for travel documents individually through the nearest South African representative abroad.

Negotiations are still underway for arrangements in countries where South Africa is not represented.

"Like any other, aliens (exiles) are subject to South African immigration laws," he said.

● The African National Congress meanwhile rejected the government's linkage of the return of exiles and the release of political prisoners to progress made in the organisation's undertaking to pursue peaceful negotiations.

The ANC said the government must now proceed with the implementation of the release and indemnification process without introducing new points of disagreement which the ANC would not accept, said spokeswoman Gill Marcus.

ANC denies any mass return of exiles to 'Kei

By MARK GEVISSER and Elnes

CONTRARY to recent reports there has been no mass return of exiles to Transkei, say groups dealing with repatriation. W/Mail 2/11/90 - 8/11/90

Last month, *The Weekly Mail* published a piece under the heading "ANC Caught With Its Pants Down In Transkei" in which it was alleged that exiles have flooded into the territory, without prior warning or adequate preparation.

However, it is believed the reports originated from an influx of refugees from the Reef and Natal violence, who were confused with exiles.

African National Congress representative in Umtata, Phumzile Mayaphi, said he had no knowledge of exiles arriving in the Transkei.

Jackie Selebi, from the ANC's national office, said such reports started when "refugees" from the recent violence on the Reef converged on the territory in September and were understood to be exiles.

Reports about these exiles had come from several sources, including the South African Council of Churches and Reverend Gibson Ludidi, former head of the Transkei Council of Churches who has since left Transkei for Uitenhage.

New deal for exiles and 'politicals'

CAT TYS

2/11/90

330

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The political negotiation process takes another step forward today with the way opened for the release of political prisoners and indemnity from prosecution for exiles and others.

This follows publication at 6am of the joint government/ANC working group report on political offences.

Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee said last night the process would proceed in a phased manner, and stressed the time scales for releases and indemnity would be determined by the progress on questions related to the suspension by the ANC of armed actions.

The government was bent on achieving success, and he visualised "a common approach" (with the ANC) to the issue of balancing progress on the armed action talks and the prisoner and indemnity process.

In the one major departure from the Pretoria Minute, Mr Coetsee announced that the guidelines and procedures set out in the report would apply to members of all political groups, not just the ANC.

Sources indicated that this move was encouraged and supported by the ANC.

Mr Coetsee estimated there were about 250 to 300 prisoners who clearly fell under the definition of political offence. This figure could rise to about 600 with "a wide, liberal interpretation of the definition. Not counted in this figure were prisoners convicted of "minor offences like throwing stones".

The report sets out two categories of unconditional indemnity — for people

UMTATA. — Four ANC exiles are due to arrive here today accompanied by nine journalists from the Anti-Apartheid Movement.

This will be the first group of returning exiles, and according to a spokesman for the Transkei Council of Churches, they will stay in the Transkei capital until Monday.

"The families and friends of the returnees must be aware that some of them are not what they used to be. Two are blind, while another is in a wheel chair, and they need assistance from their families. Some have been injured in guerilla warfare," the spokesman said. — Sapa

who left South Africa without valid travel documents, and those who left without going through an official border post.

The report provides for the identification of further categories of offences which would allow cases to be dealt with more expeditiously. This was the issue which caused conflict between the ANC and government three weeks ago, and over which a compromise has since been reached.

The report also covers people awaiting or undergoing trial. Mr Coetsee said it was up to them and their legal advisers to decide whether to apply for the stopping of their prosecution.

A "consulting body" will be set up to advise the State President and his executive in cases of dispute.

Mr Coetsee said people applying for indemnity would have to "search their consciences" in notifying the government what offences they believed they had committed. Such statements would be kept confidential and not used in a court of law.

330

MK soldiers coming home today?

By SEKOLA SELLO

TWO hundred ANC members, mostly cadres of its military wing Umkhonto we-Sizwe, are expected to arrive today at Jan Smuts Airport in Johannesburg.

However, City Press could not confirm this with the ANC.

Two disabled MK soldiers, Morris Fakude and Lizo Semene, arrived at Jan Smuts on Friday on their way to the Transkei.

They were accompanied by ANC member and former Dutch embassy fugitive, Klaas de Jonge, and two other exiles.

They had a bitter-sweet return to Umkhonto where an emotive crowd rushed on to the runway to welcome them back, reports Sapa. They are the first of numerous

disabled ANC members expected home.

Many a sad tongue clicked when Fakude and Semene alighted from the aircraft. Fakude — blind, deaf and without hands — was guided by fellow exile Bongani Maseko.

Wheelchair-bound Semene, 23, who left his home near Umtata in 1984 to join MK after finishing matric, was carried off the plane by three friends — including exile Dugmore Mtshkulu.

Mtshkulu, 43, a father of three, left in 1980 and is from the Border region.

Among the exiles was Cosatu activist Obed Maseko, who last saw his Daveyton home seven years ago.

Semene said his disability was "just part of the struggle". "We have to support efforts at negotia-

tions, it is another kind of struggle and we are behind it," he said.

Umkhonto we-Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani said in an impromptu speech that Fakude lost his eyesight and both his hands in an accident which took place in an armory in Angola, where he was working.

Semene was injured when Umtata rebels ambushed the truck he was travelling in, taking food to cadres in Angola.

Their return was co-ordinated by a local repatriation committee formed under an umbrella of church groups.

Referring to government's reform initiative, Hani said the ANC "would not be fooled by the term irreversible".

"We are only going to judge the irreversibility by the amount of work done by the government."



Bachana Mokwena

Young lions 'harassed'

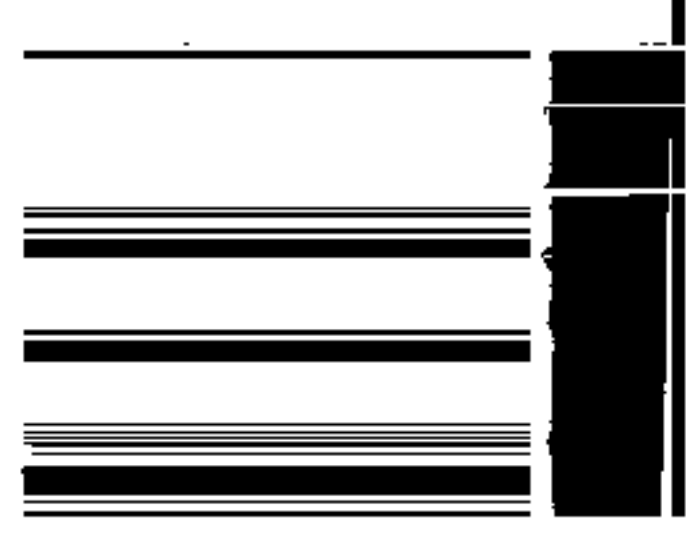
By SEKOLA SELLO

TWO ANC Youth League members who returned to this country a week ago, claim their families have been harassed by people purporting to be police.

They are secretary-general Billy Masehla and treasurer Bachana Mokwena, who arrived last Friday to help launch the ANCYL provisional committee.

Masehla and Mokwena were denied indemnity in June, but have been granted the "right-to-enter permits" which allows them to be in the country for 14 days. Mokwena says they will ignore this injunction.

The matter has been taken up with the ANC's Working Committee, which liaises with its government counterpart on issues affecting both parties.



Appeal to aid refugees

330
~~330~~
Sowetan
5/11/90

THE Pretoria Repatriation of Exiles Committee is appealing to the public, private sector and organisations to help provide facilities for an estimated 20 000 returning political exiles.

Spokesman for the Committee Chris Gilfillan said accommodation, transport, employment, counselling, storage space, health services, fi-

SOWETAN Correspondent

nance and voluntary advice officers had been identified.

The committee had written to various companies and organisations asking them to bring the appeal to the attention of their members.

Gilfillan urged the authorities to speed up the repatriation process because participation by the exiles in the shaping of a

new South Africa was considered crucial.

He said since many of those returning were not classified as refugees, the United Nations High Commission for Refugees had not provided funds to assist them to return.

Many had left the country over the past 42 years.

Anyone who can assist can contact the committee at the Dean's Office, St Albans Cathedral, PO Box 3053, Pretoria.

Govt gives guidelines for return of exiles

GOVERNMENT at the weekend released guidelines for the repatriation of political exiles.

In terms of an announcement by Home Affairs and National Education Minister Gene Louw on Friday, organisations will have to submit a covering letter giving details of their returning members before special travel certificates are issued.

Identification is by means of a thumb-print and a photograph, the former taken at the port of entry.

On arrival in SA the original travel document will be collected and the holder issued with a photocopy of it.

Those returning must apply for identity documents within six months of their arrival, Louw said.

Granting of permanent residence to exiles and their dependants would be considered in terms of the Aliens Act, he said.

Louw said that for the smooth processing of those entering SA through ports other than those agreed upon, the Department of Home Affairs had to be notified at least seven days prior to the expected arrival date.

Exiles who did not belong to a specific political organisation and who wished to return to SA ought to contact their nearest SA representative.

LINDEN BIRNS

Louw said negotiations on the return of those from countries without SA representation were still being finalised.

Those who arrived without the necessary travel documents ran the risk of being denied entry to SA and would be subject to the country's immigration laws, he added.

The ports of entry agreed upon by the ANC/government working group on exiles are:

- Ficksburg and Maseru bridges on the Lesotho border;
- Golela and Oshoek on the Swazi border;
- Willow Park and Grobler's Bridge on the SA border with Botswana;
- Beit Bridge on the Zimbabwe border;
- Lebombo on the Mocambican border;
- Rietfontein and Narogas on Namibia's border with SA;
- Jan Smuts Airport, Johannesburg;
- Louis Botha Airport, Durban;
- Cape Town's D F Malan Airport; and
- H F Verwoerd Airport in Port Elizabeth.

Wits, UCT each given \$750 000 grant

WITS and UCT have each received a \$750 000 grant from the Andrew Mellon Foundation in New York.

Wits vice-principal Peter Tyson said the foundation would help Wits make a contribution to the "new SA".

He said the foundation wanted to help develop academic staff and assist black graduates in particular.

The grant was expected to be renewed in about two years.

A UCT spokesman confirmed receiving the grant but gave no details.

TANIA LEVY

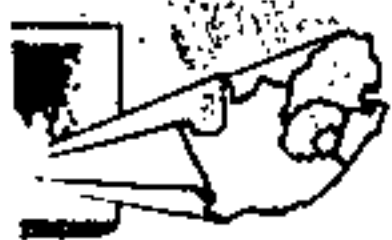
Tyson said Wits hoped to use half the grant to accommodate about six returning exiles or overseas academics. As Wits's posts had been frozen they would be placed in bridging appointments.

Wits vice-chancellor student affairs Prof Mervyn Shear said more than R1,5m would be used on post-graduate bursaries the foundation wanted black students to have.

ERSEAS LIMITED
51/08)

REX TRUEFORM CLOTHING COMPANY LIMITED
(Registration No 05/08839/08)

NOTICE OF DIVIDEND No 46 ON



NATIONAL



President De Klerk

State takes firm stand on return of ANC fighters

AKG 45 6/11/90 230

Political Staff

PRETORIA. — The government is determined to prevent the African National Congress armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) returning in triumph to South Africa as a military force with its own identity, sources in Pretoria disclosed.

The government insists that MK be demobilised and that its members return as unarmed individuals without being secretly re-equipped from the ANC's hidden arms caches.

This position clashes headlong with MK chief-of-staff Chris Hani who wants MK to return home as a military unit which could form an integral part of a future South African defence force.

The government is delaying the release of all political prisoners and the return of MK exiles as a lever to push the ANC to make more concessions in

its suspension of the armed struggle.

The dispute over the future of MK is at present being thrashed out in a joint ANC/government working group dealing with questions arising out of the ANC's August agreement in the Pretoria Minute to suspend armed actions and related activities.

The government team is led by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and the ANC team by Mr Hani.

The government confirmed that key implications of the ANC's suspension of its armed struggle, are at the core of the latest clash between the government and the ANC over amnesty for political prisoners and indemnity for exiles — many of them MK fighters.

Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee angered the ANC when he announced further details of amnesty and indemnity.

This follows meetings of another working group set up in terms of the Groote Schuur and Pretoria minutes, dealing with the political prisoner and exile issue.

Mr Coetsee said time scales for release and indemnity would depend on the progress on questions related to the ANC's suspension of armed actions.

The ANC angrily rejected the government's linkage of armed struggle to the return of exiles and the release of political prisoners.

But Leon Mellet, spokesman for Mr Vlok, said that MK members could not be allowed to come back to form an internal army. They could return in their personal capacity, he said.

And it would be illegal for returning exiles to carry arms, he added. The law was not being changed.



NATIONAL



President De Klerk

State takes firm stand on return of ANC fighters

AKG 45 6/11/90 330

Political Staff

PRETORIA. — The government is determined to prevent the African National Congress armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) returning in triumph to South Africa as a military force with its own identity, sources in Pretoria disclosed.

The government insists that MK be demobilised and that its members return as unarmed individuals without being secretly re-equipped from the ANC's hidden arms caches.

This position clashes headlong with MK chief-of-staff Chris Hani who wants MK to return home as a military unit which could form an integral part of a future South African defence force.

The government is delaying the release of all political prisoners and the return of MK exiles as a lever to push the ANC to make more concessions in

its suspension of the armed struggle.

The dispute over the future of MK is at present being thrashed out in a joint ANC/government working group dealing with questions arising out of the ANC's August agreement in the Pretoria Minute to suspend armed actions and related activities.

The government team is led by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and the ANC team by Mr Hani.

The government confirmed that key implications of the ANC's suspension of its armed struggle, are at the core of the latest clash between the government and the ANC over amnesty for political prisoners and indemnity for exiles — many of them MK fighters.

Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee angered the ANC when he announced further details of amnesty and indemnity.

This follows meetings of another working group set up in terms of the Groote Schuur and Pretoria minutes, dealing with the political prisoner and exile issue.

Mr Coetsee said time scales for release and indemnity would depend on the progress on questions related to the ANC's suspension of armed actions.

The ANC angrily rejected the government's linkage of armed struggle to the return of exiles and the release of political prisoners.

But Leon Mellet, spokesman for Mr Vlok, said that MK members could not be allowed to come back to form an internal army. They could return in their personal capacity, he said.

And it would be illegal for returning exiles to carry arms, he added. The law was not being changed.

CAC Trans 7/11/90

330

Draft resisters return home next month

Owen Correspondent

LONDON. — A group of 10 white South African draft resisters who have been in exile for a total of nearly 60 years, will arrive back in the Republic on December 1 to "test the waters" for the return of a further 10 000 draft evaders believed to have left the country since the mid-1970s.

Those returning are:

- Mr Roger Field, 35, of Cape Town. A researcher, Mr Field has lived in exile in England for 11 years. In a statement he said he left South Africa primarily due to conscription. He hoped to make a contribution to building a new South Africa.
- Mr Fritz Joubert, 23, of Paarl. A carpenter, he has lived in England for six years. He said he left at the age of 17 because of his refusal to serve in the SADF which was upholding apartheid.
- Mr Francois Krige, 22, of Cape Town. A freelance landscape gardener, he has spent 3½ years in Africa, Germany and England. He refused to serve in the SADF when it was implementing the state of emergency.
- Mr Theo Chaplin, 32, of Durban. An engineer, he has lived in exile in England for the past 10 years. He said he would continue to refuse to serve in the SADF.
- Mr Phillip Dexter, 27, of Maritzburg. A student, he has lived in England for 7½ years.
- Mr Dorian Love, 29, of Johannesburg. A teacher, he has lived in England for 4½ years.
- Mr Gregg Murray, 21, of Cape Town. A teacher, he has lived in England for 18 months. He said that despite having only a left hand, he had repeatedly received call-up papers.
- Mr Gerald O'Sullivan, 29, of Johannesburg. A computer consultant, he has lived in England for four years.
- Mr Guy Slingsby, 32, of Cape Town. He has lived in England for five years.
- Mr Matthew Temple, 27, of Maritzburg. A teacher and COSAWR organiser, he has been in exile in England for 4½ years.

The 10 resisters will be accompanied by wives, children and friends, many of whom are also South Africans who have been living in self-imposed exile in Europe.

EXILE PROGEES

South 8/11-14/11/90

STARTS

By REHANA ROSSOUW

THE African National Congress has begun to circulate indemnity forms to exiles and prisoners as the process of securing their return and releases gears up.

And in a document released to SOUTH, the ANC lists the countries from which the 5 824 exiles they want indemnified, will return.

Following the publication of the Joint Working Committee's report recently, more clarity has been reached on the guidelines for applying for indemnity.

Senior ANC members met exiles in Lusaka last weekend to deliver indemnity forms and explain the application procedure.

Indemnity

ANC officials will also be visiting prisons throughout the country in the next few weeks delivering indemnity forms to political prisoners.

Lawyers acting for political prisoners in the Western Cape say they have not yet received instructions from their clients to apply for indemnity.

They were also waiting for clarity on how the application forms will be submitted to the Department of Justice.

However, the National Co-ordinating Committee on Reparation (NCC) is still experiencing problems in implementing plans to receive exiles in the four regions of South Africa.

The biggest obstacle hampering their smooth planning is a lack of finance.

The ANC has appealed to donor govern-

ments to assist in funding the return of its exiles and is discussing the role of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees in the process.

A source in a regional NCC committee complained that they were experiencing communications problems with the ANC.

Exiles

NCC regional committees were on standby to receive exiles but had no idea when the first exiles would be returning.

ANC spokesperson on reparation, Mr Jackie Seleke, could not be reached for comment.

The provisional list of 5 824 ANC exiles indicates they will be coming home from all corners of the globe.

The ANC submitted the names of the exiles to the government last month.

The list of names has not been made available to the press.

The Transvaal will be receiving the largest number of returning exiles and their dependants.

TURN TO PAGE TWO

PAC, Inkatha link emerges

Indemnity process started

FROM PAGE 1

(2 872) and the Eastern Cape 931.

Most of them will be returning from Tanzania (2 277) with the second largest group from Zambia (1 692).

Other African states from where exiles are returning are Botswana (23), Kenya (6), Madagascar (4), Mozambique (199) and Zimbabwe (217).

Other host countries from where exiles are returning are Denmark, Finland, East Germany, Holland, Hungary, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union.

The Cape Province will be receiving 336 exiles, Natal 799 and the Orange Free State 282.

There are 228 wanting to return to Cape Town and the other Cape exiles to Burnshill, Elliot, Fort Beaufort, George, Hofmeyr, Jansenville, Karoo, Kenton, Kimberley, Komga, Kuruman, Maclear, Norvalspont, Oudshoorn, Paarl, Pampierstad, Somerset East, Sterkspruit, Stutterheim, Taling, Vryburg, Witlessa and Worcester.



Tom Party and PAC form a thopeng
PIC: ELMOND JIVANE

Shock conditions at East Cape prisons

PORT ELIZABETH.—A committee has been set up here to urgently investigate Eastern Cape prisons where conditions have been described as "shocking".

"We are trying to set up an urgent meeting with the prison authorities because some of the complaints of prisoners are very serious," said

Lawyers for Human Rights organiser, Mr Wise-

man Kula South 8/11-14/11/90

Prisoners who recently formed their own Prisoners Democratic Movement (PDM) in Eastern

Cape jails and members of the Police and Civil Rights Unions (Popcu) are assisting with the investigation.

"Prisoners are drawing up their own memorandum which we will also be presenting to the authorities," said Kula.

Interviews with recently released prisoners will also form part of the investigation.

Kula said there was an urgent need to "act on and expose the consistent abuse of prisoners' rights at all levels."

The committee, which was formed a few weeks ago, include representatives of the LHR, National Association of Democratic Lawyers (Nadel), PE Black Advice Office and the National Institute for Crime Prevention and Rehabilitation (Nicro).

The committee will examine prison conditions and the treatment of prisoners at the five prisons in the Eastern Cape.

The SA Prisons Service said it was satisfied that all people entrusted to its care were treated "humanely and in a responsible manner in accordance with internationally accepted standards."

Objectors plan to return home

The return to South Africa on December 1 of a group of exiled conscientious objectors was a "brave and bold challenge to the government," according to the End Conscription Campaign.

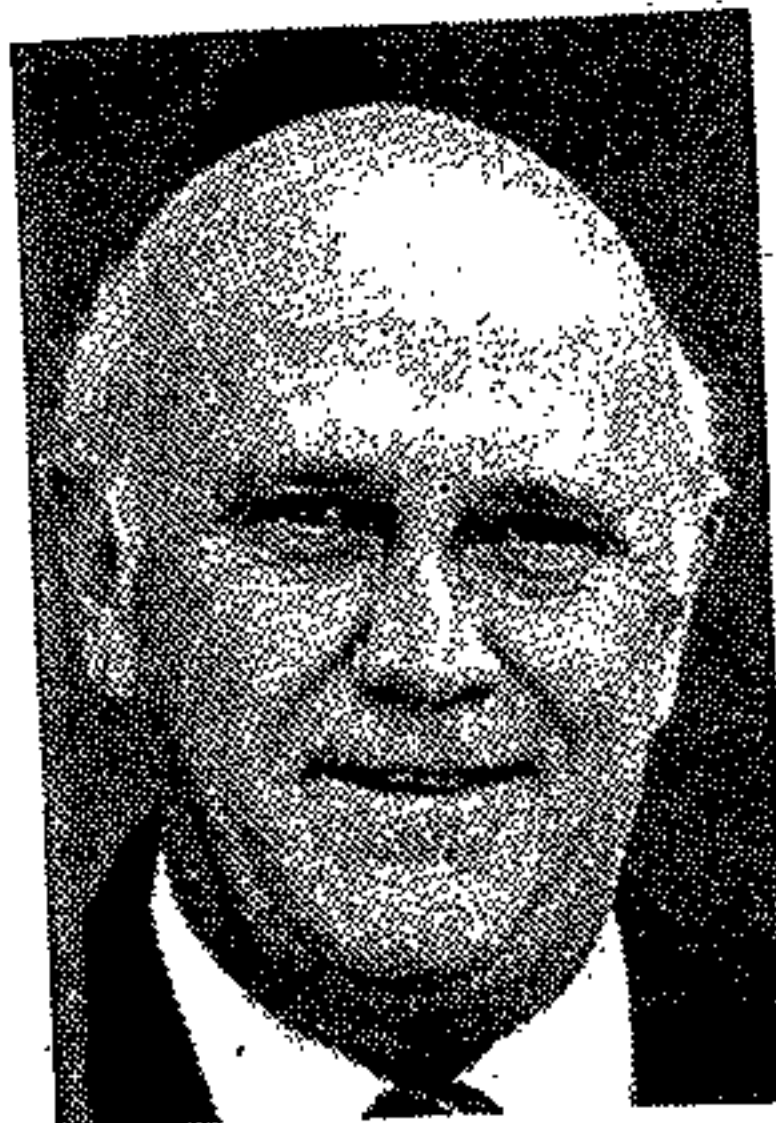
At a meeting in London in March, a group of objectors decided the time was right to return to SA, despite the threat of prosecution.

An ECC statement said the objectors will "join with thousands of other exiles in coming home to contribute to the building of a democratic SA."

Their fate is however uncertain. Despite government dispensations for returning ANC exiles, no announcement has been made regarding conscientious objectors.

Returning objectors are liable for prosecution as they have stated they will continue their stand on refusing to serve in the SA Defence Force.

They believe the SADF still "upholds



FW de Klerk ...
will receive pleas

apartheid and helps to maintain minority rule" and is "an element of the state which has consistently shown itself to be out of step with the current reform initiatives of the National Party," the ECC said.

Service

An SADF spokesman said military service was embodied in an Act of Parliament and as such was compulsory for all white male South African citizens between ages of 17 and 55.

"If the men are called up, in terms of the law

they will be required to report for service."

The ECC considers it essential all South Africans in exile be allowed a safe return in order "to take their rightful place in contributing to the building of a peaceful, non-racial, and democratic SA."

Signed postcards will be sent to President F W de Klerk calling on him to refrain from prosecuting the returning objectors as part of a campaign to publicize the issue of exiled objectors by ECC and the Committee for South African War Resistance.

Mr de Klerk will be called to end objector trials and the system of "apartheid conscription", and to provide a system of non-punitive alternative national service.

Sapa.

330

BOOKS

Exiles come under fire on ANC cultural policy

THE opening symposium of this year's Weekly Mail Book Week on Sunday was touted as the Nigh of the Exiles.

With poet Mongane Wally Serote — African National Congress intellectual and cultural functionary — sharing a platform with recently returned literary critic Vernon February and leading cultural theorist Albie Sachs, it probably represented the most powerful battery of ANC cultural firepower yet seen in South Africa.

Weekly Mail co-editor Anton Harper did no more than sum up the mood of expectation when he said what was being celebrated was not only the return of eminent South Africans but the cultural enrichment which their return implied for the country as a whole.

But if the truth be told, the exiles failed to deliver the cultural goods which had been promised.

They were probably somewhat shell-shocked: fellow panelists Pieter-Dirk Uys and poet Stephen Watson, as resident South Africans, had little enough to say by way of validating the ideals which sustained the returnees through all those years spent in exile.

Both Uys and Watson spoke to the topic of "Cultural Freedom and the Democratic Process" as though the most immediate threat to that cultural freedom lay in the democratic process as it is embodied in the ANC's various cultural commissariats.

The exiles, on the other hand, continued to assume that the ANC constituted the solution, not the problem.

First up was a charming and occa-

The exiles who have guided cultural policy for decades are on trial. On Sunday night they faced a sometimes hostile reception as they attempted to justify why and how they have controlled this policy and interpreted its theory.

IVOR POWELL reports from the first night of the Weekly Mail Book Week

sionally entertaining — if somewhat diffuse — cultural manifesto by Uys which after some 20 minutes of anecdote and performance came to the very unequivocal point:

"Boycoots are undemocratic."

"Censorship is undemocratic."

"Cultural desks are as pompous as Publications Control Boards and they make audiences laugh as loudly."

"I will use my pen as a sword against whoever denies me my freedom of speech, my freedom of opinion and my right to disagree."

"Be they NP CP AWP PAC ANC!"

When Albie Sachs' paper "Preparing ourselves for Freedom" was first published in South Africa earlier this year, the consensus as to its importance was overwhelming. Watson began.

Then he described his own reaction

as "a dismay so comprehensive that it effectively neutralised any temptation I might have felt towards that form of spiritual vulgarity which is self-vindication".

In dogged detail he went on to break down this dismay into its constituent parts.

Was it not "incredible, dismal, or incredibly dismal", he asked, that such a paper consisting of "little more than platitudes which would be laughed out of court (or else dismissed as the most self evident form of common sense, not worthy of discussion) in almost all other places in the world" should be hailed as an event of unprecedented cultural importance here?

Surely, he went on, something must have been "inherently wrong, not just temporarily limited or strategically inadequate — if after so much struggle in so many spheres the greatest cultural revelation to hit the country in decades should be the sudden news that writers should now write variously and as well as they possibly can ... that poets should also write of love and that art should be full of contradictions".

There was much in Watson's argument with which one could take issue, especially an unquestioning faith in the transcendent value of cultural freedom in a situation where few freedoms could be described as givens, and alongside this a total refusal to locate South African culture within the context of the not uncomplicated history of this country.

But for all this there was a lot that was powerful and provocative in Watson's paper.



Poet Mongane Wally Serote, actor and playwright Pieter-Dirk Uys and the ANC's Albie Sachs ... debating 'Cultural Freedom and the Democratic Process'



Pictures: ELLEN ELMENDORP

And at least this much was made clear: the exiles who have been guiding cultural policy and interpreting its theory for decades are not returning like Christ to Jerusalem in showers of cheers and palm fronds.

They are on trial, many South Africans have had enough of attempts by the liberation movement to control or buy into their cultural production.

In their various ways, the exiles attempted to do just that on Sunday night.

Speaking after Uys and before Watson's Light Brigade-type charge into the valley of death, Netherlands-based critic and academic Vernon February made an attempt — peppered with much First and Third World erudition — to re-establish the old liberation priorities.

Using a review by Watson as an example of what he meant by the notion of the "culture of the few", February starkly contrasted this with the notion of a mass-based and democratic interpretation of culture.

He spoke at some length on the danger that in this transitional situation, culture would be recolonised by these few and that the masses would yet again end up being marginalised.

(As Albie Sachs put it when it came to his turn, describing particular television programmes denied to South Africans in terms of a visit to a Transkei

township: "They have no TV to watch (the programmes) on, they don't have electricity, they don't have water.")

What then are we talking about when we talk about the cultural boycott? "We should be talking about a literacy campaign for this country."

However, despite the good sense of February's argument and the validity of many of his points, his position failed on the night to find very much favour. Solutions are what people in this country are demanding; analyses — especially those which rest on such distinctions as that, proposed by Jean-Paul Sartre to the United Nations in 1946, between writers who side with the oppressed masses and those who are automatically identified with the oppressors — will be met in today's South Africa only with impatience.

What is needed now is some kind of vision which will magic the common drum into a three-year plan.

Serote, looking more jettlagged than shell-shocked, had less to offer: a brief history and defence of the cultural boycott, a series of questions about the nature of culture, the observation that education is required as a priority in the new South Africa if that South Africaness is to be nurtured: and finally a hopeful nod at that diverse and indefinable "South Africaness" as some kind of cultural diamond.

It was left to the final speaker, ANC



Stephen Watson ... powerful and provocative attack on ANC policy

constitutional committee member and freelance cultural optimist, Albie Sachs, to demonstrate most vividly just how few answers the ANC really had.

"No paper is worth the paper it is written on," he declared in response to Watson's 15 minutes of close argumentation. "I'm bored with it. It had a certain moment. It was that last century before February 2."

There are wonderful things happening in this country, he went on. Real gains are being made. South Africans can sing and celebrate like no other

people on earth.

Why do we not focus on positives like this instead of continuing to debate, like drowning domineers, issues like the cultural boycott about which nothing new has been said, he said, for 15 years.

Why indeed? Well there is one reason which was not mentioned in the somewhat bizarre contributions made from the floor.

It simply does not help any more to make starchy observations — as the ANC's cultural spokespersons are wont to do — about the toyi toyi as an expression of people's culture.

Not does it help to say that we need an inalienably South African culture expressive of the country's diversity.

But most of all it does not help to turn around and accuse other people of flogging dead horses like the cultural boycott and the tyranny of so-called people's cultural representatives when it is none other than your own movement which lacks the resolution to take them off the life-support machine.

As one person who has been through the democratic cultural mill remarked afterwards: "You find yourself doing double takes: is this Albie Sachs or Pik Botha?"

"You know they're doing exactly the same thing, getting up and saying: 'Don't you know we've changed our minds?' And then thinking they don't have to change anything else."

Gen 6

R1-a-head fund launched to aid

returning exiles

W/M 9/11/90 - 15/11/90

A "R1 a head" fundraising campaign has been launched in the Border to meet the costs of resettling returning exiles.

The national repatriation programme has no funds and is faced with the task of raising money to prepare for the initial 6 000 returning exiles expected before the end of the year. About 3 000 of them are expected to return to the Border region.

Geneva has promised to give R4-million to the programme, provided that a list of names of all those who have been cleared by the South African government is supplied. The Australian government has donated R38 000, but this is not expected to go very far.

Now the Border Council of Churches' repatriation committee has embarked on a fundraising drive by appealing for donations of R1 a person from local churches and organisations.

BCC's repatriation committee member Alfred Metele made the announcement at the Mdantsane welcoming rally for one of the four recently returned Umkhonto weSizwe members.

Dugmore Mtinkulu came back after 10 years physically disabled, following an accident during military training in MK camps.

"Our exiles are not prepared to come back and squat in tents. They want four-roomed houses," Metele said.

He said people should remember that of the initial 3 000 expected into the Border region, some would be coming back with wives and children. Those children will obviously not understand Xhosa, which will mean they will have to attend English-medium schools.

In addition to educational, counselling and housing assistance the repatriation programme needed to get lawyers and doctors to help returnees with any problems that might arise. — cnews

PROFILE: Mongane Wally Serote is home again

Poet meets paradox

Wally Serote - 15/11/90
330

THE first things that poet Mongane Wally Serote noticed after he touched down at Jan Smuts Airport on a blistering hot Saturday afternoon last week were the pistols of the black policemen and the politeness of the customs officials.

"The atmosphere was extremely unexpected. There was a delay ... my visa could not be found. The blonde girl at the immigration desk said 'sir, please bear with us?'"

"I was not used to being asked to 'bear with' white South African officials. The last time I had dealings with officialdom it was in the pass office where one was treated like some terrible inconvenience."

"At Jan Smuts I could have been anywhere in the world. Everyone was eager to assist me to sort out the problem, very helpful."

But then, like most returning exiles, Serote collided with the paradox. He had to have permission to come home after 16 years away. The man who was born in Alexandra township does not have a South African passport but travels on a United Nations document. So, first he had to get a visa, then he had to get indemnity. Until three days before his flight, he didn't know whether either would materialise. Furthermore, he is a legitimate visitor to this country only until November 24 — after which date he must return to England, the land from which he does not come.

He claims not to know why he, the European head of the African National Congress's Arts and Culture Department, was forced to obtain indemnity, a rubber stamp generally reserved for those with more immediately threatening military interests.

Little more than 24 hours after arriving in Johannesburg, Serote faced his first public engagement — as a panelist at *The Weekly Mail's* Book Week. The topic was "culture and the democratic process", a bland enough allusion to the cultural mayhem that descended upon us in earnest after 1986. Oliver Tambo's declaring the cultural boycott "selective" rather than "blanket" in 1987 caused almost as much excitable chaos as did FW de Klerk's unbanning of the ANC et al in 1990.

From this time on, Serote's word pretty much became boycott law. A steady stream of artists sought an audience with him at the Islington office of the ANC to gather advice about the boycott

BACKGHT

Charlotte Bauer



status of art exhibitions, mandates for musical tours, approval to take work out of South Africa and permission to bring work in.

It is unclear how much of a sense of that power Serote has: he admits mistakes, defends administrative inefficiency and emphasises about the spectrum of people he met — from cultural activists located well within the boundaries of collective decision-

making to lone, anxious artists who really just wanted to secure the freedom to make their art in private peace and to public acclaim.

"Yes, it was a difficult time and I really wished I'd been younger so that I had had the energy to create the 25th hour of the day. But for me, it was also an extremely important time, a learning time. Whether we were agreeing or not, I was always struck by the insistence of people from home on searching for the best solution to the problem."

"Some people, because their involvement in culture was as individuals, were very fearful of the idea of dealing with organisations. We had to try and work out why that was, to work out whether we were doing something wrong to make them so afraid ..."

Serote concedes that the numerous stretching tentacles of ANC cultural structures world-wide may well have strained some muscles.

"Of course, at certain points, the structures became intolerant ... in the light of the fact we were trying to create a society of tolerance, this was incorrect."

"On the other hand, democracy is a hard won thing. It has to be fought for and we could not be 'soft'. The aspect of illegality under which all these structures emerged forced us into a mode of survival whose techniques were alien to democracy."

"We brought in people who did not have experience, who did not have administrative skills. People were learning on the job, while managing crises. I don't think it is an abstract request to ask for tolerance, although I am trying not to seek refuge in too



Wally Serote ... testing the fire

Picture: KEVIN CARTER

Serote has written several poems about his hometown, upon which he bestows a female persona — sometimes mother, sometimes whore, always victim: "*Alexandra, I give you my back now, the secrets are in my heart and I cannot look, for your legs are chained apart and your dirty petticoat is soaked in blood, blood from your ravaged wound.*"

Serote has lived in Tottenham, London, with his wife and five sons for much of the past 16 years. Yet he lives the somewhat cloistered life of a typical South African in exile.

"There is a very strange thing about being an activist in exile: you live a South African life in those countries. Most of the friends you make, the acquaintances you meet, all relate directly to South African politics. Of course, one also lived a life that revolved around meetings and committees."

But even a life so largely defined by the spectre of "home" was not insensitive to the issues that influenced his adopted environment. He developed strong feelings about the acts of social science he found to be an inherent part of British society.

"For instance, I saw how the society made life better for people like the disabled. You observe this and you realise that human beings belong to compassion. It's very moving."

Serote came to a similar conclusion about the eclectic forms and origins of art he was exposed to.

"I remember for the first time going to hear the music of Bach played at a symphony concert. Again you discover this thing ... I'm there, listening, and I know the person who made this is not black, yet I still discover the essence of our being in this music. It is the same when I go to galleries to look at European art. Again I discover that in essence we all belong to compassion."

"It was telling to be in a society organised in such a way as to allow this compassion to be expressed. My heart used to break sometimes to wonder why we, as South Africans, seemingly cannot discover this simple truth."

'Tyranny of place': Walking through the mud

By MARK GEVISSER

POET Jeremy Cronin confessed that while in the internal exile of Pretoria Central Prison he learnt how to say "I love you".

Academic Jeanette Ferreira confessed a longing to return to her Lowveld boere-kultuur.

Poet Mongane Wally Serote confessed to the strangeness of being home.

Writer Achmat Dangor charted a brilliant path through his own states of exile by switching from second to first person and back again.

Poet and academic Vernon February agonised over his loss of the lyrical Cape voice while in exile in Holland, and then went on to recount a Xhosa parable of snakes and mice that proved he had lost nothing after 27 years of dikes, tulips, and Northern European temperance.

Cronin began his speech on this third night of the Weekly Mail Book Week by critiquing the title of the discussion. He felt that "Home And Exile: Writing and the Tyranny of Place" implied that "place" is tyrannical, that it drags one down into the mud of reality instead of allowing the writer to soar above it

upon the transcendent wings of Art:

"If tyranny of place means that writers are forced to feel the mud between their toes, then I'm all for it," he declared.

After being back for scarcely a week, Serote is already making poems from mud. He made one on Wednesday night by juxtaposing two images from a walk through Johannesburg, first being shocked by the fact that, in this New South Africa, a black shopboy still addressed his Indian boss as "baas" and then being more shocked, only moments later, that he couldn't get service because the tannie behind the counter of another shop was deeply engaged in an animated chat with a young black man.

And Cronin has found a poem in the slogan of the striking Nampac workers: "In South Africa, for every Ten Rand/One Rand/Is a Barlow Rand."

He found another one in the curfew that has just been imposed on the strife-torn township of Bekkersdal: "In any 'normal' country, if there were a need for a curfew, it would be imposed from 9pm to 7am, for the night hours, when security is needed. But South Africa's 9pm-to-4am curfew is Vlok's guilty admission of the distance in this country, the distance between 4am in Bek-

kersdal and the 7.30 clock-in time somewhere else."

Listening to these five writers, I understood how tyrannical this country has been in dictating a South African aesthetic — its sjambok reality for those who were forced to stay, its elusiveness for those who were forced to leave.

I think I understood, for the very first time, why we have a literature that wins Booker Prizes and is taught to 18-year-old students from Norway to Oklahoma. I realised why our great poets still soar, despite the tyranny of the Culture Desk, the decade of doggerel and the butchering knife of the censor: they have been forced to feel the mud between their toes.

And I understood just how phoney this "culture as a weapon" versus "art for art's sake" debate is: all good art is good precisely because it is a weapon.

For Dangor, it might be a weapon against the intransigent Koran instructor, for Serote it might be a weapon against very real bullets, but for both, writing has become the means to find a personal place within tyranny — not only for the writers themselves, but for the communities of readers and listeners around them.

330

W/Mail 9/11/15/11/90

Ndebele turns UWC down

Political Staff

EXILED South African writer and academic Professor Njabulo Ndebele has told the University of the Western Cape that he will no longer take up the position as the university's vice-rector.

Earlier this year, Professor Ndebele, a South African by birth who is president of the Congress of South African Writers (Cosaw), was refused a work permit by the government to take up the post.

But late last night the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Eli Louw, announced his department was considering a work permit appli-

cation from Professor Ndebele.

Denying his department was hindering Professor Ndebele's travel plans he said it had granted Prof Ndebele permission to enter the country on six other occasions.

A disappointed Professor Jakes Gerwel, rector of UWC, said in a statement yesterday that Professor Ndebele had arrived at the decision "after considering a combination of personal and career decisions: The desire to resume research and writing rather than a career in administration".

"We must again register our deep anger at the unexplained authoritarian refusal by the De Klerk government to grant Professor Ndebele a work permit when applied for. We have no doubt that the delay in securing that permit contributed to pressures on him," he said.

The government's decision to refuse a permit to Professor Ndebele has been strongly criticised in a letter to President FW de Klerk by a number of ANC leaders, trade unionists, student and youth organisations, cultural groups, editors and authors.

FW pressurised to give academic a work permit

STimes 4/11/90 330

THE government is considering an application by exiled intellectual Njabulo Ndebele's to work in the country after a massive petition to the State President.

The petition has been signed by editors, trade unions, churches, academics, universities and political groups, including the ANC and the SACC.

Professor Ndebele, 42, has lived in voluntary exile in Lesotho with his wife and three children for the past 21 years. He has been twice refused a work permit, obliging him to refuse posts at two South African universities.

The Home Affairs Department confirmed that a decision on his latest request would be announced this week.

Professor Ndebele has asked for the permit to enable him to accept a post as head of Wits University's

By FELICITY LEVINE

department of African studies.

At present he is vice-chancellor of the University of Lesotho as well as National President of the Congress of South African Writers.

Said Cosaw executive member and writer Nadine Gordimer: "He has exactly those intellectual and leadership qualities the country so desperately needs.

"Many political exiles have been allowed back and it hampers us greatly that our president cannot live in the country."

Professor Ndebele said he was "looking forward to returning to South Africa."

"With the changes that have taken place, I feel it is time for me to come back and make my contribution," he said.

Relations with SA set to change

UN is poised to bring the exiles home

330
B 10am 16/11/90

THE UN High Commission for Refugees is set to be given the job of co-ordinating the return of SA exiles — a development which would transform relations between the world body and SA.

Discussions between the UNHCR and the ANC and government on the former's role in the repatriation programme are far advanced, it was disclosed yesterday.

ANC finance department head Vusi Khanyile told Business Day an announcement on the issue could be expected as soon as "political considerations" had been addressed.

The UNHCR's Raymond Hall said from Geneva there had been an intensive process of contact between the UNHCR and the SA parties — the ANC and the Department of Foreign Affairs — in the past few weeks in Geneva and New York.

"Our participation is contingent on our two normal requirements being fulfilled — acceptable guarantees on the safety of returnees, and assurances we will be permitted to monitor the returnees to ensure these guarantees are being fulfilled," said Hall.

"These requirements are still being discussed," he added.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman confirmed the matter was under discussion, but said she was not in a position to comment further at this stage.

If the commission did set up offices in SA it would mark the UN's first major involvement in the country.

Khanyile said there were valid reasons for the large differential between ANC

ALAN FINE

estimates on the per capita cost of repatriating exiles and the cost to the UNHCR of the exercise in Namibia last year.

Khanyile said recently the ANC was working on a figure of R13 500 a person — a total of R270m assuming 20 000 potential returnees — while Hall said the cost of the UNHCR's Namibian operation was \$600 a person (R1 500 at today's rate).

Khanyile said the first difference was the distance to be travelled. Most Namibians returned from Angola and Zambia which were closer to Namibia than SA.

Also, many exiles were in more distant African countries, such as Nigeria. Others would have to come from places like India, Cuba and the Soviet Union.

A second major consideration was the extra services that would have to be provided to those returning by their political organisations, Khanyile said.

Namibian exiles were brought home to participate in the election. "A democratic government was on the verge of being born, and it was reasonably expected that government would take care of returnees' welfare and social needs.

"We need a full programme for integrating not only exiles, but also prisoners, into society. We are still nowhere near being able to meet those needs," he said.

Khanyile added the ANC continued to believe strongly that part of the financial burden of these programmes should be borne by government and it planned to discuss this with government.

□ To Page 2

Exiles

B 10am 16/11/90

"People who left did so because of government policies. Healing the old wounds and starting afresh means assisting these people to reintegrate into SA society," he said.

This included tracing their families, providing them with skills and assisting them with jobs. Those who return could be dependent on aid for six months.

Khanyile said the ANC was sensitive to the fact that there may be resentment in communities over huge resources being earmarked for exiles while many in SA were desperate for jobs.

It was planned, therefore, that where any project, such as a training project, was set up, its facilities would be made available to all members of the community.

330 □ From Page 1

Border crossings ruling

Argus Africa News Service 16/11/90

WINDHOEK. — All South African and Namibian citizens must hold passports by December 31 to cross the borders of these two countries.

The Namibian Ministry of Home Affairs warned Christmas travellers that they would no longer be able to use identification documents, which have served at the border crossings until now, from that date.

There are no visa requirements for travellers between the two neighbouring states.

PINNED to the wall of the London office of a South African war resistance group is a small handwritten note, sent recently from Johannesburg.

It reads: "You are a bunch of cowards. South Africa is well rid of the likes of you ninnies. Thank goodness the Defence Force has real men. Apart-
heid is an excuse for running."

The "ninnies" are going home. After long years of exile in Britain and other English-speaking countries, young white South African men want to return to their homeland.

A group of South African war resisters in London prepare to return.

Ten men who fled South Africa rather than be conscripted into the SADF, they are the first group of war resisters and deserters to go back and their reception will give some indication to other resisters what lies ahead.

The future for these political refugees is uncertain. There are no guarantees for their safety despite efforts and support from organised groups at home

Coming home: Defiant war resisters face jail

and overseas.

"We have chosen to go in a group because there was a feeling it would provide us with a sense of security," deserter Phillip Dexter said. "We think going back this way will have more impact."

It is likely the group will face call-up into the army once they have re-settled in South Africa and prosecution if they refuse to serve.

All 10 are committed to refusing further call-ups rather than serve in the SADF in its present state, which could mean a prison sentence.

Recent publicity surrounding the cases of conscientious objectors, David

A group of young South African men who went into exile to avoid conscription are planning to return soon. **PENNY NOTE** spoke to them in London

Bruce and Dr Ivan Toms shed little light on the fate of the group.

Well aware that their appearance *en masse* will be an issue of great political sensitivity, the group has opted for a high-profile return. A press conference, organised by the South Africa-based End Conscription Campaign, will be held on their arrival in Johannesburg on December 1.

"It is a publicity stunt," says Matthew Temple, London administrator of the Committee On South African War Resistance.

"We're an advance party for other resisters. This is a sort of upping of the tempo to try and get things sorted out for everyone. What unites us is a common vision that conscription at the present time is incompatible towards peace and justice."

"The army is so positively part of the old South Africa," says group member Dorian Love. "You can't try to bring about reconciliation if you are walking around with a gun in your hand carrying out the orders of the state."

The ECC believes it is an act of great significance for all South Africans.

"Despite the group being so small in number its significance lies in the fact that it represents a hidden section of the exiled community, a section that has a vast array of skills but that at the same time has a strong objection to serving in the SADF," national organiser Roddy Payne said.

The group — and its supporters — have called on the government to end conscription and guarantee the safe return of all exiles.

But the position and categorisation of returnees is unclear.

The Pretoria Minute relates to the definition of political offences, indemnity and the return of exiles.

Confusion arises, Temple says, because while both parties agree on basic principles, practicalities are taking time to sort out.

"The government is not necessarily sticking to its word. It is using classic negotiating tactics," he claims.

NEGOTIATIONS between the South African Government, the ANC and the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) have been underway for months regarding the return of exiles, the UNHCR confirmed this week.

UNHCR spokesman Raymond Hall said from the organisation's Geneva head office that no

Exiles home soon, says UN

330 C/ren 18/11/90
agreement had been concluded yet, but the UNHCR had to have certain prerequisites met before it became involved.

These were that the returnees were given guarantees for their personal safety on their repatriation, and that the international aid

organisation be able to monitor the return.

The negotiations, taking place mainly in Geneva but also in Lusaka and New York, had been underway for some months, Hall said.

"As we are accountable to the international

community for the way we spend our money and what we get involved in, it has to have certain guarantees," he said.

Although there is no UN representation in South Africa at present, steps have to be taken to allow UNHCR officials to

monitor the return, Hall said, adding that the return of the exiles could, in fact, go ahead without the involvement of the UNHCR.

If all the prerequisites were in place the UNHCR could begin the repatriation within days and returnees could be back in South Africa within weeks. — Sapa

Exiles who won't return

CHT tips 19/11/90 330

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — An elite of former South Africans has settled in Britain — and seems unlikely to join the steady flow of exiles going home following President F W de Klerk's unbanning of the ANC and other organisations on February 2.

While ANC members will soon be returning en masse and an "advance guard" of 10 white war resisters go home at the end of the month, these talented South Africans could have been lost to the country forever.

In an article on the exodus of South Africans to countries around the world due to apartheid, the Weekend Guardian said: "Few will return however dewy-eyed they may feel about the land where they grew up."

"Of the 60 000 people of South African origin living in Britain, only a fraction would call themselves exiles."

"They begin with the doyen of the expatriates, the zoologist,

Lord Zuckerman, through the author, Laurens van der Post; cricketers Basil D'Oliveira, Allan Lamb and Robin Smith; actors Janet Suzman, Nigel Hawthorne, Antony Sher;

"Businessmen Sir Michael Edwardes, Sir Mark Weinberg and Eurotunnel's Alistair Morton; chairman of the Mergers and Monopolies Commission, Sydney Lipworth; former president of the Royal College of Physicians, Sir Raymond Hoffenberg (he was banned by the Pretoria government);

"Nobel chemistry laureate, Sir Aaron Klug; the restaurateur, Prue Leith; BBC Today's Sue MacGregor; even, it is said, a couple of RAF high fliers."

Three ex-South Africans are High Court judges, including an Afrikaner, Sir Johan Steyn.

There are also "strategic pockets of doctors, dentists, lawyers, academics, schoolteachers, journalists and blue chip pensioners, particularly in north London".

The quality of these "exiles", the newspaper says, "may make South Africans seem more nu-

merous than they really are".

The ties with "home" remain.

Mr Sipho Pityana, one of the 1976 generation "fashioned by the Soweto uprising", left South Africa eight years ago after his sixth stretch in detention plus a banning order. Last month his wife Nkulie produced their second "British" son.

Now they wait for the two grandmothers 9 600km away in Port Elizabeth to decide on a name.

Among the 10 young white men who fled South Africa to avoid conscription is Mr Fritz Joubert, 30. He is married to Englishwoman Jenny, who is black, and says his father, a well-known journalist, has told him he is no longer welcome in his house.

Although he stands to be called up again, Mr Joubert said: "This time I am prepared to go to prison. I wasn't when I was 17 years old."

But, says the Guardian, the government may think again.

"The 10 000 men whose exile was in some way prompted by conscription constitute a huge brain drain."

'Global aid' needed for resettlement of exiles

330

B Day 19/11/90

ALAN FINE

AN APPEAL to the international community for donations would be the first step taken by the UN High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) if and when it decided to participate in the resettlement of SA exiles, an official said at the weekend.

Spokesman Raymond Hall said the extent of the service the UNHCR would provide would depend on the funds raised and also on the outcome of further negotiations with the SA government and other key groups.

The UNHCR previously confirmed it had had discussions with both government and the ANC. Hall repeated that prerequisites for UNHCR participation in the resettlement process were guarantees on returnees' safety and the organisation's ability to monitor them.

Participation in SA would be categorised as a special programme and

this would require international aid. Hall said the type of assistance made available by the UNHCR towards reintegrating exiles into society in such a programme was variable.

It would depend on what requests were received from government and from other interested parties, and what activities were being provided inside the country by either government or others.

Beneficiary

In the case of Namibia, the UNHCR had provided transport to returnees' place of origin, household supplies, an initial food supply, agricultural tools, materials for housing construction, and some infrastructural requirements.

The UNHCR programme was limited

because Namibia was the beneficiary of an entire, extended general UN programme.

In Vietnam, where the UNHCR is co-ordinating a major project, assistance extends to, for example, training schemes.

Hall said the timing of any programme following a positive decision would depend on how quickly donors responded to appeals.

The next step would be registering potential returnees, budgeting and "getting people into place".

South newspaper reported last week that most of the first group of ANC exiles ready to return were now based in Tanzania (2 277) and Zambia (1 692). The remainder were in such countries as Botswana, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Denmark, Finland, Germany, the Netherlands, Hungary, Norway, Sweden, the UK, the Soviet Union and New Zealand.

Indemnity refused for PAC leaders

Business Day Reporter

GOVERNMENT has refused to grant 14 exiled PAC leaders indemnity to enable them to attend the organisation's national congress next month.

A Justice Department spokesman confirmed this last night, saying the reason was that the leaders refused to "subscribe to the principles of peaceful solutions and developments in SA".

The refusal could significantly affect the PAC's decision at the congress on whether to accept an invitation to take part in constitutional negotiations.

PAC general secretary Benny Alexander said exiled leaders refused indemnity included administrative secretary

Joe Mkhwanazi and foreign affairs secretary Ahmed Gora Ibrahim, Sapa reports.

Alexander said government had told the PAC it had no principled objection to the external leaders attending former PAC leader Zeph Mothopeng's funeral or the conference.

Regulations requiring that people seeking indemnity give an undertaking binding themselves to peaceful solutions were recently gazetted by government.

The PAC has refused to abandon its armed struggle.

CMT T/45
20/11/90

Govt refuses PAC request

330

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The government has refused to grant 14 exiled PAC leaders indemnity to enable them to attend the organisation's national congress next month.

A Justice Department spokesman confirmed this last night, saying the leaders had refused to "subscribe to the principles of peaceful solutions and developments in SA".

The refusal could significantly affect the PAC's decision at the congress on whether to accept an invitation to join peace talks.

Regulations

Sapa reports that PAC general secretary Mr Benny Alexander said those exiled leaders refused indemnity included administrative secretary Mr Joe Mkhwanazi and foreign affairs secretary Mr Ahmed Gora Ibrahim.

The government, he said, had told the PAC it had no principled objection to the external leaders attending the conference.

Indemnity regulations require people to undertake to bind themselves to peaceful solutions.

The PAC has declined to do this.

No indemnity for 14 PAC leaders

330
Soweto 20/11/90

THE Government has refused to grant indemnity to several Pan African Congress external leaders to attend the organisation's national conference in December.

Lawyers representing the PAC were informed by telefax that requests for temporary immunity for 14 of its external leaders had not been granted. No reasons were given.

The exiled PAC leadership denied indemnity include the

By ALI MPHAKI

organisation's administrative secretary Mr Joe Mkhwanazi and secretary for foreign affairs Mr Ahmed Gora Ibrahim.

Others are secretary for economic affairs Mr Mfansekaya Gqobose, repatriation committee chairman and secretary for education Mr Elliot Mfana, secretary for welfare Ms Nomvo Booi, chief representative in Uganda Mr Templeton Ntantala and chief representative in

Australia Mr Neville Legg.

The refusal to grant immunity to allow the 14 men and women to attend the PAC congress at Shareworld, near Soweto, from December 7 to 9, was contained in a letter from the Department of Justice dated November 9.

PAC spokesman Mr Benny Alexander said the refusal came after the Minister of Constitutional Affairs had written to the organisation's

PAC leaders refused entry

330

From Page 1

president requesting exploratory talks.

"The refusal exposes the lie that political organisations are totally unbanned and free to conduct their affairs normally. It also impacts negatively on the sincerity of the regime," Alexander said.

The PAC had also requested that some of its external leaders should attend the funeral of its late president Mr Zeph Mothopeng but were refused permission.

The PAC would now have to hold its congress without its 52 representatives around the world.

tion,
elato

meet

11111

'Exiles in a ferment over FW's glasnost'

Argus Foreign Service
in London

HUNDREDS of South African exiles are in a "ferment" at the prospect of returning home with the advent of President De Klerk's glasnost, according to reports in the British newspaper **REFORM** The Guardian.

A lengthy feature by Denis Herbstein adds: "Political activists, journalists, churchmen, war resisters, are dusting down the trunks in the loft."

"Last year's 'enemies of the state' and 'agents of the Soviet Union' have been back to embrace elderly mothers and look for a house and a job. The exiled editor Donald Woods, whose previous contact with the security police was a poisoned T-shirt posted to his small daughter, last month popped in to drink tea with them in his home town, East London."

The article focuses on a number of exiles, including Bettie du Toit, now 70 years old, blind ... and hardly able to wait to leave her London flat and return.

"Revolutionary, firebrand and brilliant organiser", she unionised many Afrikaans and black factory girls exploited by English industrialists. But she paid for it in jail and by detention without trial. Finally, on learning she was about to be arrested again, she fled to Ghana where she contracted a rare eye disease.

She arrived in England in 1968 for treatment, then learned and began to teach braille until last year when education cuts put an end to the course she was running. South African writer Nadine Gordimer, a long-time friend,

bought her a flat. "If it hadn't been for Nadine and England, I would have been dead long ago," she says.

"I never dreamed apartheid could be threatened. It all happened so quickly. For me it is easy to go back. I have no roots here. I can never really be happy anywhere else."

Another long-time exile, former activist Charlie Jassat, reveals how he and several colleagues, including Harold Wolpe and Arthur Goldreich, bribed a young white policeman to help them escape from prison. But things went wrong and the policeman, Johannes Greeff, was arrested, jailed and was never paid. Jassat says: "I'd like (go back) to pay that money, even if it is 27 years late. Somehow we must find him."

Fritz Joubert, a conscientious objector and the son of a leading Afrikaans journalist, is set to fly back to South Africa on November 30 with his black English wife, Jenny, and nine other war resisters.

But then, he adds, his father told him he was no longer welcome in his parents house. "I appreciate it is difficult for them, because I come from the same background," Joubert says.

However, despite the euphoria, Herbstein points out that unlike earlier Namibian and Zimbabwean exiles, South Africans "are not returning to the welcoming arms of a country on the verge of non-racial rule."

Many exiles escaped from prison, received military training in the Soviet Union. The ANC had been seeking copper-bottomed assurances that all charges had been withdrawn and would not be resurrected if things went sour.

Returning exiles 'should get priority for jobs'

By SAMANTHA WEINBERG

RETURNING exiles and political prisoners should be given priority in the pursuit of jobs — otherwise they might easily pick up arms and become a major destabilising factor, says Papie Moloto from the Centre for the Development of Human Resources.

The CDHR is closely with the Consultative Business Movement to persuade business to help exiles and former prisoners find gainful employment.

"What we want is to find businesses who are willing to take on skilled people and organise on-the-job training for them. It will work for our mutual benefit — we provide the human resources and business provides physical and training resources," he says.

The opportunity cost of exile or imprisonment is great in terms of benefits

forgone, says Moloto, which is why those disadvantaged people should be given a leg-up when they return.

"Many of those people who have been involved in the armed struggle are bitter, so if they return to unemployment they could easily become a major destabilising factor — especially if they lay their hands on arms.

"That is why they must be gainfully and satisfactorily employed. We don't want business to give them handouts, they must be given jobs."

As many of the returnees have management and leadership potential, this should work for the benefit of the employers as well, he says.

Sechaba Modibede from the Political Prisoners' Support Committee is compiling lists of the approximately 3 000 people still in prison, detailing

their past experience and skills.

Many of them, while illiterate and uneducated, have developed skill in prison, says Modibede, himself a former Robben Islander.

"On the Island, most of the people were aware they would require skills when they were released and studied through correspondence courses to ensure they are prepared to make a meaningful contribution to their country."

In addition they learnt practical skills, such as carpentry, upholstery, building and mechanics — all of which would make them valuable employees to existing companies.

While Modibede's main concern is the fate of former political prisoners, he accepts the whole community should benefit from training — but that prisoners and exiles should be given priority.

8

NCCR, govt co-operate ^{CAF 7.2.78} on returnees ^{20/4/80}

PRETORIA. — The ³³⁰
National Co-ordinating
Committee for the Repa-
triation of Exiles (NCCR)
and the government yes-
terday agreed to contin-
ued co-operation to faci-
litate the return of exiles.

The NCCR met the
government here to dis-
cuss the logistics of re-
patriating an estimated
40 000 people in exile,
according to an SA
Council of Churches
(SACC) statement.

The NCCR presented
documents outlining its
purpose and organisa-
tion, and a list of ques-
tions to the government.

Topics raised were
briefly discussed and
the government delega-
tion undertook to refer
the issues to various
state departments.

The parties agreed to
meet again next month.

— Sapa

330

By MARK STANSFIELD

A statement released by the 10 this week said that they had left SA because of their "commitment to the struggle for peace and justice within the country".

Conscription into the SADF is incompatible with our belief that apartheid is indefensible and we feel duty-bound to oppose it in all forms.

Military service in the SADF has indirectly contributed to the suffering and misery of millions of people in South

outline states

who left five years ago; Matthew Temple of Maritzburg, who left four years ago; Fritz Joubert of Paarl, who left six years ago; and

ago; and Roger Field of Cape Town, who left 11 years ago.

"Without specific details I cannot comment," he said, but added that all white males in South Africa between the ages of 17 and 55 were liable for service in the SADF.

in terms of the Defence Act.

Talks on return of exiles

THE National Co-ordinating Committee for the Repatriation of South African Exiles on Friday held talks with a senior government delegation to hasten the return of exiles, the NCCR announced yesterday.

The Committee met the government's diplomatic corps in Pretoria to discuss the logistics of repatriating an estimated 40 000 people still in exile, said a statement by the South African Council of Churches.

The NCCR presented documents outlining its purpose and a list of questions requiring government response.

The SACC statement said these concerned indemnity, entry points, transportation, reception centres, protection and security, education, health and welfare, employment, housing and communication.

Topics raised were briefly discussed and the government delegation undertook to refer the issues to various state departments. The parties agreed to meet again next month. — Sapa.

Press 25/11/90

330

30 ANC exiles granted immunity

330

Soweto 27/11/90

STATE President FW de Klerk yesterday granted another 30 people immunity in terms of the Indemnity Act of 1990 on the eve of what is believed to be a important meeting between him and ANC deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela.

Included in the list were the names of two ANC dissidents who last week arrived in the country with valid passports and "no knowledge of an indemnity or immunity".

BY ISMAIL
LAGARDIEN

deals that Government had offered exiles.

Mr Luvo Stanley Mbengo and Mr Ronnie Masango arrived on November 13, held a press conference at the Carlton Hotel, and declared themselves broke.

The rest of the list is made up of ANC persons only. Twenty-eight persons have been granted unconditional immunity under the Indemnity Act of 1990 from November 19, 1990 to and including January 31 1991.

Two others, Mr Er-

rington Mhleli Mpondwana and Mr Mlungisi Douglas Sentele have been granted unconditional indemnity from December 5 up to and including January 31 1991.

Those who will enjoy immunity until January 31 1991 are Mzwandile Bopeka, Jeffrey Chauke, Bandile Ketelo, James Kekana Leoko, Mighy David Lephoto, Mosoeti Magalefa, Stoffel Mullan, Ronnie Buyaphi Masango.

John Seate Maseko, Bruce Masiko, Vincent Matlau, Amos Vabantu Maxongo, Themba George Mazibuko, Luvo Stanley Mbengo, Fikile Benson Mdleleni, Selinah Mlangeni, Isaac Mpho Mogotsi, Kenson Mawila Mokatsang.

John Mokone, Victoria Tsepiso Motauma, Mandla Bernard Ncala, Peter Ncamu, Sipho Ngobobo, Rocky Bafana Nhlapho, Victor Nkhi, Tom Rasta, Nxolo Tshono, Rev Joseph Vilakazi, Errington Mhleli Mpondwana and Mlungisi Douglas Sentele.

'SA state's absolute control has diminish

South 29/11-5/12/90

330

DENNIS Goldberg returned from exile to the "incredibly beautiful" city of Cape Town on a brief visit.

But like many other exiles, he's of two minds whether to return permanently.

He says he found an opening of political space unprecedented in this country and that the state was no longer able to sustain absolute control over peoples' lives.

"If one can half-seriously talk about the liberation of the republics of Observatory and the University of the Western Cape — that would express the kind of space I'm talking about.

Merchandise

"But one must realise at the same time that the state's ultimate power is not finished."

Goldberg — a former Rivonia prisoner on Robben Island — left South Africa in 1985 after accepting the government's offer of release from prison.

He spent 19 days in Israel with his daughter before heading for London, where he is now based.

He operates the ANC's merchandising business in London, supplying cufflinks, tiepins, ties, T-shirts and literature to outlets throughout the world.

He returned to South Africa last month as a guest of the ANC and was given permission to remain inside the country for a month.

He took the opportunity to return to Cape Town, where he spent his youth.

"It's the first time I've been in Cape Town since 1963. It feels incredible. Cape Town is an incredibly beautiful city.

"But the contrast between Cape Town and the Cape Flats is heartbreaking — the poverty, the barrenness and the match-box homes."

FORMER Rivonia trialist and head of the ANC's merchandising department Mr Dennis Goldberg returned to Cape Town recently after an absence of 27 years. He spoke to REHANA ROSSOUW about his excitement at being home again and the political challenges facing the ANC:

Goldberg met all his former Rivonia co-trialist in Stockholm this year — Walter Sisulu and the group released with him — and later Nelson Mandela.

"It was special; we faced the death sentence together after working for so many years underground.

"When Nelson Mandela was in Stockholm, my wife and I were flown there to meet him. I felt complete again for the first time in decades; all my trial comrades had finally come out of prison."

Childhood dream

He believes he is needed inside South Africa to do political work but, like many exiles, faces the problems of relocating a family for whom South Africa is little more than a childhood dream.

His children left South Africa when they were six and eight years old and had their schooling and first employment in London.

"This is a difficult decision a lot of exiles have to make. A lot of children of exiles have never been to South Africa and have no emotional ties to the country.

"But the centre of the political gravity has definitely shifted to inside South Africa. It has to be like that."

For Goldberg, February 2 signified a



Dennis Goldberg

partial achievement of his goals of a lifetime.

"For me it signified the fact that the apartheid regime had finally understood it could not continue to rule in the old way — something we have been telling them for a long time.

"It was an open recognition of the power of the organised people, in the trade unions, in the UDF and what came to be called the Mass Democratic Movement.

"The government recognised that a kind of stalemate had been reached."

Goldberg said that since the start of the negotiation process, the government was claiming back the political space for itself.

Although the power of the state was weakened, power was still in its hands, it still controlled the treasury and was able to win political points through its ability to act.

So, for example, while the ANC raised the issue of funds needed for housing in war-torn Natal, President FW de Klerk announced the government was making money available.

Crazy

"We see cabinet ministers who have never respected the letter and spirit of the laws and rights of human beings, attacking the ANC and MDM for their determination to exercise democratic rights of assembly and speech.

"We now have the crazy situation where peaceful boycotts of traders is equated with the armed struggle."

Goldberg said the government was playing with words over the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles.

Bureaucrats have introduced forms of control forerunning the releases and return which did not respect the spirit of the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Min-

29/11 - 5/12/90
ed'

utes.

"While they are playing with legalisms, people in exile are suffering as hostages of the government.

"I know of another area in the world where the use of hostages is condemned by the South African government and other Western governments.

"The South African government attacked our activists and disarmed our people who are dying in the townships — let them not claim moral superiority," Goldberg said with deep anger.

"They have never been moral. Some of them are attempting to normalise our society but others just pay lip-service to this concept.

Deliberate

"It is my belief that some cabinet ministers at the head of government structures are determined to hold onto their past positions of power."

Goldberg said it could only be deliberate policy when the police were unable to arrest the perpetrators of violence in the Transvaal but could indiscriminately arrest people they branded "terrorists".

He said it was time De Klerk realised that if he wanted a new South Africa, he should shed his old alliances who were incapable of achieving that.

It was time to "stop playing games". The ANC was prepared to push up the pace of talks if their pre-conditions were met, he said.

Goldberg said the ANC bore a great responsibility for building a democratic political culture to meet the needs of the moment.

This was not something achieved by waving a magic wand, he said.

"The longest journey begins with the first step. I am pleased to see the ANC is meeting and consulting its allies to resolve these issues."

Goldberg said both inside and outside the country the nature of the repression against organisations made full democracy and decision-making difficult.

In all organisations — from the smallest local group to national leaderships — all members had a duty to actively create a democratic culture and not just point fingers at national leaders of whatever organisation for not being democratic enough.

When he arrived in Cape Town, Goldberg was met at the airport by people he had not seen for 27 years.

"What was even more moving was the response of people I could not have met before — those who were not even born when I went to prison.

"Yet they were there to meet me. They have become part of a stream of people who over the years and from generation to generation share the same ideals."

Goldberg said he felt a deep concern for the entire generation of youth who through their courage and determination gave the anti-apartheid struggle a new momentum.

"This government and the future government has a tremendous debt to settle.

"We face the risk of a whole generation becoming disillusioned because they have not gone to school and face difficulties in the job market. We owe them training and care, at least to help them become productive, useful members of the new society.

"If we fail to do this, the struggle and the suffering in the struggle would have been in vain. We must not let this happen."

Optimism over UN aid for exiles

SA Council of Churches (SACC) general-secretary Frank Chikane said yesterday he was confident that obstacles to UN involvement in the repatriation of some 40 000 South African exiles would soon be removed.

Chikane was speaking from Geneva, where he met officials of the UN High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) to discuss "possible scenarios for UNHCR involvement".

A UNHCR spokesman agreed yesterday that obstacles to UN participation could be overcome within weeks.

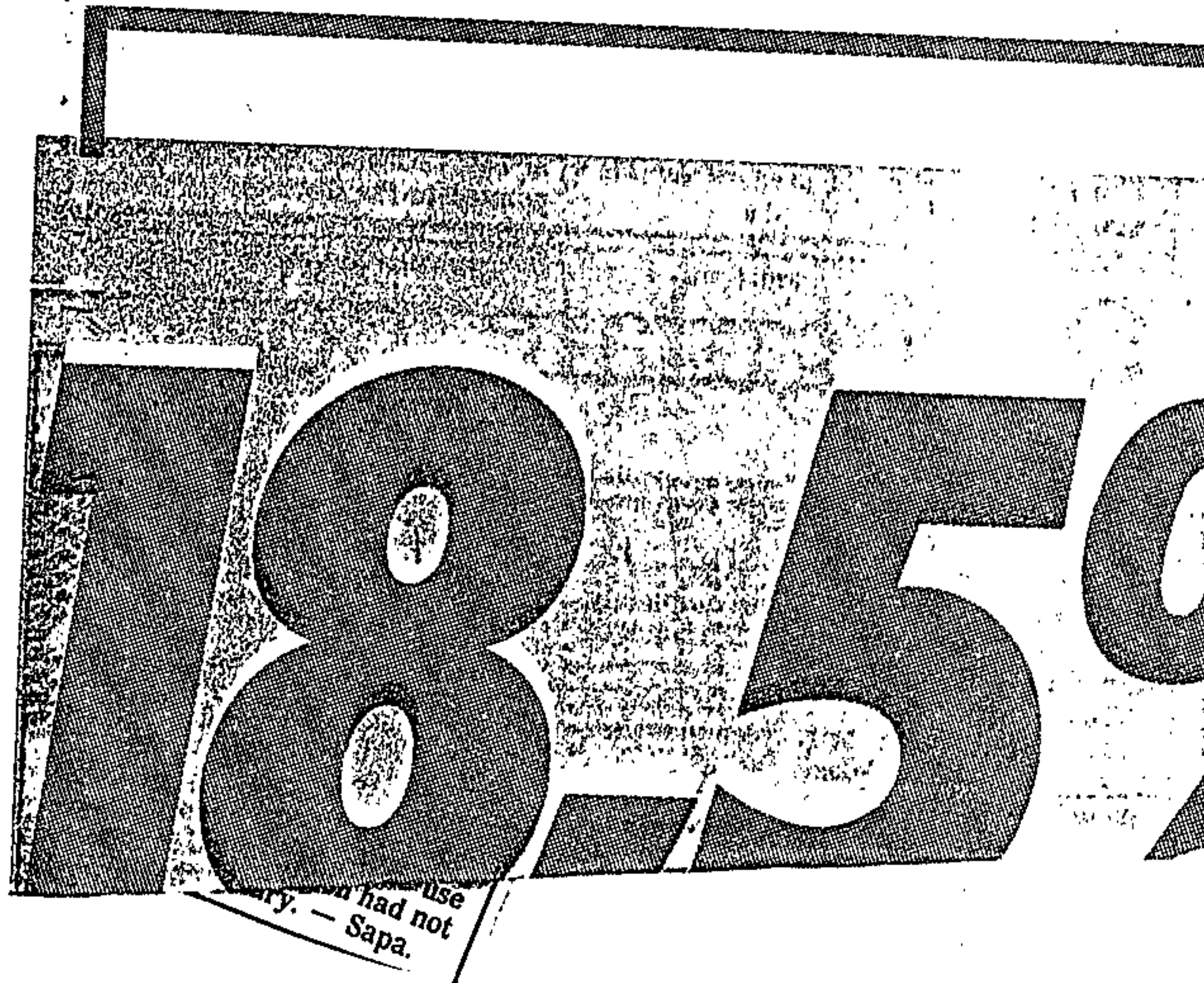
The SA government is expected to decide by December 12 under what circumstances and to what extent the UN would be allowed to operate inside SA.

PETER DELMAR

The UN is insisting that the safety of returning exiles be guaranteed and that it be allowed to fully monitor the repatriation process.

Chikane said yesterday settling the UN's role in the process had become a matter of urgency as foreign donor countries needed to know what work would be done by the UN and what by the multiparty national co-ordinating committee (NCC).

He said what had to be established was the extent of UN involvement. The UN did not want to merely "act as a travel agent" by bringing exiles to the SA border, but hoped to become involved in welfare and other functions.



Exiles in Christmas rush

By MONO BADELA

ANC exiles in African states are hurrying to complete their indemnity forms to ensure that they will be home before Christmas.

The ANC will present the completed application forms to the offices of the Ministers of Justice and Home Affairs next week.

On Wednesday, ANC national execu-

tive committee member Mr Jackie Selebi briefed exiles in Lusaka on how to complete application forms for indemnity and temporary travel documents.

The organisation expects the first group of exiles, particularly those who left the country without valid travel documents, to be back in the country before the end of the year.

Refugees

ANC officials in Lusaka are expected to travel to Angola, Uganda, Tanzania, Ethiopia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Botswana to help ANC members complete the application forms.

Meanwhile, a high-powered delegation of the National Coordinating Committee (NCC) for the Repatriation of South African Refugees is in Geneva where it met with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) on Wednesday.

The delegation, headed by South African Council of Churches general secretary Reverend Frank Chikane, left Johannesburg on Tuesday.

Bombed



Nkobi

Exiles in Christmas rush

By MONO BADELA ^{South} 29/11 - 5/12/90

ANC exiles in African states are hurrying to complete their indemnity forms to ensure that they will be home before Christmas.

The ANC will present the completed application forms to the offices of the Ministers of Justice and Home Affairs next week.

On Wednesday, ANC national execu-

tive committee member Mr Jackie Selebi briefed exiles in Lusaka on how to complete application forms for indemnity and temporary travel documents.

The organisation expects the first group of exiles, particularly those who left the country without valid travel documents, to be back in the country before the end of the year.

Refugees

ANC officials in Lusaka are expected to travel to Angola, Uganda, Tanzania, Ethiopia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Botswana to help ANC members complete the application forms.

Meanwhile, a high-powered delegation of the National Coordinating Committee (NCC) for the Repatriation of South African Refugees is in Geneva where it met with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) on Wednesday.

The delegation, headed by South African Council of Churches general secretary Reverend Frank Chikane, left Johannesburg on Tuesday.

Human rights clause

with gender rights, at discrimination on sexual orientation will be

nal bill of rights in- section, it would make institution one of the he world.

uld also lobby other s for support.

he recommendations al aspects, Olga and ions acknowledged ould have to change cation campaign to

combat homophobia was necessary.

"Even gay activists in political organisations are afraid to come out of the closet for fear of the reaction," Toms said.

The draft bill of rights, which is currently a working document, includes a range of rights including civil, political, legal, social, economic and educational rights.

The bill guarantees language, cultural and religious freedom and deals at some length with the issue of sexual equality.

Other areas covered include the rights of children and the disabled, and the protection of the environment.

Exiled group returns today

By IKE MOTSAPI

AN advance party of 10 self-exiled conscientious objectors returns to the country tomorrow.

The group's return is marked by uncertainty as they are returning without a guarantee of indemnity from the State.

There are fears they may be arrested.

Mr Roddy Payne, national organiser of the End Conscription Campaign, said the exiles had objected to serving in the army because of their religious convictions.

The group will arrive at Jan Smuts Airport at 8.30am.

He said although the men were not sure what reception awaited them, they hoped no action would be taken against them.

Their return represents the potential experience of many other fellow conscripts who went into exile rather than serve in the SADF, an army they still believe represents the interests of the ruling National Party Government.

"We hope they will not be harassed, thus enabling other objectors to feel free to come back home to contribute towards the building of the much-talked about new South Africa," he said.

The group will be met at the airport by among others, representatives of the Democratic Party, the ANC and the Registra of Conscientious Objection.

NCC to ask for help with exiles

By EMMA GILBEY

330

THE delegation of the National Co-ordinating Committee for the repatriation of South African exiles which left for Geneva this week hopes to convince the United Nations High Commission for Refugees that its presence is vital to aid repatriation.

According to an NCC official, the government — though happy with UNHCR involvement — is unwilling to allow a delegation into the country. *WM*

The NCC is still hampered by a lack of funds to give material assistance to returning exiles. The government has been asked to make resources such as housing, schooling and medical aid available to returnees.

WM 30/11-6/12/90

NO INDEMNITY FOR PAC EXILES

THE PAC is to protest at the United Nation's General Assembly against the South African Government's refusal to grant its exiled leaders indemnity from prosecution to allow them to attend a national conference inside the country in December.

Senior PAC official Ahmed Gora Ebrahim said from New York that he would raise the issue at the UN soon.

He said that in terms of the Harare Declaration and a UN General Assembly consensus resolution "it is the responsibility of the regime to create and ensure the climate for free political activity in the country".

It was untrue, he said, that the government had granted indemnity to two senior leaders of the PAC (as reported last week). It had in fact refused the applications for indemnity by six exiled PAC leaders, including his own.

"Their refusal to allow us to attend the funeral of PAC president Zeph Mothopeng will be taken up at the UN," said Ebrahim.

He confirmed the ANC and PAC had agreed to a meeting, but the meeting and its venue was complicated by the government's refusal to grant exiled

PAC leaders indemnity.

"I would say it is very important we have agreed to meet whatever the outcome. Let us form a united front and leave our differences."

Reports that Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi was considering an alliance with the PAC were sniffed at by Ebrahim who said the PAC was seeking "principled alliances not opportunistic ones".

"Our formula is that we will work with all political organisations who support the position of a freely-elected constituent assembly on the basis of one person one vote."

Ebrahim said the PAC would co-operate with Inkatha "if they support this position".

Asked if the PAC still saw "armed struggle" as the principal form of struggle, Ebrahim said liberation movements had not been called on to unilaterally abandon the armed struggle.

Only when the government had met the preconditions of the Harare Declaration and there was a "conducive political climate" could there be "an agreed mutual cessation of hostilities". - ANO

330

2/12/90

Ca
Lo

Army exiles in 'test' return

JOHANNESBURG. — Ten whites who left the country to escape conscription into the "apartheid army" returned home on Saturday to test whether they will be prosecuted.

Leaving behind jobs in exile and some surrendering UN travel documents and political exile status, the 10 were welcomed at Jan Smuts Airport by a crowd of about 100 family members and friends.

Democratic Party MP Mr Peter Soal told the group he had been in touch with the military authorities in hopes of persuading them to deal with the newly returned exiles in a "sensible

and sensitive way."

As many as 10 000 white South Africans chose to leave the country over the past 15 years rather than serve in the SADF, which they regarded as the enforcer of apartheid policies, according to anti-conscription activists.

Saturday's returnees left the country as long as 10 years ago and said they regarded themselves as an advance guard to test the military's reaction. They have no guarantees they will not be prosecuted for draft dodging, a crime now punishable by a maximum six years' imprisonment.

The army has declined to comment.

CMT 7-48 3/12/90 (230)

Indemnity for PAC 14 welcomed

Souelan 3/12/90

330

MBABANE - The PAC has welcomed the granting of temporary indemnity by the Government to 18 exiled members of the organisation.

The Department of Justice announced at the weekend that temporary indemnity from prosecution had been granted to 18 PAC members, including 14 who had earlier been refused immunity.

An announcement on the indemnity will be made in the Government Gazette today.

PAC secretary for ad-

ministration Mr Joe Mkhwanazi yesterday said the decision was the result of the PAC's determined struggle against discrimination.

He was interviewed in Manzini, Swaziland, where a delegation has been waiting for permission to enter South Africa to attend the PAC conference in Johannesburg this coming weekend.

Correct

Mkhwanazi however said State President FW de Klerk's decision was correct if the Government was genuine in its call to

all parties to enter peaceful negotiations aimed at establishing a new peaceful democratic South Africa.

Mkhwanazi said the decision would enable leading exiled members of the PAC to take part in the conference.

Among other matters, the conference on December 7, 8 and 9 will decide the PAC's response to De Klerk's invitation last month to participate in negotiations. - Sapa.

Big crowd welcomes Tambo home

Argus 1

14/12/90

330

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Ailing ANC president Oliver Tambo returned to South Africa after three decades in exile to a tumultuous welcome from thousands of supporters in what airport officials described as probably the biggest reception ever seen at Jan Smuts Airport.

A clearly elated Mr Tambo acknowledged the rousing welcome with continued clenched-fist salutes, but did not address the crowd, estimated by one police officer at 8 000.

On a day that will be recorded as one of the most memorable in South African politics, Mr Tambo and his life-long friend, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, stood side by side waving and smiling at the ecstatic crowd from a balcony at the airport building.

Helped out

Police and ANC marshals jostled well-wishers and journalists who crowded around the red Mercedes-Benz carrying the two leaders, and Mr Tambo was unable to get out of the car for some time.

Adelaide Tambo and Winnie Mandela, both dressed in elaborate African outfits, followed, but were temporarily cut off from their husbands in the melee.

After Mr Tambo was eventually helped out of the car, aides had to lift his legs to the ground, he moved ponderously to a makeshift podium. He is still clearly afflicted by the effects of the stroke he had in August last year.

Amid loud cheers, the two men fondly looked at each other, and smiled.

Catching the first glimpse of the legendary leader, the crowd responded with a thunderous "viva" and chants of "Oliver, Oliver".



I'M HOME: ANC president Oliver Tambo arrives at Jan Smuts Airport.

Mr Mandela briefly addressed the chanting, ululating and toyi-toying crowd, describing Mr Tambo as "one of Africa's greatest heroes".

He said: "The day for which we have all waited, has come. Comrade Oliver Tambo is here. He and his comrades have fought for the right to be here today. We have won that right."

"On Sunday, President Tambo will address you at the FNB Stadium. At present, he wishes to say he is happy to be here."

Mr Mandela then requested the crowd to disperse peacefully.

Huge banners were held aloft, one bearing the legend: "The people of Benoni welcome President O R Tambo back home". Mr Tambo has said he wants to return to Wattville, Benoni's adjoining township, when coming home permanently.

After savouring the spectacle of the large crowd for a few minutes, the two leaders, both wearing cravats in ANC colours, were driven away in Mr Mandela's car.

Brief indemnity for PAC officials

PETER DELMAR

GOVERNMENT has backed down on its demand that 18 exiled PAC leaders commit themselves in writing to peaceful political solutions before receiving indemnity which will allow them to attend the organisation's national conference this week.

Temporary indemnity for the 18 — until December 14 — was gazetted yesterday.

Government's apparent about-face is understood to be the result of intensive negotiation. *Blomay 4/12/90*

A brief Justice Department statement said the PAC leaders had satisfied government that granting temporary immunity "would be conducive to the promotion of peaceful constitutional solutions".

The PAC disclosed last month that government had refused indemnity for 14 top members because they had refused to "subscribe to the principles of peaceful solutions and developments in SA".

Unlike the ANC, the PAC has refused to

suspend its armed struggle. A formal decision on whether to accept government's invitation to constitutional negotiations will be taken at this week's conference.

Government's earlier refusal to grant indemnity was seen by many people as making it almost impossible for the conference to approve negotiations.

Those named in yesterday's Government Gazette include foreign affairs secretary Gora Ebrahim, administrative secretary Joe Mkwana, economic secretary Mlanasekhaya Gqobose and welfare secretary Agatha Boo.

Sapa reports the PAC's chief UN representative Count Pietersen will return to SA after addressing the General Assembly's annual debate on apartheid. However, his name was not among those gazetted yesterday.

50 PAC exiles back this week

MORE than 50 Pan Africanist Congress exiles are expected back in South Africa tomorrow and Thursday to attend the organisation's first national congress in the country in almost three decades.

The three-day congress, under the theme "Forward to a Democratically Elected Constituent Assembly", will be held at Shareworld, Johannesburg, this

By SY MAKARINGE

weekend.

PAC general secretary Mr Benny Alexander said yesterday that among those who would be returning for the conference were administrative secretary Mr Joe Mkhwanazi and secretary for foreign affairs Mr Gora Ebrahim.

The others are welfare secretary Mrs Nomvula Booi; economic affairs

secretary Mr Mfanasek-haya Gqobose; chief representative to Uganda, Mr TM Ntantana; chief representative to Nigeria, Mr Maxwell Nemazivhanadzi and Mr Count Pietersen, chief representative of the observer mission to the United Nations.

Observers at the congress, which will be attended by some 2 000 delegates, will include the founder-member of the original ANC Youth

League, Mr AP Mda, two representatives of the ruling Zanu-PF party in Zimbabwe and diplomats from around the world.

Alexander said an exiled leader who would not attend was chairman Mr Johnson Mlambo, who is also chief commander of the military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

He described the Government's decision to

●To Page 2

PAC exiles return this week

●From Page 1

grant indemnity to the 14 leaders as "positive".

He said the organisation's lawyers were finalising indemnity applications for about 30 others to enable them to

attend. Alexander said, however, that he was disappointed by the Government's refusal to allow internal PAC leaders to consult with their members on Robben Island.

"It's a case of opening

one door and closing the other," he said.

Alexander said the congress would put the PAC "on a structural footing to meet the challenges of continuous struggle, pressure as far as negotiations are concerned and mass action".

He said the organisation would have to come out very clear on a "principled united front", as it could not afford to isolate itself.

Other issues that will be discussed include the continuing internecine violence and political intolerance.

Alexander said the organisation would also draw up a programme of action.

10 returned objectors to register for army service

By BRONWYN DAVIDS

THE 10 conscientious objectors who returned to South Africa at the weekend intend registering for military service but will refuse to serve when they receive their call-up orders next year, one of the men said yesterday.

The men, all Committee of SA War Resisters (COSAWR) members, started planning their return a year ago, even though they faced possible arrest on arrival here.

Yesterday Mr Francois Krige, who left South Africa in 1987, said he and fellow COSAWR member Mr Fritz Joubert would register at the Castle once they received call-up papers.

An SADF spokesman said this week that it was law that men between the age of 17 and 35 years do military service, and the ten would also be subject to this law.

Mr Joubert, who is married to a

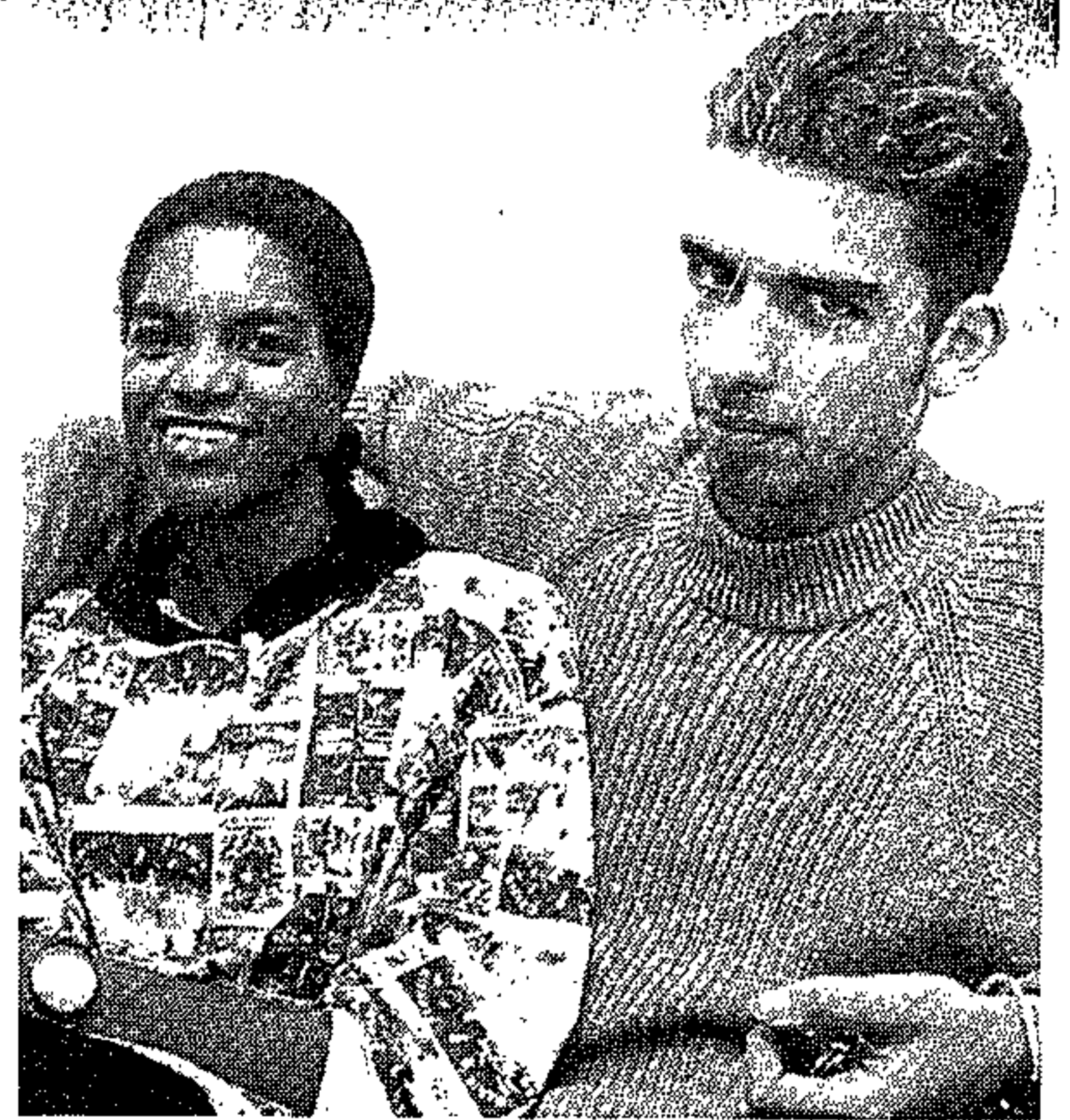
black British woman, said last night that he and his wife Jenny had visited his mother in Paarl but family relations were "strained at the moment".

"The strain has arisen because my father does not like the idea of my marriage to a non-white — and also the political stand I made by joining the ANC," said Mr Joubert.

"The idea of returning was to confront the issue of conscription, as it is too easy to run away and avoid it. It's time young South Africans who feel strongly about conscription confront the issue," said Mr Joubert.

Mr Krige said that with current political changes and the return of exiles, the time was right for them to return.

Several thousand objectors and other political exiles who have no amnesty would be monitoring their return and what happens to them over the next few months, he said.



EXILE RETURNS . . . Mr Fritz Joubert, who returned to South Africa last week with his British wife, Jenny. Mr Joubert left SA to avoid military call-up.

Return of exiles closer after talks overseas

330
AX66
6/12/90

PORT ELIZABETH. — Arrangements are almost in place for the long-awaited return of South Africa's political exiles following the return of a high-powered South African Council of Churches delegation from Europe.

The United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) has taken a decision to participate in the resettlement process, but is waiting for a formal invitation from the South African government.

SACC repatriation spokesman Venita Meyer said an SACC delegation led by general secretary the Rev Frank Chikane had met the UNHCR in Geneva and Brussels over the past few days.

Mr Chikane said yesterday the body was willing to help in the repatriation programme but it

was "up to the South Africans to make a decision, even on the question of the UN's involvement".

A start to the repatriation process now firmly depended on the government's response to representations made by the UN. Mr Chikane said the world body had stipulated that it would first wait for an official invitation from the SA government.

"A number of general operational issues have to be cleared up first between them," Mr Chikane said, "so we are now much closer to resolving this".

"Once these issues have been taken care of, then everything else will fall in place."

The government was also applying its mind to the indemnity issue.

Mr Chikane said this was a

matter between the government and the liberation movements, but a clearer picture would emerge after the repatriation national co-ordinating committee had met the government again next Wednesday.

The UNHCR said last month its first step in the resettlement process would be an international appeal for donations.

The extent of its service would depend on the funds raised and also on further negotiations with the government and other key groups involved, like the SACC.

Several discussions between the three parties have already taken place. The UNHCR said a prerequisite for UN participation in resettlement were safety guarantees for the returnees and the organisation's ability to monitor them. — Sapa.

Returning draft resister urges talks on call-up

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — The issue of conscription must be brought into the negotiation process and returning conscientious objectors must continue campaigning for an end to compulsory call-ups which offer no legal alternatives, says the first exiled conscientious objector to return to Natal, Mr Theo Chaplin.

Mr Chaplin, 32, a University of Cape Town chemical engineering graduate, is one of a group of 10 who have returned to South Africa — the first conscientious objectors to do so. They have no guarantees of immunity from prosecution for refusing to serve in the Defence Force.

More than 23 000 white men, many of them graduates, had left South Africa since 1980 to

avoid conscription, Mr Chaplin said.

"And it is going to be very difficult to attract people back. Lots of people go into exile and disappear: they get absorbed into other societies and South Africa never sees them again."

Mr Chaplin said that when he left South Africa in 1980 he had first gone to Amsterdam and then to London to seek political asylum.

No pacifist

"I refuse to serve in the South African Defence Force because I believe it is responsible for upholding the white minority regime and as a South African opposed to apartheid, I can't see myself being forced into those structures."

"But I'm not a pacifist — I do agree that we need some kind of national service. In fact, our return was largely be-

cause we want to see the issue of conscription brought into the negotiating process."

Mr Chaplin was active in an organisation known as the Committee on South African War Resistance.

They began to think of returning towards the end of last year when "things started going the right way" after African National Congress leader Mr Walter Sisulu was released followed by the unbanning of the ANC and release of Mr Nelson Mandela.

"The war was over in Angola and people were being withdrawn from Namibia. We wanted to come home and continue to call for an end to conscription."

But right now all Mr Chaplin wants to do is "spend a week with mum and dad and get to grips with what's been going on in the family all these years".

CMK
Tent 35
6/12/90
330

Singing crowd greet exiles

JOHANNESBURG. — A crowd of about 100 chanting and singing PAC supporters gathered at Jan Smuts Airport last night to welcome returning exiled leaders.

One of those to return was PAC administration secretary Mr Joe Mkwana-azi, who had been in exile since 1962.

Also returning with Mr Mkwanaazi was Mr Mfan-asekhaya Gqobose. Earlier, three PAC exiles returned from London. They included the PAC's chief representative in London, Mr Vuyani Mngaza, and his son, Mr Khuselo Mngaza. — Sapa

CHIT-1014 7/12/90 (330)

Ndebele gets SA work permit

JOHANNESBURG. — The Minister of Home Affairs, Mr. Gene Louw, has granted Lesotho-based writer and poet Professor Njabulo Ndebele a temporary work permit to enable him to accept a teaching post at the University of the Witwatersrand.

Prof Ndebele, who is presently vice-chancellor of the National University of Lesotho and the national president of the Congress of South African Writers, has been offered a post by the department of African studies at Wits.

The granting of the temporary residence and work permit has ended a year-long wrangle over the issue.
— Sapa

Exiles return for PAC national congress today

8 10 am
31/2/90

PETER DELMAR

#330

UP TO 1 000 delegates from SA and overseas meet near Johannesburg today for the PAC's first national congress inside the country in three decades.

A PAC spokesman said yesterday the organisation's foreign affairs secretary Gora Ebrahim and other exiled leaders were expected to return to SA today. There had been no last-minute hitches in obtaining temporary indemnity for the exiles, he said.

The most important issues to be decided by the three-day congress near Soweto will be the election of a new president and deciding whether to accept government's invitation to constitutional negotiations.

Indications this week were that the PAC would continue to insist on a constituent assembly and that conditions for negotiations had not been met.

Most observers agree the negotiation process would receive a crucial fillip should the PAC agree to take part.

Acting president Clarence Makwethu was being strongly tipped to become president.

Representatives of other "liberation movements" have also been invited to the congress.

The African National Congress is on the verge of a decision about its operations in exile, about whether to close them down or maintain them until the situation in South Africa becomes clearer. JOHN RYAN of the Argus Africa News Service, reporting from Morogoro in Tanzania, was the first foreign journalist in several years to be allowed to visit ANC settlements there.

ON the outskirts of this poverty-eroded centre, beneath foreign mountains and beyond an international checkpoint, lies a slice of South Africa about which most South Africans have never heard.

Locals know the place as Mazimbu and wonder as they pass at the trim fields and ordered buildings. But to the exiles who live there it is the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College.

College is something of a misnomer, for the complex dwarfs such description. It is much more like a town, with three schools and ring roads of ranch-type houses and a population of 2 500.

There is also a comprehensive farm at the fringe, producing gammon from 1 500 pigs, maize and rice and sundry other crops and enough milk from a dairy herd to feed the pupils.

And a furniture factory, purveying on order its excess capability to the Tanzanian nation. And even a 20-bed hospital which is used 80 per cent of the time by residents of Morogoro, 200km west of Dar es Salaam, though they have a district hospital of their own.

THE availability of drugs and the quality of care persuade them to cross into the odd, outlandish enclave.

Mr Solomon Mahlangu, some South Africans may remember, was one of three African National Congress insurgents involved in the Goch Street shooting in Johannesburg on June 13 1977 in which two white men died.

Although the court conceded that one of the others actually fired the machine pistol which killed Mr Rupert Kassner and Mr Kenneth Wolfendale, Mahlangu was found guilty of complicity and sentenced to death.

The 22-year-old ANC man was hanged on April 6 1979 — the year the organisation was given this tract of land by the Tanzanian administration on which to build a secondary school. Thus, with a ready martyr to name it after, the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College came into being.

Mr Martin Dombu, now the assistant farm manager at Mazimbu, was one of the original students. He fled South Africa in 1976 at the height of the protests against Bantu education.

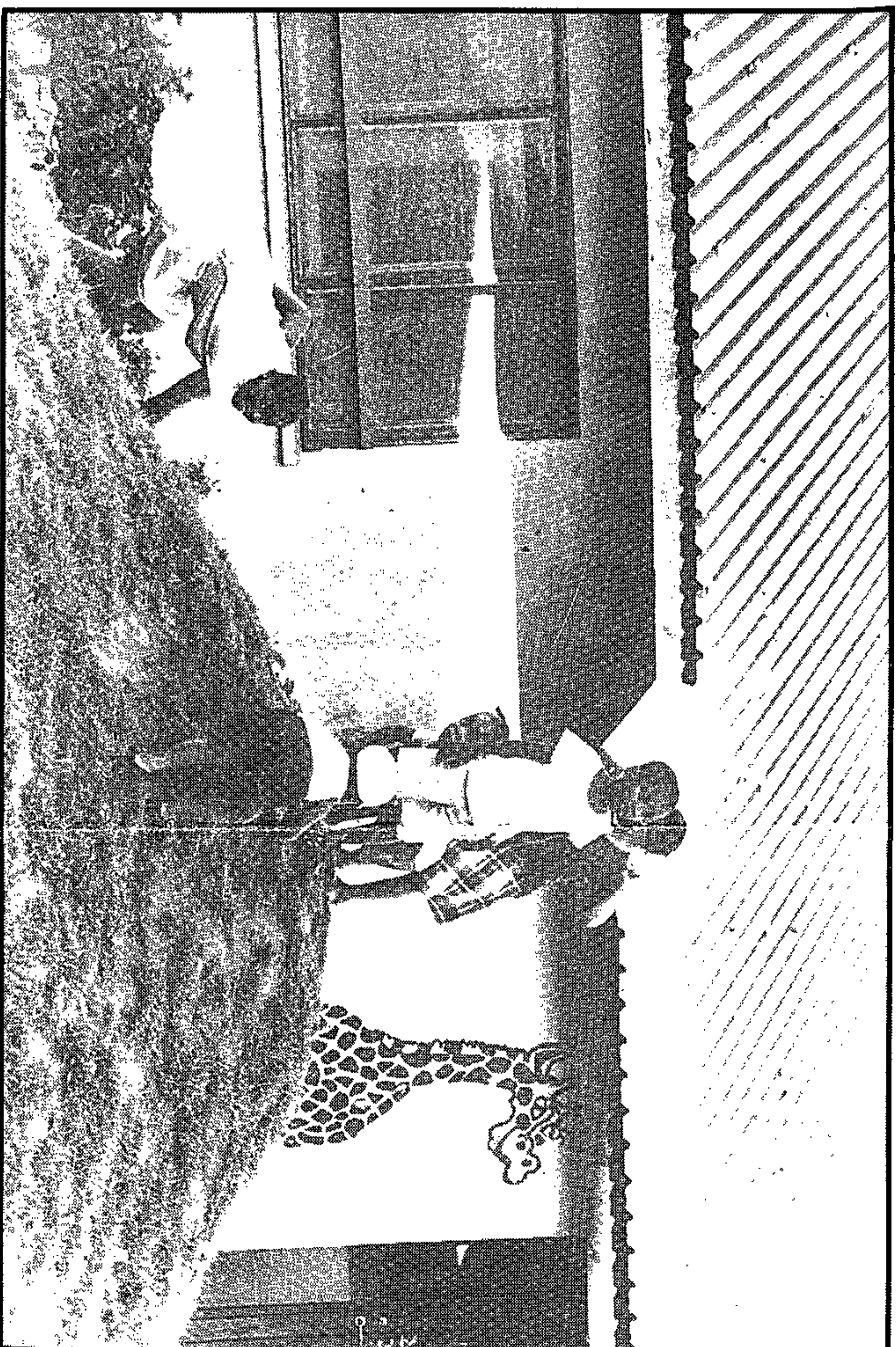
"A number of us ended up near Morogoro, but on the other side of the valley," Martin says. "We were totally bored with exile, with doing nothing, so we had started teaching one another. Some were good in certain subjects and some in others and we swapped knowledge."

So the idea of a school was born. The land given to the ANC by Mr Julius Nyerere's government was an abandoned sisal farm with several buildings which are still here. The complex has been designed around them.

Since some of the "Class of '76" students had been trained in agriculture, it seemed logical to put an area of the former plantation under crops to help feed the community.

THE college inherited three pigs from a squatter. With time, the pigsty came to be

Tanzanian school for SA exiles looks to the future



The nursery school at Mazimbu. Some children are orphans of the armed struggle.

Pictures: JOHN RYAN, Argus Africa News Service

by the Tanzanian Government.

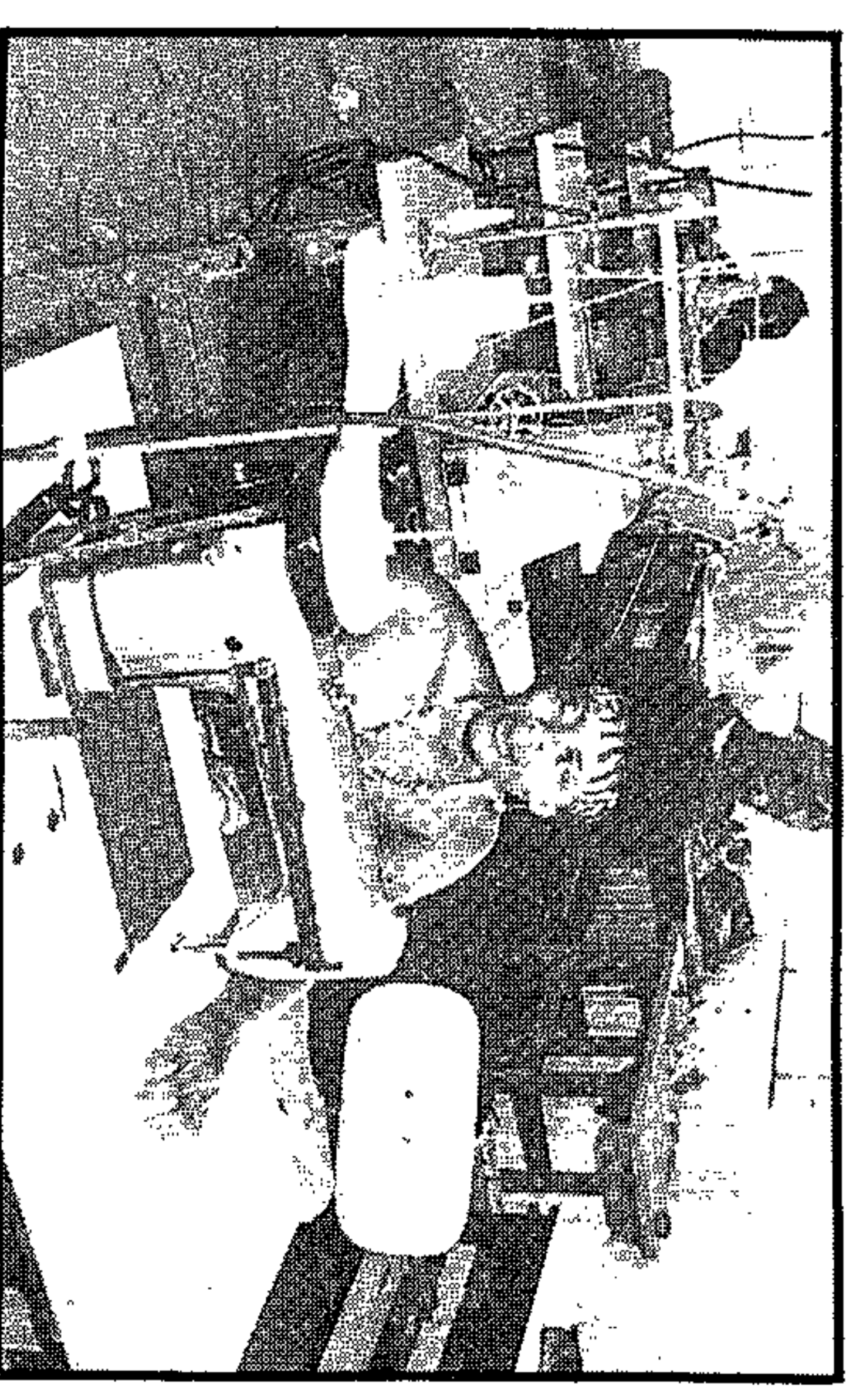
Ironically, although nobody could have foreseen the events of the past year in South Africa, Mazimbu faces a decision over its future just as it is nearing completion. Among the last amenities built have been a maternity home, a community centre, a civic library and a sports complex.

While the work here is almost over, another ANC project in Tanzania is only beginning to take proper shape. This is Dakawa, 60km fur-

has grown considerably through the violence in Natal and young refugees — mainly males — continue to arrive almost weekly.

As a result, the principal function of the centre is clearing and re-orientation. Many of the youngsters have had their schooling disrupted for some time and need to be prepared again for formal education.

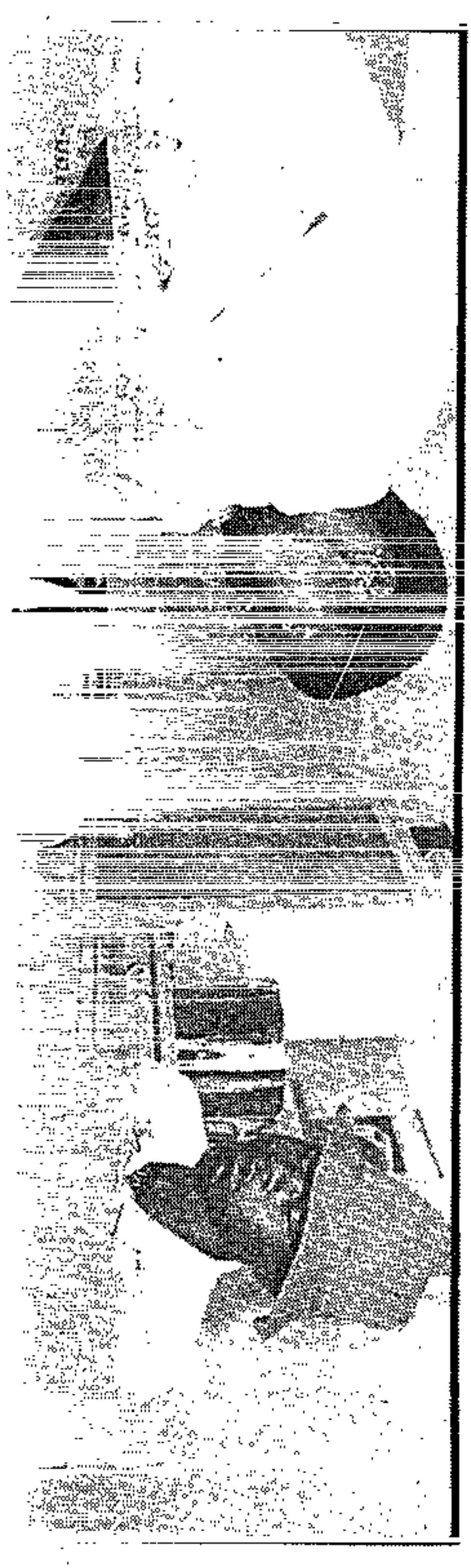
HOWEVER, there is a vocational training centre at Dakawa, a cobblery which teaches shoe-making, and a garment factory produc-



Workers, above, in the garment factory at Dakawa, the other ANC settlement to the west of Mazimbu. Will the centre develop as originally planned, or will it close?

■ ■ ■

Rose Madiba and Michael Sachs, right. They say a problem at the ANC schools is the teacher shortage.





Judges barred from replying

IN view of the use of the Press by a Cape judge to reply to an article criticising his finding a man guilty of murder and sentencing him to death (which finding and sentence were both upset on appeal) (Weekend Argus, October 20), some happenings I have come across during a visit to Britain may be of interest in South Africa.

Judge James Pickles of West Yorkshire sentenced a 19-year-old mother to serve six months in jail (with her baby) for theft. She had allowed people to steal from the shop where she worked. On appeal, Lord Lane, the Chief Justice, and two other Court of Appeal judges criticised the jail sentence and substituted a probation order.

Judge Pickles then called a Press conference and told journalists that critics had misunderstood a comment he had made when imposing sentence — that releasing the woman might encourage others to think they could avoid trial by getting pregnant. He criticised Lord Lane as "a dinosaur living in the wrong age" and said that "though Lord Lane thinks he has done his job properly", the jail sentence had received many letters of support.

In an open letter, the Lord Chancellor, Lord MacKay, said that Judge Pickles's remark warranted "serious rebuke" and made clear his annoyance that an earlier warning about the judge's conduct had been disregarded, after which he gave an undertaking not to discuss publicly cases in which he had been involved. No further action would be taken, however, said Lord MacKay, as the judge had accepted that he was wrong to have called a Press conference, discussed the case publicly or made the remark and had publicly apologised.

The matter has thrown into bold relief the important convention barring judges from publicly commenting or replying to comments on their cases. It is one of the unwritten rules governing the conduct of the judiciary and breaches of it in Britain have been very rare.

This principle applies equally in South Africa. Once a judge has delivered his judgment he is *functus officio* and if he thereafter chooses to descend into the arena to do battle, he does so not as a judge, but as an ordinary citizen and as such exposes himself to the shafts of his critics, from which his status as a judge cannot protect him.

It is the right of the Press and the public to make their comment on judgments and sentences of the courts. It would be disastrous if judges, save where sitting as such, were permitted to comment on these comments.

It is submitted, therefore, that the recent descent by the Cape judge into the arena of public dispute about his own judgment is a sad and regrettable deviation.

GERALD GORDON, QC
London

The sad demise

Write to: The Editor,
Weekend Argus,
Cape Town 8000.

This was against an attack consisting of Bryson (61 runs off 11 overs on Saturday) and Rod McCurdy.

Not Lindwall and Miller or Trueman and Statham, but, alas, Seefi and Kirsten are no Barlow and Bryuns.

The match was won and lost then and there. From then on it was pressure all the way until that wonderful display of guts by Kenny Jackson and Eric Simons as well as the bowlers and fielders.

Western Province is the only team in the country to let players of the calibre of Terence Lazarus, Kenny McEwan, Michael Austen, Roy Pienaar, Omar Henry and, of course, Peter Kirsten go without much of a whimper.

They are also the only team in South Africa not to have seen fit to use the services of a talented overseas professional. Talking of professionals, we are now getting to the reasons for the sad demise of WP cricket.

How can a team be professional with amateur management? Look around at Eastern Province and Transvaal, not only on the field but off it.

No business can run successfully without top-class management and the long-suffering Cape Town cricket public deserve a lot better than what they're getting.

What a century year this is going to be!
ENOUGH IS ENOUGH
Durbanville

Plea for more on metaphysics

IT is pleasing to read some metaphysical articles in the Weekend Argus (Weekender, December 1). Having had many premonitions, factual dreams and experiences that were more than coincidental, I can only say: Give us more! The thought strikes me that there is a parallel between metaphysics and sex in that both are subjects most people are reluctant to talk about, yet both are also areas in which most people have had experience. Sex is certainly coming out of the closet; it's high time metaphysical matters did too.

Both, after all, have been round since man's creation.

R MATZDORFF
Plumstead

By letter, not always by law?

THE Chief Executive Officer of the Western Cape Regional Services Council, Mr C H Mocke, is to be commended for his detailed, specific and well-reasoned response regarding the proposed Hout Bay Club (Weekend Argus, December 1).

Mr Mocke points out that rules and regulations have not been observed and that therefore the club cannot go ahead as planned.

It would appear that the signing of a petition by 20 people out of a population of about 10 000

The Soviet Union is the world's largest producer of many grains and fruits, so it seems nonsense to speak of famine. RUPERT CORNWELL looks beyond the food queues to find the reasons.



Rights before Soviet Union

Weekend 8/12/90

RELIEF is on the way. Last week the first 5 000 food parcels from Hamburg arrived in Leningrad. In Moscow, the Red Cross is distributing similar charity, from Germany, Italy and the United States, to the orphaned, the handicapped and the old of the city. Soon, the assistance will spread to areas struck by the Chernobyl disaster and to the blighted lands around the Aral Sea.

The European Community has earmarked \$2bn (R5bn) of emergency relief aid. Around the globe, donations in money and in kind are pouring into Soviet embassies.

Famine, it is said, stalks the Soviet Union. Partly out of human sympathy, partly out of fear of consequences that would make the Gulf crisis pale by comparison, the world is responding.

Yet how, for all its imperfections, could perestroika come to this? Above all, is it really famine?

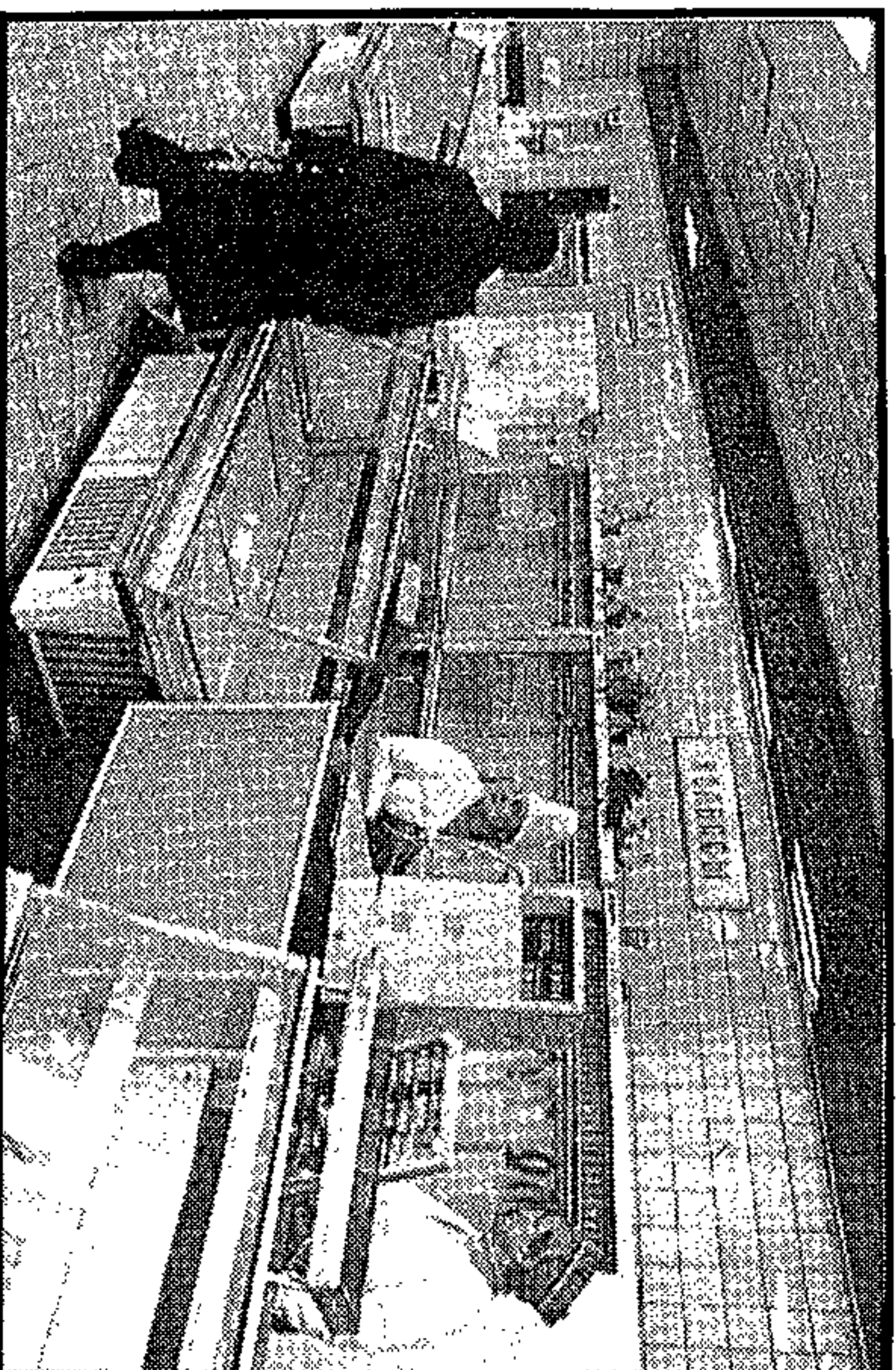
Consider a few facts. The Soviet Union is the world's largest producer of barley, oats, rye, potatoes, sugar, and apples. For wheat and tomatoes it holds second place. It ranks third for grapes, and fourth for millet and tobacco. These statistics omit the less basic commodities such as onions, carrots and eggs. Moreover, they relate to 1988, not to the bumper harvests of this year. To talk of famine, at least in the sub-Saharan sense of huge crop failures, is surely nonsense.

EQUALLY inappropriate was the comparison by Mr Anatoly Sobchak, the mayor of Leningrad, of conditions in his city with those dur-



Anastasia Andreyeva, 83, with a food package from Germany. The Moscow city council and Red Cross have arranged strict procedures for the distribution of food.

Citizens take revenge for Stalin's rule of terror



A Muscovite walks past empty display cases in a sausage shop. Many foods are in short supply.

colossal, but instructions, once given, were obeyed. No matter that country dwellers might have to travel to privileged towns — with a pass — to buy a few necessities.

Take Petrozavodsk, a typical regional capital, in the harsh northern province of Karelia, next to the Finnish border. There, 3 000 containers full of food and other consumer goods stand forlorn, their contents mysteriously diminishing by the day. No wonder foreign donors insist that they must see their aid to the doorstep of those it is intended to reach.

IN truth, these individual explanations are not separate. Each feeds into the other, reinforcing a downward spiral of rumour, demonisation and panic which set in before this autumn. An understandable instinct to hoard has merely made matters worse. The onset of winter has brought them to a head.

Mr Gorbachev has reacted in predictable fashion. Short of declaring a full-scale national state of emergency, he has gathered almost all power theoretically possible into his own hands. A special commission, responsible to himself, has been set up to handle the donations from abroad, the KGB will help ensure they do not go astray.

Another presidential decree authorises "workers' committees", like those of 1917, to supervise distribution of food and other goods in short

later, Danish donated superior pigs... slaughtered fortnightly, so the community has a regular supply of pork.

Consultants from East Germany and the Nordic countries were brought in to advise the ANC on the fine planning of the centre. But the physical work — from the building of classrooms, dormitories and houses down to the making of tables and chairs — was done by the members themselves, assisted by local labour.

Although the original intention was to have a secondary school to meet the needs of dislocated pupils from the 1976 era and after, it soon became obvious that Mazimbu should have a wider function.

Eleven years on, there are almost 500 pupils at the secondary school and more than 400 at a primary school. In addition, there are adult education facilities for the support group of members and a nursery school.

Most of the pupils are boarders whose parents are either in South Africa or in other Front Line states. Some have been orphaned in the struggle.

Funds for the running of the college come mainly from the Nordic countries but UNESCO (the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation) supplies 40 of the teachers and the UNDP (United Nations Development Programme) pays them.

The adult community of Mazimbu is cosmopolitan. Apart from the foreign teachers, there are two Cuban doctors at the hospital and a number of Nigerian and Swedish nurses. Swedish agricultural officers have helped expand the farm, which now has 400ha of arable land.

MR Alpheus Manghezi, director of the ANC schools, says, "We have learned to live with many different people. Some of our members have married Tanzanians and will eventually be returning home with them. Last month, one married an Australian woman teacher."

There is an official Tanzanian presence in the settlement, a sort of consulate-barrier at the entrance, for all visitors have to be approved

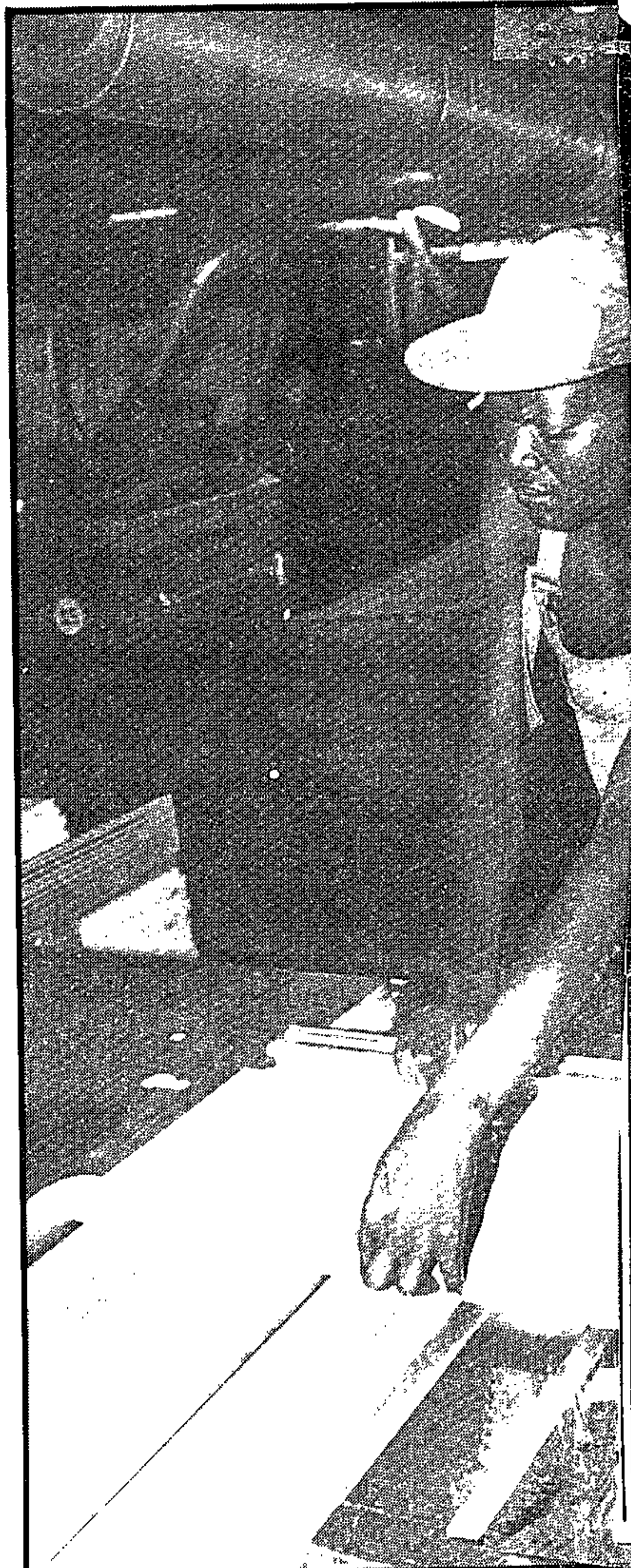
28km square. It was offered to the ANC in 1982, when it appeared that Mazimbu might eventually split at the seams.

The timing was fortunate. Two years later, with the signing of the Nkomati Accord between the South African and Mozambican Governments, hundreds of ANC members were forced to find another place of refuge.

Dakawa's population is now about 1 200. It

Building is going on apace on several residential units and the plan is to expand the existing schools and develop the farming operation. Already, a beef herd has been moved to Dakawa from Mazimbu and 600 goats are to follow. That is the plan. Unless limbo sets in and sanity prevails. And these two communities of South Africans, most of them so tired of exile, are allowed by their superiors to go home.

An ANC doctor dressing a student's injury at Mazimbu hospital. The hospital is used more by Tanzanians than the ANC.



The furniture factory at Mazimbu sells its excess products to the Tanzanians.



The dairy herd provides enough milk for the pupils.

Wits welcome the Ndebele permit

By SUSU MOTSHUTSHU

1980/11/20

ALTHOUGH renowned Lesotho-born academic, Professor Njabulo Ndebele, had only been granted a temporary work permit by South Africa, he would make an immense cultural and academic contribution in the country, academics said this week.

Ndebele, whose permit to work in South Africa has been refused twice, will be joining the Department of African Literature at the University of the Witwatersrand.

He is expected to take up the post early next year.

"We are very delighted and honoured to be joined by a brilliant author and one of the finest scholars of our time," said Wits vice-chancellor Prof Robert Charlton, adding that the university was pleased his permit problems had been solved.

"He is one of the best men in his field, whom we have been wanting for a long time," Charlton said.

The head of the Department of African Literature, Prof Peter Thuyusma, said Ndebele would help teach short

stories in African culture "which will help bolster this department".

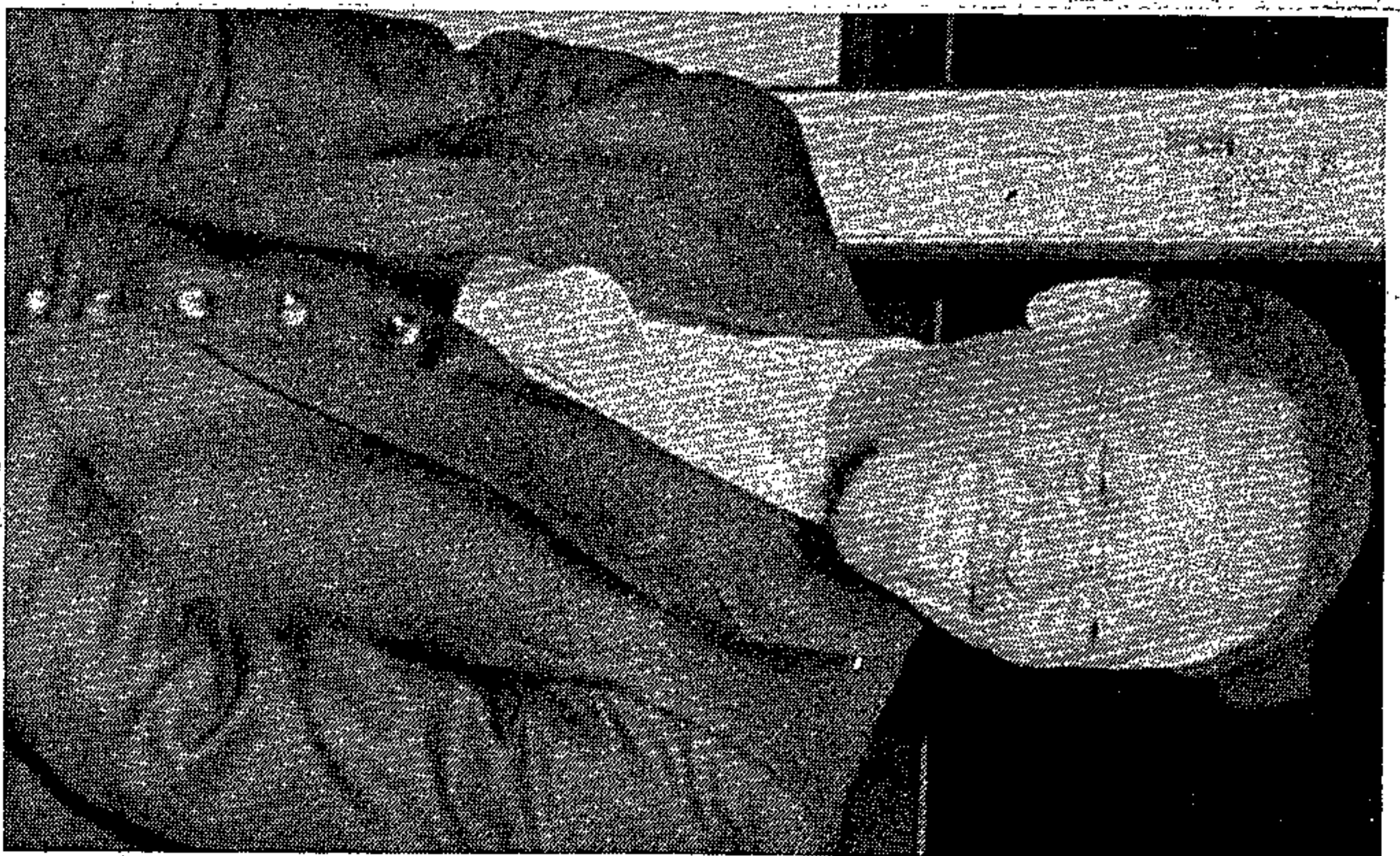
"Culturally, his contribution would be substantial, because as president of the Congress of South African Writers (Cosaw) he will be able to attract some highly qualified African writers and cultural workers," Thuyusma said.

Although Cosaw was delighted at his presence, they felt that in only granting Ndebele a temporary permit, the government had met their demands half way.

"The government twice refused his application because they feel threatened by his views on the new South Africa and the fact he believes African culture should not be dominated by that of the minority," said Cosaw secretary Frank Meinjies.

"Cosaw saw the refusal as a betrayal on the government's side of the agreement reached with the ANC in the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes," he said.

"Cultural workers and artists who were in exile should be allowed to come back without conditions such as that of Ndebele, he added.



Professor Njabulo Ndebele . . . brilliant author.

Chikane (in330)

plea for exiles

CHM-TWP 10/12/90
JOHANNESBURG. —

South African Council of Churches general secretary the Rev Frank Chikane is in the final stages of negotiations for the return of 26 former ANC and PAC members from exile in Nairobi.

Temporary indemnity until January 31 had been granted to 28 people exiled in Kenya following negotiations by Mr Chikane with Justice Minister Mr. Kobie Coetsee, a SACC statement said.

Two of the exiles have already returned home.

The SACC said the Nairobi exiles needed special attention as they had fallen out with their organisations. — Sapa

Azapo: No indemnity for exiles

JOHANNESBURG. — Azapo yesterday claimed its insurgents had been in and out of South Africa on numerous occasions and said it would not seek indemnity for exiled members wanting to attend its 10th annual congress from December 21 in Cape Town.

In a statement, Azapo said that besides not recognising President F W de Klerk's authority to grant indemnity, "we find it extremely odd that comrades engaged in the just war of liberation should require indemnification, whereas white agents of the wicked war of oppression and genocide against our people should roam occupied Azania with impunity".

CAPE TWP 10/12/90 330
The statement said exiles would "find ways and means" of attending the congress without asking for indemnity.

Notice was also given that Azapo would "reshuffle" its leadership at the congress. This was part of the organisation's tradition to uphold the principle of collective leadership.

Azapo also rejected any suggestion that it would consider discussing joining the negotiation process at its congress.

The statement was signed by Azapo's Transvaal vice-president Dr Gomolemo Mokae. — Sapa

Mandela resolves entry wrangle for exiles

Sowetan 10/12/90.

330

A GROUP of 26 returning exiles and ANC members initially refused entry by authorities on Saturday after intervention by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela.

Mandela confirmed at the weekend that he had intervened to secure the release of the exiles, who are in the country to attend this week's consultative conference of the ANC.

A high-placed ANC source, who arrived on a plane from Lusaka at the same time as the 26, said the authorities first refused to allow them into

the country at Jan Smuts Airport about 1pm.

The source said she then contacted Mandela and other ANC officials when authorities would not allow the exiles in the country.

Problems

"He (Mandela) intervened with other members of the ANC and I think on the basis of that they were allowed in the country," she said.

She said the group was allowed about midnight on Saturday and the matter was expected to be

pursued with the authorities today.

Asked whether the exiles did not have visas as initially reported by the authorities, she said she thought arrangements had been made.

"I think they expected to be admitted, but not to experience problems".

ANC official Mr Yusuf Saloojee confirmed at the weekend that Mandela had been at the airport to resolve the situation.

He later left for Pretoria to take up the

matter with Government officials.

Meanwhile SABC quoted a senior official of the Department of Foreign Affairs, Mr Mike Bester, as saying special authority had been given on Saturday night to admit the exiles.

Special arrangements had been made at Jan Smuts Airport to process papers of ANC members arriving for the organisation's conference.

He said the group had been delayed at airport by "administrative and procedural problems", and that the difficulties had been largely because of his department receiving "too little warning" of the return of ANC members. - S a p a

Azapo wont seek indemnity

THE Azanian People's Organisation yesterday claimed its insurgents had been in and out of South Africa on numerous occasions, "in pursuit of their revolutionary mission".

Azapo said it would not approach Pretoria to seek indemnity for exiled members wanting to attend the organisation's 10th annual congress from December 21 in Cape Town.

Odd

Azapo said besides not recognising President F W de Klerk's authority to grant indemnity, "we find it extremely odd that comrades engaged in the just war of liberation should require indemnification whereas white agents of the wicked war of oppression and genocide against our people should roam occupied Azania with impunity".

The statement said exiles disallowed from entering the country would "find ways and means" of attending the congress without asking for indemnity, "just as they did in previous congresses and other Azapo gatherings". -Sapa

Azapo 'won't seek indemnity'

The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) yesterday claimed its insurgents had been in and out of South Africa on numerous occasions, "in pursuit of their revolutionary mission". *SAW 10/12/90*

It added that it would not approach Pretoria to seek indemnity for exiled members wanting to attend its 10th annual congress from December 21 in Cape Town.

In a statement on Saturday, Azapo said that, apart from not recognising President de Klerk's authority to grant indemnity, it found it odd that "comrades engaged in the just war of liberation should require indemnification, whereas white agents of the

wicked war of oppression and genocide against our people should roam occupied Azania with impunity".

The statement, which was signed by Transvaal vice president Dr. Gomoemo Mokae, said exiles disallowed from entering the country would "find ways and means" of attending the congress without asking for indemnity.

Notice was also given that Azapo would "reshuffle" its leadership as part of the tradition of collective leadership. *(330) (252)*

Azapo said it had invited one "high profiled socialist comrade from without Azania" to deliver a keynote address. — Sapa.



Bid to limit airport welcome for Tambo

APR 12/12/80

330

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The African National Congress and the Department of Law and Order are at loggerheads over arrangements for the reception planned for ANC president Oliver Tambo, who returns to South Africa tomorrow after 30 years in exile.

ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma said yesterday the department had asked the ANC to restrict the welcoming party at Jan Smuts Airport to the 35-strong national executive committee.

He said the department had "refused" permission for thousands of supporters to go to the airport to welcome the ANC leader.

"They (the police) are simply making things impossible. We don't know what is going to happen. We have told the police that we will handle everything."

Agreement

"But no arrangements have been finalised. People will have to make up their own minds on whether they want to go to the airport."

A spokesman for the Department of Law and Order, Captain Craig Kotze, said the police and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela had agreed that the welcoming party be kept to between 50 and 60.

Captain Kotze said the ANC had failed to attend a planning meeting with the Deputy Commissioner of Police, General Mulder van Eyck, which was to have taken place at the airport last week.

"Their excuse was that they had confused the dates. It is not the police who are causing problems. We want everything to go smoothly and peacefully."

He said the police had since made several attempts — to no avail — to discuss the arrangements with the ANC.

'Homecoming'

"We are not standing in the way of a workable solution. The ANC's organisation apparently seems not to be of the best in this particular matter. ANC officials often don't show up for meetings," said Captain Kotze.

Prominent advertisements were placed in newspapers yesterday in connection with Mr Tambo's return.

Under the heading "A glorious homecoming", the advertisements read: "Oliver Tambo ranks among the greatest political figures of our times. His sagacity, maturity and humility are the marks of a towering personality imbued with a deep sense of justice and an inspiring love for the people."

"President Tambo's return to our country and people is perhaps one of the most important blessings to come our way as South Africans in this decisive period. More of us need to emulate his example."

All quiet on SADF front for draft-dodgers

12/12/90
330

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — One of two Durban draft-dodgers who returned to Durban recently told a welcome home rally in Durban that they were not "anticipating any problems".

"So far we haven't heard a peep from the South African Defence Force," said Mr Theo Chaplin.

He and Mr Dorian Love spoke to about 100 people at the rally, hosted by the End Conscription Campaign (ECC).

Mr Chaplin, who holds a degree in chemical engineering from the University of Cape Town, left the country at the end of 1980. Mr Love, a qualified teacher, left in 1986. Both applied for political asylum in the United Kingdom.

'GUINEA PIGS'

They admitted that they were "guinea pigs testing the water".

Mr Chaplin said: "Thousands of South African war resisters are monitoring our situation very closely and we expect many to begin filtering back from next year."

Both reiterated their commitment to not serving in the SADF.

The outgoing chairperson of the Durban office of the ECC, Mr Rob Goldman, stressed "that although the situation had improved for objectors in many respects", the organisation would continue their "high-profile lobbying".

Cape Times 12/12/90

Land plan for exiles' homecoming

By PETER DENNEHY

LOCAL authorities in the Western Cape have not yet been approached by the National Co-ordinating Committee for Repatriation (NCCR) for help with identifying land and housing for returning political exiles.

Yet in the Eastern Cape, the Greater Algoa Bay Planning Authority has been approached and has responded by identifying "quite a lot of land", according to a Port Elizabeth city administration official.

He would not say how much land was involved, but our Port Elizabeth correspondent reports that 4 000 serviced residential plots are available for immediate development and another 16 500 are likely to be forthcoming in two to five years.

The Anglican bishop of Port Elizabeth, the Rt Rev Bruce Evans, who serves on the regional exile repatriation committee, in August called on Port Elizabeth city officials to address the need for housing for exiles.

Yesterday Imam Hassan Solomons, chairman of the Western Cape branch of the NCCR and a member of the national committee, explained that his organisation consisted of several different political groupings including the ANC, PAC, Azapo, Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, SA

Council of Churches, SA Catholic Bishops Conference and the World Conference on Religion and Peace.

"The repatriation policy is in the hands of all the liberation movements," he said. "Our policy in the Western Cape regarding the housing or resettlement of returnees does not include the co-operation of the local authorities."

He could not say whether this would change, as the need to maximise resources was more keenly felt.

"In the Free State and Port Elizabeth it is different," he said, adding that the various regional committees had a great deal of autonomy in determining what approaches were to be taken.

He had heard that one local authority had also made land available for returnees near Bloemfontein.

In the Western Cape, however, the regional committee was trying to accommodate "the various ideological views".

Mr Solomons could not say how many returnees were expected to come to Cape Town. The most reliable countrywide figures for returnees were provided by indemnity applications actually handed in to the government thus far, of which there were 6 000. These had been handed in in two batches, and several more batches were expected, Mr Solomons said.

'1 000-plus' ask

for indemnity

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Justice Department says it has received "considerably more than a thousand" applications from ANC members for indemnity from prosecution.

It said "all applications are being processed as speedily as possible".

A considerable number of applications, it said, related to more than one offence.

In regard to the processing of applications for indemnity from people who left South Africa without a passport or crossed the border at points other than recognised border posts, the department said a list of names of people who had been granted unconditional indemnity would be published in the Government Gazette soon.

In terms of the Pretoria Minute the process of granting indemnity to these two categories of exiles is to be completed by the end of this year.

The department was unable to say how many charges against people being tried for political offences, such as being a member of a banned organisation, had been dropped. It said, though, that "a considerable number" of charges had been dropped or withdrawn.

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday protested to the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, against the alleged abduction of two ANC members by Askaris — former ANC-PAC members working for security police.

An ANC statement said Mr Job Kuku and Mr Madiha Khumalo were approached by four men, including one they recognised as an Askari, to discuss the ANC's analysis of the political situation.

ANC tell

Vlok of 'kidnap'

When they met the four later in the day, a white security policeman told them they were under arrest and they were taken to Hillbrow police station.

After again showing their documents and admission of the political situation.

vising the police to contact Mr Vlok, they were released.

A Law and Order Ministry spokesman said last night that the incident was under investigation.

"Many ANC supporters are involved in illegal activities and this necessitates constant police monitoring," he said.

The ANC said the action illustrated the manner in which "elements of the security apparatus are destabilising the peace process".

FW, Mandela clash on 'armed action'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The government-ANC working group on armed action has not met for three weeks because President F W de Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela have not been able to agree on what constitutes activities related to "armed action".

Sources said yesterday that the target date for the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles agreed to by both sides was now in doubt, unless a breakthrough was reached soon.

This was because of Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee's decision that the return of exiles be linked to the ANC's suspension of the armed struggle.

Crisis looms on fitting in kids of returning exiles

CNA-TM 13/12/90 330 Staff Reporter

THE imminent return of thousands of political exiles has created a new headache for local reception committees — how to reintegrate the children who were born and brought up in a foreign environment.

The convener of the education task force of the Western Cape Co-ordinating Committee for Repatriation, Ms Laura Schultz, acknowledged yesterday that her organisation was in an "impossible situation" in trying to cope with an unknown number of children speaking a variety of languages and had to be placed in suitable schools.

Although few children would adapt easily to the rigours of township schooling after a relatively privileged education overseas, the committee did not want to be seen to be favouring exiles over the masses of local people by sending them to private schools.

Ms Schultz confirmed that newly opened white schools were one of the options that the National Education Co-ordinating Committee (NECC) had been asked to look into, in setting out policy guidelines for the reintegration process.

She said the committee's dilemma had to be seen in the context of the "crisis in education in this country" and the need to avoid isolating exiles as an elite group while still providing for their special educational needs.

Our Durban correspondent reports that the Natal reception committee has already decided on several "suitable" open high and primary schools in Durban, and principals are being asked to accommodate the children, most of whom were fluent in English.

Joe Gumede coming back

Sowetan 13/12/90

330

NEW YORK - Two leading members of UN Radio's controversial anti-apartheid unit are returning to South Africa for Christmas following a successful last-minute appeal for permission to enter the country.

Mr Joe Gumede, a bylined writer for *Drum* magazine until he quit and went abroad in the 60s, got the OK only hours before he left New York for London first to spend a week with his son, who lives there.

The UN lists him as a South African citizen and he is expected to collect a passport when he goes back.

At present he has only a UN-issued travel document, recognised by most governments.

Mr Thami Mhlambiso, also South African-born but now a US citizen, was an ANC representative in New York before he joined the Secretariat.

He received his visa less than a week before he planned to travel.

As he will be visiting

other southern African states on UN business, his visa authorises multiple entry into South Africa.

Both officials applied weeks ago to visit South Africa and it was only after the republic's UN mission intervened on their behalf that the the Ministry for Home Affairs relented and decided to let them in.

Mr Gumede has an aged mother in South Africa whom he has not seen since he went overseas many years ago.

Another South African

Deet Et redmooet with pressing family reasons for wanting to return. Mr Rhodes Gxoyiya, received a curt letter from an anonymous consular officer denying his application on the instructions of Home Affairs.

The mission has taken up his case and is hopeful that he too may get home for Christmas.

No reason

Gxoyiya ranks above his two colleagues in the anti-apartheid programmes section of UN Radio. No reason was given for the rejection.

Officials had become increasingly frustrated by Home Affairs' tardiness, feeling that this harmed South African interests when the mission was trying to convince UN sceptics that reform in South Africa is real.

Tears, hugs for Woodses

Ch. 7. K 14/2/90
EAST LONDON. — In contrast to their fearful flight into exile 13 years ago, the family of former Daily Dispatch editor Mr Donald Woods flew home yesterday to an emotional welcome of tears, flowers, hugs and outbursts of joy.

Friends and relatives, including Mrs Wendy Woods' parents, Mr Harold and Mrs Kay Bruce, and the Woods' former domestic worker, Mrs Evelyn Mvunelwa, crowded around as the family entered the airport building.

Although Mr Woods and his daughters, Jane and Mary, visited East London in the past year to "test the waters", this was the first family return since Mrs Woods bundled her five children into the car in late 1977 and drove to the Lesotho border.

Mr Woods's persistent demand for an official inquest into the death of Black Consciousness leader Mr Steven Biko led to his banning and eventual flight.

is still un-

Thousands give Tambo a hero's welcome



TOP: Mr Oliver Tambo, with his family and Mr and Mrs Mandela, waves to the crowd yesterday.
ABOVE: Mr Tambo is embraced on his return. On the right is Mr Nelson Mandela.

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC president Oliver Tambo returned home yesterday, ending three decades of exile, and was met by ecstatic cheers from supporters and embraces from his deputy, Mr Nelson Mandela.

About 5 000 dancing and singing supporters roared their welcome when his chartered plane touched down two hours late at an overcast Jan Smuts Airport.

"Viva Tambo, Viva ANC, Viva Baba (father)," chanted the crowd, held back from the terminal

building by dozens of heavily armed police, many with dogs.

Mr Tambo, a symbol of the fight against apartheid, smiled broadly as he descended the steps of the aircraft that brought him from Zambia, via a brief stop-over in Zimbabwe.

The ANC's welcome-home delegation, including

To page 3

● Key ANC congress starts today — Page 5

P.T.O.

From page 1

CAT 7mks 14/12/90 (400/330)
Mr Mandela and his wife Winnie, arrived late at the plane and Mr Tambo, 73, limping slightly from the effects of a stroke he suffered last year, walked through the crowd to Mr Mandela's limousine.

He re-emerged a few minutes later to be embraced by leaders of South Africa's anti-apartheid movement and some senior foreign diplomats.

Mr Tambo told the reception committee he felt "fine", but did not say anything more for the rest of the celebrations. His speech has been badly impaired since his stroke.

He grinned broadly and punched the air in victory when he was helped by Mr Mandela and his wife on to an airport balcony.

"The day for which we have been waiting has come... we have won the fight," Mr Mandela told the crowd.

Mr Mandela said Mr Tambo would address a rally in Soweto on Sunday.

Mr Tambo, who will return briefly to London for medical treatment in three weeks, was led back to Mr Mandela's car and was driven off towards Soweto.

By midday hundreds of ANC marshals battled to control the frustrated crowd.

Several people were bitten by police dogs in sporadic clashes and at stages the situation was tense, with ANC supporters unhappy with police chasing them back from the terminal building.

Senior ANC officials frequently intervened to negotiate with high-ranking police officers.

Police said "stones were thrown and people were assaulted" when Mr Mandela arrived at Jan Smuts. A policeman was injured when he was struck by stones.

Riot police were summoned when shots were heard from the crowd and scuffles followed. Police confirmed a person in the crowd had fired several shots. — Sapa-Reuters

Tambo is home



A hero's welcome to end three decades in exile

OLIVER TAMBO came home yesterday after 30 years in exile to a rapturous welcome from thousands of supporters.

Clasping both hands above his head — the left arm supporting the right one, weakened by the stroke he suffered last year — the 73-year-old African National Congress president gazed down from the balcony-like upper driveway of Jan Smuts airport at the exuberant throng below.

Earlier, Tambo was welcomed on the tarmac by a party of dignitaries headed by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and his wife, Winnie. Clutching a walking stick as he stepped out, Tambo found there was a second unofficial welcoming par-

ty — about 300 ululating airport workers who encircled the plane.

En route from Lusaka, Tambo stopped briefly in Harare where Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe joined him in the airport VIP lounge, greeting him with a bear-hug. In rehearsal for the Johannesburg scene, hundreds of dancing supporters awaited Tambo in Harare.

Photograph: TREVOR SAMSON, AFP

For more about the Tambo family, see Pages 15, 16 and 17

Exiles concert postponed ... yet again



Concert promoter Jomo Sono

A SECOND postponement of the long-awaited "Return of the Exiles" concert is on the cards.

Anxious fans are being kept waiting with empty promises and assurances while numerous meetings are being held between organisers and the South African Musicians' Alliance in a desperate effort to keep the concert on track.

The concert has been billed as the "Southern African musical event of the decade", but people in the music industry claimed this week that promoters "just do not have the time and the proper organisation for the event to go ahead on the planned date".

Promoters could neither deny nor confirm the reports as they were either at meetings or "not in". Messages left were not returned.

The concert was expected to begin a national tour at Johannesburg's Ellis Park stadium on January 5. Attempts to reach Ellis Park management failed, but according to the stadium's answering machine, operations will begin only on January 7 — confirming claims of the postponement.

Yet Computicket has confirmed a booking for ticket sales for the concert beginning in January.

Cultural observers and people in the music industry consider the "early January" date as a non-

The beleaguered "Return of the Exiles" concert is once again likely to be postponed. Bad organisation has been blamed, reports **PAUL ALEXANDER**

starters, even though some of the exiled artists are already in the country, while others are said to be "arriving soon".

Exiled composer and arranger Capheus Semenya flew into the country last week. Ignored by the local media but highly respected in America, Semenya has been involved in numerous major projects, most recent being Quincy Jones' "album of a thousand stars", *Back on the Block*.

Another exiled artist, former Malombo Jazz drummer, Julian Bahula, has been in the country for almost three months. Though Bahula has played a major role as co-ordinator of the exiles' concert, his experience gained in exile does not seem to be helping to accelerate the happening.

While many reasons have been given for the continued delays, promoter Jomo Sono has insisted

that the main problem is getting the exiled musicians into the country in time for the concert.

It has also been suggested that the promoters do not have the funds to host the concert. The organisers, however, scoff at this.

Observers believe the main reason for the delay to be a "lack of proper organisation". Sono has acquired the assistance of local promoter Maurice Roda, but industry suspicions of Roda are believed to be decreasing Sono's chances of success.

Simon Mosikidi, manager of Sakile, is the most recent to be recruited in the campaign to bring the concert about.

It is said that the South African Musicians' Alliance is trying to iron out the differences between Sono and the Ibrahim-Masekela-Makeba alliance and unite the gigs into the "mega-gig it should be".

At the time of going to press, Sama officials were not available for comment.

Sama is believed to be considering a "bigger gig" upon the imminent lifting of the cultural boycott. It is believed Sama is considering a "celebratory" event later next year with an international line-up, possibly to feature names such as Quincy Jones and Stevie Wonder.

Indemnities expire for PAC members

PRETORIA — The temporary indemnity from prosecution granted to 24 members of the Pan Africanist Congress lapsed at midnight.

The period of indemnity of nine others lapses on January 31.

A spokesman for the Department of Law and Order said they could be arrested if they contravened the temporary indemnity regulations. *Mac 15/1/90*

The spokesman reiterated that anyone overseas who had committed a politically-motivated crime in South Africa could apply for indemnity. — Sapa (330)

Midnight PAC dash

SOME PAC officials had to dash out of the country in taxis when they could not get flights on Friday — because their temporary indemnities expired at midnight. (3:30)

Some people had to use taxis to go to Tanzania by way of Swaziland," a source said.

Twenty-four PAC officials had to make the dash. Another nine have indemnity until January 31. — Sapa c/p 16/1/90

PAC men hurry out of country

Sowetan 17/12/90

330

SOME Pan Africanist Congress officials had to use taxis to dash out of the country when they could not get flights on Friday - because their temporary indemnity was due to expire at midnight.

A source close to the organisation said a message was sent through on Friday afternoon that some exiled PAC members could face arrest if they defied the indemnity period.

"Some people had to use taxis to go Tanzania via Swaziland because they could not get flights as they were fully booked," a source said.

Of the 33 PAC officials who came into the country under temporary indemnity, the expiry time for 24 of the members was midnight on Friday. The indemnity for the other nine was due to expire on January 31.

PAC officials were granted temporary indemnity to attend the organisation's second national congress in 30 years inside South Africa last weekend.

Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said PAC members whose indemnity was due to expire at midnight on Friday were liable for arrest if they were found inside the country.

Kotze confirmed that 24 PAC members had to leave the country on Friday. - *Sapa*

Govt refuses PAC indemnity extensions

CAPE TOWN 18/12/90 330

JOHANNESBURG. — Applications for the extension of 24 PAC officials' 10 days temporary indemnity from prosecution — which expired on Friday last week — have been turned down.

PAC publicity secretary Mr Barney Desai confirmed yesterday that a number of officials applied for indemnity extensions after attending the recent PAC national conference here.

Mr Desai said information on the failure of applications reached them late on Thursday night, adding: "A number of people applied for indemnity on humanitarian grounds, but their applications were turned down and they had to leave the country."

● PAC administrative secretary Mr Joe Mkhwanazi said in Mbabane yesterday that schools should not be used as venues for violence.

Mr Mkhwanazi said the PAC firmly believed an educated generation was essential for building a new, peaceful and democratic South Africa. — Sapa

Concern at exile delay

South 18/12/90 - 17/1/91 330

By REHANA ROSSOUW

THE National Coordinating Committee for the Repatriation of South African Exiles (NCCR) has expressed deep disappointment at the lack of progress in the arrangements for the return of exiles.

Hopes that exiles would be returning home soon after the February 2 announcements have long been destroyed and the whole process, says the NCCR, is moving along far too slowly.

These comments follow a second meeting between the NCCR and government representatives in Pretoria last Wednesday and a full meeting of the NCCR in Johannesburg the next day.

The NCCR is concerned about the fact that the indemnity process is complicated and that many exiles have no way of knowing the requirements before returning.

The NCCR called on the government to "cut the red tape".

Good faith

The organisation also called for the immediate release of detainees as a sign of good faith of the government in the reform process.

"It is amazing that there are still as many as 80 people held in detention under Section 29 when the government is asking us to accept that it is ready for reform and a new dispensation," said Mrs Sheena Duncan of the NCCR.

Another issue of concern to the NCCR is the delay in finalising an agreement for the participation of the UN High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) in the repatriation process.

"This is making it very difficult for the NCCR to finalise its own preparations for the return of exiles," Duncan said.

The NCCR delegation which met the government questioned them on issues which still requires attention, including reception centres, housing of exiles, education and employment.



Soweto songbird Letta returns after 25 years

330
AR645 19/12/90

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — Soweto songbird Letta Mbulu has returned to South Africa from the United States after 25 years away.

"It's hard to explain how I feel about being back. I think it will have a delayed effect on me," Miss Mbulu said from the house of her brother-in-law, Simon Semanya, in Alexandra.

She received an emotional welcome from relatives, friends and husband Caiphus Katse Semanya, who returned last week.

A short prayer service was held at Jan Smuts Airport to mark her return.

Miss Mbulu said she would spend two to three months visiting relatives and attending to other family matters.

'Absorb the feeling'

She said it was hard to believe that she had returned after being away for so long and needed some time to "absorb the whole feeling" of being back after 25 years.

"I'm overwhelmed at seeing people I have not seen for all those years," said Miss Mbulu, who was accompanied by her son Mosese, 12.

Miss Mbulu, who has worked with the legendary Quincy Jones, Roberta Flack and Harry Belafonte, was full of praise for local artists.

Indemnity paves way for return of exiles

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — Unconditional indemnity granted to certain categories of exiles has paved the way for people who have committed minor offences to return to South Africa.

The indemnity grant is a further implementation of an aspect of the Pretoria Minute.

In terms of the Pretoria Minute indemnity, which could be dealt with in categories of people and not on an individual basis, would be granted as from October 1 and the process would be completed not later than the end of the year.

In a Government Gazette yesterday, signed by President De Klerk and Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee, unconditional indemnity was granted to people who left the country before noon on October 8 this year without a

passport and who did not leave at border posts — provided they have supplied their details.

He further granted unconditional indemnity to those who before noon on October 8:

- Became or continued to be a member of an unlawful organisation;

- Carried, were in possession of or displayed anything which indicated they were members of unlawful organisations; and

- Contributed or solicited anything as a subscription for the benefit of an unlawful organisation.

'Many would benefit'

A Department of Justice spokesman said it was expected that "many" people would benefit.

Those who have committed offences not included in these categories have to apply for indemnity for each offence.

ty for each offence.

Government sources said it was essential for exiles to provide all relevant information as it would secure them criminal and civil indemnity from prosecution.

- The ANC has submitted applications for indemnity for almost 2 500 people.

ANC spokesman Ms Gill Marcus said today the movement expected the names of 250 people, whose applications have been approved, to be published in a Government Gazette soon.

The applications for 1 227 people were submitted two weeks ago and a further 1 069 applications would be submitted soon, she said.

The ANC welcomed the indemnity granted by President De Klerk to certain categories of people.

● See page 19.

19/12/90

330

De Klerk ready to open doors for exiles

The government yesterday gazetted legislation which will allow most of South Africa's estimated 40 000 exiles to return to the country.

In notices published in yesterday's government gazette, President F W de Klerk granted unconditional indemnity to all people who illegally left the country before October 8 this year.

A separate notice unconditionally indemnifies people who were members of an unlawful organisation or who assisted an unlawful organisation materially.

The notices come just days after a resolution at the ANC's consultative conference which threatened to consider suspending the negotiation process if all obstacles — including the unconditional return of exiles — were not completed by the end of April.

It is believed that most exiles are guilty of only the offences covered by yesterday's government notice. Most estimates put the number of exiles at between 40 000 and 60 000. "This will grant indemnity to a large number of people who have not committed any other offences," a Justice Department spokesman said yesterday.

People seeking indemnity will still have to make formal applications, as laid down in the working group agreement between the government and the ANC, and the blanket indemnity will not apply to those who committed other offences.

Although many exiles are now automatically indemnified, they still have to furnish the information required in the application form which appeared in a government gazette published last month.

This would include details such as appli-

cants' identity numbers, whether they left without valid travel documents and whether they left at a place other than a legal port of exit.

Mr Brian Curran, national director of Lawyers for Human Rights, welcomed the legislation last night, but he said it would help the repatriation process if more categories of indemnity were identified.

Meanwhile, the South African Council of Churches yesterday announced that temporary indemnity had been granted to a group of 28 South Africans currently living in Kenya.

Govt opens the door to most exiles

TIM COHEN

330

GOVERNMENT yesterday gazetted legislation which will allow most of the estimated 40 000 exiles to return to SA.

In notices published in yesterday's government gazette, President F W de Klerk granted unconditional indemnity to all people who illegally left the country before October 8 this year.

A separate notice unconditionally indemnifies people who were members of an unlawful organisation or who assisted an unlawful organisation materially.

The notices come just days after a resolution at the ANC's consultative conference which threatened to consider suspending the negotiation process if all obstacles — including the unconditional return of exiles — were not completed by the end of April.

It is believed that most exiles are only guilty of the offences covered by yesterday's government notice. Most estimates put the number of exiles at between 40 000 and 60 000. *19/12/90*

Although many exiles are now automatically indemnified, they still have to furnish the information required in the application form which appeared in a Government Gazette published last month.

This would include details such as applicants' identity numbers, whether they left without valid travel documents and whether they left at a place other than a legal port of exit.

It also asks, if the applicant is not a member of an organisation that has committed itself to peaceful solutions and development, whether the applicant subscribes to these principles.

Lawyers for Human Rights national director Brian Currin welcomed the legislation last night, but he said it would help the repatriation process if more categories of indemnity were identified.

Meanwhile, the South African Council of Churches yesterday announced that temporary indemnity had been granted to a group of 28 South Africans currently living in Kenya.

Heartsore exiles to miss festivities

By MOJALEFA MOSEKI

SCORES of heartbroken exiles in Britain who had planned to spend their first festive season in South Africa after many years this week said they had given up after some had their indemnity applications rejected.

They said some exiles whose applications had been rejected were not given reasons. When they queried this, they were asked to write letters to the Ministry of Justice. *Sowetan 19/12/90*

Although they belonged to different political organisations they had submitted their applications directly to the embassy hoping that they would receive a faster response.

"All of us are heartbroken after getting the bad news. Some of us have made alternative plans to meet our parents and relatives in neighbouring countries.

"But we had planned as early as July to be home for the festive season," said one of the exiles who asked not to be named for fear of victimisation.

The group said most of those who had their plans of visiting South Africa dashed were exiles who had ap-

● To Page 2

Exiles heartbroken

● From Page 1

plied through political organisations because most of them had not received responses from the Government on their indemnity. *Sowetan 19/12/90*

Foreign Affairs officials yesterday referred enquiries to the Home Affairs Department. Efforts to contact home affairs officials proved fruitless.

ANC media liaison officer Miss Gill Marcus said the organisation was not aware of any applications submitted directly to the Pretoria officials by members.

She said the organisation had submitted indemnity applications three to four months ago. She was aware of delays in processing the applications.

The delay in granting indemnity has also been raised by the National Co-ordinating Committee for the Repatriation of South African Exiles, led by its president Bishop K Mgojo.

The NCCR appealed to the Government to cut the red-tape and simplify the process so as to allow more people to return home.

Unconditional indemnity given to exiles linked to minor crimes

star 19/12/90

330

Pretoria Correspondent

President de Klerk has granted unconditional indemnity to exiles who have committed minor crimes in terms of South African legislation, provided they supply details of the crimes.

This was announced in a notice published yesterday in a Government Gazette.

A Department of Justice spokesman said it was expected that many people would benefit from the indemnity. The offer appears to clear the way for the return of most political exiles, estimated at roughly

20 000.

However, activists who were involved in crimes such as violence will have their cases judged individually, according to the spokesman.

The unconditional return of all exiles is one of the ANC's preconditions for full-scale negotiations.

Passport

Mr de Klerk unconditionally granted indemnity to any person who — before noon on October 8:

● Had left the country without a passport and who had not left

at border posts.

● Became or continued to be a member of an unlawful organisation.

● Carried, displayed or were in possession of anything which indicated that he was a member of an unlawful organisation.

● Contributed or solicited anything as a subscription for the benefit of an unlawful organisation.

Five Transvaal activists, released from Robben Island on Saturday, arrived in Johannesburg yesterday to a warm welcome by a group of ANC supporters.

Mokgadi's body to be flown back

Star 19/2/90
The body of the PAC's chief representative in Germany, Mr Philip Mokgadi, will arrive at Jan Smuts Airport, Johannesburg on Friday.

Mr Mokgadi (58) died of cancer last Monday.

His widow, Mrs S Mokgadi, and their two sons will also arrive on Friday.

Mr Mokgadi's body will be taken to his birthplace in Mamelodi, Pretoria where he will be buried on Saturday.

A service will be held at the Mamelodi Community Hall before the funeral.

'Flood of exiles' ^{CMT Tr-B} in SA ^{20/12/90} soon

330
Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A "flood" of exiles will arrive in SA soon, the Rev Frank Chikane, who heads the National Coordinating Committee for the Repatriation of SA exiles (NCCR), said yesterday.

He estimated that there were about 40 000 exiles. He said the NCCR had received on average of seven to 10 exiles in the past few weeks, but had been informed a further 250 people would be indemnified by tomorrow.

"This is the the beginning of a flood."

He said the NCCR was in favour of general amnesty in terms of which "every South African who is in exile simply just comes back home". This had happened in Namibia and it had not been a difficult process.

Uncertainties delay exiles' return

Wilmad 20/12/90 - 10/1/90 (330)

A HOLD-UP in funds is hindering preparations for the return of thousands of South African exiles.

REPATRIATION
BY GAYE DAVIS

Imam Hassan Solomons, of the National Coordinating Committee for Repatriation (NCCR), said this week the organisation had not yet received any of the large sums it had been promised by foreign governments willing to help with the repatriation effort.

Solomons said funders were holding back until they were certain national and regional structures were properly in place to handle repatriation efficiently.

Formed as a result of a South African Council of Churches initiative, the NCCR has brought together representatives of the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian People's Organisation — which is acting for the exiled Black Consciousness Movement of Azania — as well as religious groups. The NCCR operates at national and regional level and has established task forces focusing on areas such as edu-

cation, housing and health and welfare, Solomons said.

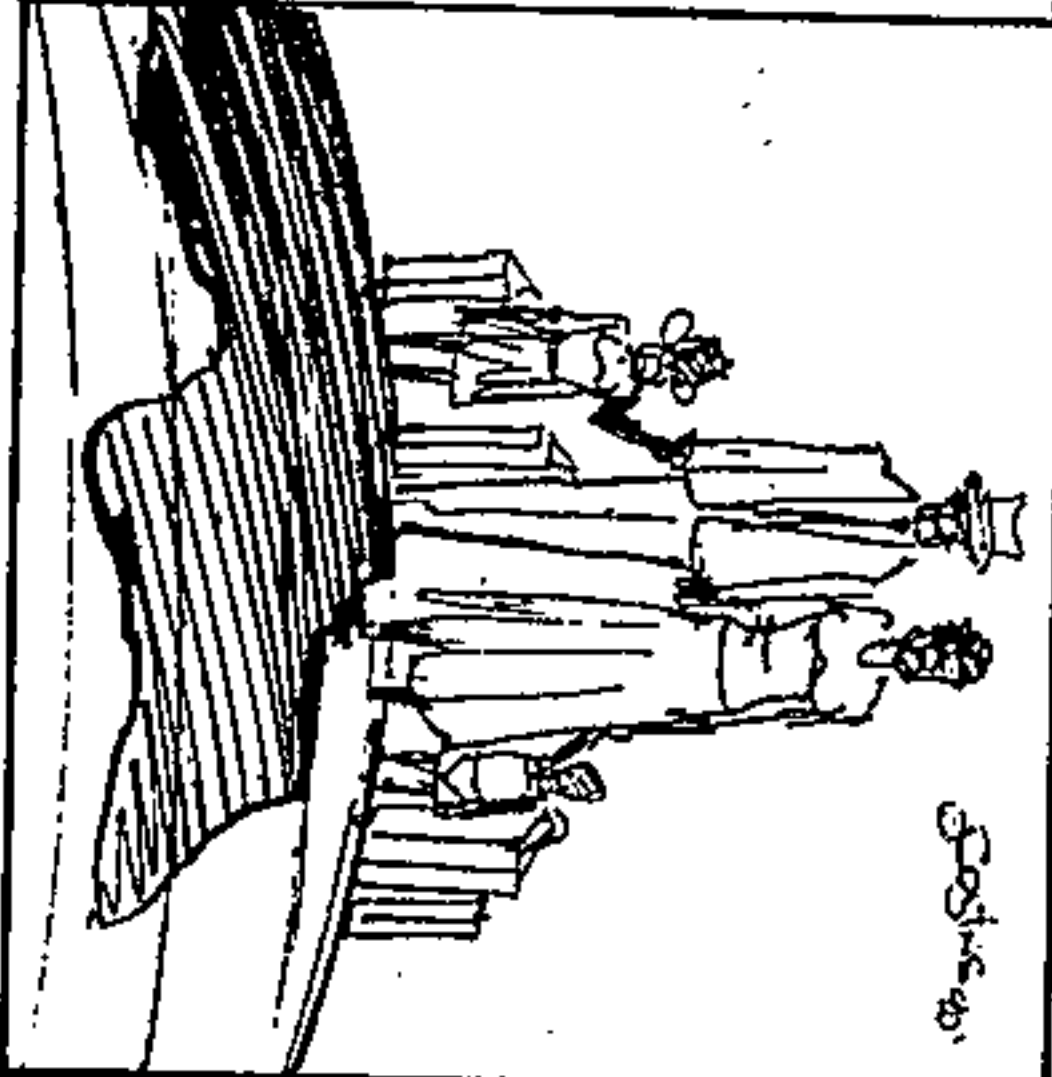
"We have done as much as we can under the circumstances," he said. "Hopefully the money will start coming in soon, probably in the new year. Without funds, we can't move from the organisational level we are at now."

"We have to rent or buy primary reception centres in all the regions. We need equipment and we need to appoint staff."

Solomons said the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), with which an NCCR delegation has held talks in Geneva, "was ready and willing to be involved."

"However, being a UN agency, it is bound by decisions of that body — such as the resolution to isolate South Africa's apartheid regime. To get fully involved all of this would have to be undone," Solomons said.

Another major problem is that the NCCR is operating almost entirely in



the dark about the number of exiles expected to return and their needs.

"The only figures we have are those supplied by the ANC in terms of people who have applied for indemnity," Solomons said. "The number was originally 3 000 but is now about 6 000. The real number of returnees we can expect though is open to speculation. Some estimates put it as high as 40 000."

Nor has the NCCR any timescale: "Just when people will start arriving is also a matter for speculation," Solomons said. "We're hoping people will

be able to start returning by April, but nobody knows."

Solomons stressed that the NCCR was not "an ANC programme" but the co-ordinator of a "broad humanitarian project initiated by religious groups and the major liberation movements".

As such it held talks in November with a government delegation led by Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee, in a bid for government help in dealing with issues such as housing, education and other requirements.

The government expressed willingness to assist, Solomons said — but the NCCR's request that a general amnesty be accorded to all exiles and political prisoners was not granted. It was pointed out to the delegation that the ANC had already agreed to guidelines for indemnity.

Solomons foresees problems with this: "Inasmuch as indemnity can be granted, it can also be refused. We do not believe that insisting on tying indemnity to agreeing to have talks about talks is acting within the spirit of repatriation, which is a humanitarian endeavour."

In terms of providing shelter, em-

ployment and education for returnees and their children in a country where the housing shortfall is acute, unemployment rife and education in crisis, NCCR workers are having to tread a fine line to avoid giving the impression of favouritism.

In some regions, NCCR task forces have already approached "open" schools with a view to registering children of exiles — particularly those who may have grown up speaking English only, for whom township schools would present problems.

School placements and skills-training for adults whose schooling was interrupted were the major concerns at present, Schultz said. The "biggest worry" was the "uncertainty of time and numbers."

Rashieda Abdulla, of the NCCR's housing task force in the Western Cape, said: "It's an enormous task and everyone needs to help. But the message we have received from some individuals who've come is that the people outside know what conditions here are like and that they don't expect special privileges. That gives us hope."

Hope for 250 exiles

By MOJALEFA
MOSEKI

THE African National Congress said yesterday it expected 250 exiles to be granted indemnity "very soon", and was waiting for the Government to indemnify more than 2 000 applications submitted on behalf of its members.

ANC spokeswoman Miss Gill Marcus said yesterday the organisation expected the Government to publish the names of 250 exiles who had been granted unconditional indemnity.

She said the names of more than 2 000 ANC members seeking indemnity had been submitted to the Government and the organisation expected a response soon.

New hope of more exiles being granted indemnity was raised by the Government's extension of the Indemnity Act to include people who had committed minor crimes.

A spokesman for the Department of Justice said there were no names prepared for immediate indemnification but added that the extension would make it possible for many exiles to return.

SA burial³³⁰ appeal for PAC exile

By MONK NKOMO

LAWYERS engaged by the family of Mr Phillip Mokgadi, who died last week, yesterday lodged an application with the Ministry of Justice requesting that he be buried in South Africa.

Mokgadi was the chief representative of the PAC in West Germany. The application also requested that his family be allowed to attend the funeral in Mamelodi at the weekend.

The lawyers confirmed yesterday that they had submitted an application for temporary indemnity for Mokgadi's widow, Mrs Ntombizonke Mokgadi, and their son Thandiwe. *Sarkar 24/12/90*

They have also asked the authorities if the Government would object to Mokgadi being buried in Mamelodi, his birthplace.

Mokgadi (58) has been in exile since 1963.

In their letter to the authorities, the lawyers also said: "The family has decided, in consultation with the PAC, to bury the deceased in Mamelodi, probably on December 22."

SACC to arrange the return of 26³³⁰ exiles from Kenya

Political Staff *SA 20/12/90*

The South African Council of Churches (SACC) this week sent a representative to Kenya to finalise arrangements for the repatriation of 26 South African exiles.

Their temporary indemnity was secured by the SACC general secretary, the Rev Frank Chikane.

The spokesman said that although the SACC had urged the Government to grant indemnity to all exiles, it nevertheless believed the 26 "needed special attention" because they were mostly dissident members of the ANC and the PAC.

The SACC said Thomas Manthata of the council's Dependants Conference flew to Nairobi on Tuesday with travel documents for the 26, who are part of a group of 34 exiles.

They are expected back in South Africa at the weekend.

Five of the exiles, according to the SACC, have a total of 11 dependants to whom travel documents have yet to be issued.

The SACC is presently negotiating with the authorities "in the hope of securing the appropriate documents quickly".

Indemnity: uncertainty over number involved

Political Reporter

Neither the ANC nor the Government could tell yesterday how many of the estimated 22 000 ANC exiles would benefit from the indemnification for minor offenders which was announced in a Government Gazette this week.

The ANC welcomed the unconditional indemnification granted to people who had committed minor crimes, such as leaving the country without a passport, but again called on the Government to cut the red tape which had considerably slowed down the process of the return of exiles.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said almost 2 500 application forms for indemnity had been submitted to the Government. The ANC expected the names of 250 people, whose applications had been approved, to be announced in a Government Gazette soon.

She said the process would have to be accelerated if it were to be completed by April 30, the deadline set in the Pretoria Minute for the completion of the task.

An ANC national executive committee source said about 6 000 exiles should return by the year-end, but Pretoria was "making things impossible".

Hani, Slovo among 787 given indemnity

RRBUS 21/12/90 330
The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA — Almost 800 exiles who have left the country without a passport or not through a border post have been granted indemnity.

The first batch of those granted indemnity include senior ANC members Mr Mac Maharaj, Mr Chris Hani, Mr Steve Tswete and Mr Joe Slovo.

In terms of a notice in a Government Gazette yesterday 787 exiles have been granted indemnity from these two offences.

ANC spokesman Ms Gill Marcus said the ANC had submitted applications for indemnity for almost 2 500 people.

In a Government Gazette, published on Tuesday, signed by President De Klerk and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee, unconditional indemnity was granted to people who left the country before noon on October 8 this year without a passport and who did not leave at border posts, provided they have supplied their details.

Red-tape is holding up exiles return

330
Gowetlan
21/12/90

As long as the Government did not "clear-up" and simplify its stance on returning exiles, constraints would be placed on details of programmes to receive and accommodate an estimated 40 000 exiles, SA Council of Churches general secretary the Rev Frank Chikane said yesterday.

Chikane, who heads the National Coordinating Committee for the Repatriation of SA exiles (NCCR), said the organisation expected about 250 exiles to return shortly - 34 from Kenya

by the weekend - and was experiencing difficulty preparing for them.

This was because the government had not yet completed negotiations with the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), a body dealing with refugees and repatriations throughout the world.

"The UNHCR's involvement is vital in the repatriation process because of the wealth of experience they have," said Chikane.

"Presently we have to receive those returning on an ad-hoc basis. It is not easy for us to plan for their return if the UNHCR does not get involved as they will be responsible

for taking people from their host country to their homes," Chikane explained.

If the UNHCR were allowed to assist they would also negotiate the financial aspect of the operation with the government, he added.

The NCCR had met a government delegation - led by Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee - twice in the past four weeks but had not received concrete responses to all the questions and requests around the returnees' issue, Chikane said.

"One of the requests was the suspension of apartheid legislation such as the Land Act and the Group Areas Act."

LONDON. — A key anti-apartheid organisation, the London-based International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa (IDAF), has decided to transfer its operations to South Africa.

The organisation was banned in 1966 in South Africa and moved to Britain.

The decision was taken at a recent special conference of the IDAF's international council of trustees in London, called to consider the fund's future in the new situation that existed in SA since the unbanning of the ANC and other organisations in February.

According to an IDAF statement, the conference expressed concern that progress in removing repression and implementing the Pretoria Minute had been slow.

Activist organisation to return to SA

CHM T-7P
22/12/90

330

"Political prisoners had not yet been released in the numbers expected and political trials were still continuing.

"The conference agreed that the need for the work of the fund of providing legal defence for those in court for their opposition to apartheid, and aid for their dependants, as well as keeping the world informed

about apartheid, still remained ... but this work could now be better done in South Africa where it could be based in and be supported by the community."

The IDAF conference was addressed by ANC treasurer-general Mr Thomas Nkobi, Mr Achmet Dangor of the Kagiso Trust, and the Rev Beyers Naude, who presented the keynote address, giving his view of the situation in SA.

The Fund's objectives are to aid, defend and rehabilitate the victims of unjust legislation and oppressive and arbitrary procedures, support their families and dependants, and to keep "the conscience of the world" alive to the issues at stake.

Dissident ANC, PAC exiles back

330 CM 7/14/72 22/12/72

JOHANNESBURG. — Eleven exiles — mostly dissident ANC or PAC members — arrived here from Kenya yesterday afternoon expressing hope that their grievances with their organisations would be resolved.

"We had and still have some misgivings about the functioning of these organisations in exile. Many of these grievances still await resolution," the group said in a statement.

"Nevertheless, we are coming home with the spirit of reconciliation and in ... hope that these issues will be attended to with the fairness they require."

Initially 18 returnees were expected yesterday, but some of them had dependants in exile who had not been registered with the National Co-ordinating Committee for the Repatriation of South African Exiles (NCCR) and thus did not have travel documents, according to the organisation's chairman, the Rev Frank Chikane.

The rest of the group are expected to arrive home tomorrow. In total,

about 34 exiles in Kenya are expected to return to South Africa by tomorrow.

In their statement delivered at Khotso House the group — most of whom were part of the "Soweto 1976 generation" and left the country around that time — expressed their dissatisfaction that apartheid was not yet totally eradicated.

There were scenes of jubilation at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday as families were reunited.

One of the returnees, Mr Peter Ngcamu, left the country in October 1976 and saw his son, Junior, who was born three months later, for the first time.

Those who returned yesterday are: Fikile Mdeleleni and Bandile Ketelo of Cape Town; Mzwandile Bopheka of Bloemfontein; Zamxola Tfhoma of East London; Isaac Mogotse of Alexandra; Peter Ngcamu, David Lephoto, Victoria Motaung, Themba Mazibuko, Mandla Ncala and John Seate, all of Soweto. — Sapa

Joyful

Moving scenes as 11 fly in from Kenya

(330)
SPW
22/12/90

Eleven former ANC and PAC members arrived back home yesterday after many years in exile and some were met by relatives amid jubilant scenes at Jan Smuts Airport.

Most of them fled the country during the 1976 student uprisings and between then and 1981.

Six were formerly with the ANC and five with the PAC.

The 11, including a woman, returned home from Nairobi, Kenya, accompanied by Tom Manthata, co-ordinator of the Dependence Conference in the South African Council of Churches (SACC).

Waiting

Among those at the airport to meet them was the general secretary of the SACC, Rev Frank Chikane.

The group kept relatives and reporters waiting for nearly two hours. When at last they emerged from customs, family members leapt forward to hug and kiss their loved ones.

Earlier, 18 exiles had been expected to arrive. Some relatives who had gone to the airport were disappointed when seven others were not among the returnees.

Twenty-three exiles were originally expected to return. The rest are expected to arrive tomorrow.

Later, in a statement issued at the SACC offices, the 11 expressed "sincere feelings of joy" for being back home after many years of "forced separation".

They thanked the Christian community, the SACC and the All Africa Council of Churches (AACC) for their efforts in making the return possible.

"It is very unfortunate that despite our wishes, we return home where apartheid is yet to be totally eradicated," the statement said.

"Apartheid is still

MONTSHIWA MOROKE

alive. The situation of intense political violence is also of great concern, not only to us but to the whole world," the statement added.

"Had it not been for these factors we would feel completely at home ... As part of that Soweto 1976 generation we are duty-bound to continue to contribute our best towards a better future for our country in which all of us believe so much.

"We are part and parcel of the liberatory forces of this country from which we shall seek guidance, leadership and inspiration.

"We come back with the same aim we had when leaving the country, that is to see all South Africans living in freedom, peace, harmony and prosperity," the exiles' statement said.

However, the group was reluctant to talk about their differences with their former organisations.

They said they were returning in a "spirit of reconciliation".

The only woman in the group, Victoria Motaung, of Dlamini, Soweto, said she was so happy she was lost for words. She was looking forward to meeting her children who were aged two and four years when she left.

The men are Peter Ngcama (34), David Lephoto (37), Themba Mazi-buko (33), Mandla Ncala (32) and John Seate (33), all from Soweto; Zamxolo Tshona (33) and Bandile Ketelo (33) from East London; Fikile Mdeleleni (30) from Cape Town; Mzwandile Bopheka (28) from Bloemfontein (28), and Isaac Mogotsi from Alexandra.

Mr Manthata, who arrived in Nairobi on Tuesday night and stayed inside the airport until 6 pm the following day, said the other exiles remained behind because they were either married with children, were at school, or had not properly registered to return.

families hug exiles



HOME SWEET HOME: There were scenes of jubilation at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday when 11 political exiles returned home from Nairobi. In the centre is Victoria Motung. On the left, in a black dress, is Themba Mazibuko. On the right, in a white shirt, is Jan Smuts. In the background, seen from behind, is a woman in a black dress, identified as Victoria Motung. ● Photograph: ALF KUMALO.

ANC exiles eye white suburbs

ST Times 23/12/90 (330)
By FELCITY LEVINE
THE government has been asked to allow returning exiles to settle in white suburbs even before the expected scrapping of the Group Areas Act next year.

This request is contained in a document submitted to Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee by the National Co-ordinating Committee for the Repatriation of SA Exiles.

The document drafted by the head of the NCCR, SA Council of Churches general secretary Frank Chikane, contains a number of proposals on how the government can contribute to the repatriation process.

Estimates on the number of exiles awaiting return vary from the government's figure of 22 000 to the NCCR's 40 000. Dr Chikane said this week exiles were already returning at a rate of seven to 10 each week.

At its consultative conference near Johannesburg last weekend, the ANC threatened to suspend negotiations with the government unless all the exiles were back by April 30.

At a second NCCR meeting in Pretoria on Wednesday the draft document was submitted to the government delegation led by Mr Coetsee and including Home Affairs Minister Gene Louw and Health Minister Rina Venter.

Govt grants permanent indemnity to 787 political exiles

GOVERNMENT has processed the first batch of what are believed to be thousands of applications by political exiles for indemnity.

Friday's Government Gazette contained a list of 787 people who have been indemnified from prosecution for leaving or entering SA without valid travel documents and/or at non-official border crossings.

A government statement said these people had complied with requirements for indemnity for two categories of offences.

The two categories were:

- Persons who, before 12pm on October 8 1990, left the country without a passport or

LINDEN BIRNS

permit as described in terms of the Department from the Union Regulation Act of 1955; and 24/12/90

- Persons who, before 12pm on October 8 1990, left the country without authority at a place other than a recognised port as referred to in the same statute.

Other offences and events were not covered by this particular indemnity.

"It must be emphasised that applications for indemnity for any other offences or events by certain of the persons whose

names have been published, are still being considered."

The statement said any exiles wishing to return to SA in terms of this particular indemnity had to ensure that they did not also require indemnity for other offences.

Included on the list are Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) chief of staff Chris Hani, who already has temporary indemnity.

Also listed are Rivonia trialist Harold Wolpe, who escaped after being charged, retired NEC member and Operation Vula trialist Mac Maharaj, ANC religious affairs head Ruth Mompati, and SA Communist Party secretary-general Joe Slovo.

A name on the list is J Mkwana, who is thought to be PAC administrative secretary Joe Mkwana. Mkwana returned to SA on December 6 with temporary indemnity.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said she knew of the PAC's Joe Mkwana, but could not say whether or not there was a J Mkwana within ANC ranks.

"It's a common enough name," she said.

An informed source said that certain PAC members had negotiated with government for indemnity, despite that organisation's non-negotiation stance on re-

□ To Page 2

Indemnity 24/12/90

lations with government.

Justice Department spokesman Piet du Randt said yesterday he could not divulge details of the listed persons, but said they were from across the entire political spectrum and not necessarily just ANC members.

No spokesman for the PAC could be reached for comment yesterday.

Earlier this month a Justice Department spokesman said that more than 1 000 ANC members had applied for indemnity from prosecution for various statutory offences.

Meanwhile, an ANC spokesman said yesterday that last week's late night talks be-

From Page 1

tween President F W de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela were part of a "regular" series of the working group on armed action. The spokesman said the working group was still on track.

However, informed political sources said the presence of De Klerk and Mandela, who are not members of the regular group, was thought necessary to get the group "up and running again" after its work was suspended after its November 22 meeting.

Last week's meeting, which was also attended by Hani, took place at the President's office in the Union Buildings on Monday.

Govt grants permanent indemnity to 787 political exiles

GOVERNMENT has processed the first batch of what are believed to be thousands of applications by political exiles for indemnity.

Friday's Government Gazette contained a list of 787 people who have been indemnified from prosecution for leaving or entering SA without valid travel documents and/or at non-official border crossings.

A government statement said these people had complied with requirements for indemnity for two categories of offences.

The two categories were:

- ☐ Persons who, before 12pm on October 8 1990, left the country without a passport or

LINDEN BIRMS

permit as described in terms of the Department from the Union Regulation Act of 1935; and

- ☐ Persons who, before 12pm on October 8 1990, left the country without authority at a place other than a recognised port as referred to in the same statute.

Other offences and events were not covered by this particular indemnity.

"It must be emphasised that applications for indemnity for any other offences or events by certain of the persons whose

names have been published, are still being considered."

The statement said any exiles wishing to return to SA in terms of this particular indemnity had to ensure that they did not also require indemnity for other offences.

Included on the list are Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) chief of staff Chris Hani, who already has temporary indemnity.

Also listed are Rivonia trialist Harold Wolpe, who escaped after being charged, retired NEC member and Operation Vula trialist Mac Maharaj, ANC religious affairs head Ruth Mompati, and SA Communist Party secretary-general Joe Slovo.

A name on the list is of Mkwana, who is thought to be PAC administrative secretary Joe Mkwana. Mkwana returned to SA on December 6 with temporary indemnity.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said she knew of the PAC's Joe Mkwana, but could not say whether or not there was a J Mkwana within ANC ranks.

"It's a common enough name," she said. An informed source said that certain PAC members had negotiated with government for indemnity, despite that organisation's non-negotiation stance on re-

Indemnity 81024 24/12/90

lations with government.

Justice Department spokesman Piet du Randt said yesterday he could not divulge details of the listed persons, but said they were from across the entire political spectrum and not necessarily just ANC members.

No spokesman for the PAC could be reached for comment yesterday.

Earlier this month a Justice Department spokesman said that more than 1 000 ANC members had applied for indemnity from prosecution for various statutory offences.

Meanwhile, an ANC spokesman said yesterday that last week's late night talks be-

From Page 1

tween President F W de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela were part of a "regular" series of the working group on armed action. The spokesman said the working group was still on track.

However, informed political sources said the presence of De Klerk and Mandela, who are not members of the regular group, was thought necessary to get the group "up and running again" after its work was suspended after its November 22 meeting.

Last week's meeting, which was also attended by Hani, took place at the President's office in the Union Buildings on Monday.

Group formed to protect returning dissidents

Swelam
24/2/90

330



AN organisation to look after the interests and safety of returning political dissidents has been formed.

The organisation, known as the Returning Exiles Co-ordinating Committee, was formed by Mr Mwezi Thwala, a former commander of the ANC's Umkhonto We Sizwe. He is the chairman of the organisation.

Thwala was among the first ANC dissidents to arrive in the country several weeks ago. Mwezi and seven other dissidents criticised the ANC leadership and accused it of having committed acts of

By IKE MOTSAPI

terror among members who spoke against it.

Speaking at the Jan Smuts Airport, shortly before the arrival of 11 PAC and ANC dissidents last Friday, Thwala said the organisation would protect its members from assassinations and ill-treatment on returning home.

He said: "It is difficult to survive at the moment because our lives are in danger."

"There have been attempts to kill us since we returned from exile and

exposed the atrocities meted out to people who differed with their organisations. We are now living in fear of our lives. We also do not have money to see us through our daily lives.

"I believe we will relate well as a group of returned dissidents as this will boost our morale," he said.

"I want to appeal to the community to treat us as people. We have not committed any crime," he added.

Thwala stressed that RECC was not a political body but a social and cultural organisation.

18 exiles come back home to SA from Kenya today

Sowetan 26/12/90
EIGHTEEN exiles from Kenya are expected to return to South Africa today after the South African Council of Churches finalised the deal for the return of 34.

The repatriation was made possible when a notice of unconditional temporary immunity under the Indemnity Act gazetted in the Government Gazette on November 26.

The group of 34 has been split into two, with 18 exiles, who will be travelling on their own, returning today and a further group of 16 with dependents expected on Sunday.

"The granting of temporary indemnity to the group was initiated by general secretary of the SACC the Rev Frank Chikane," a statement said.
Sowetan Correspondent.

Govt to assume leading role in repatriation of thousands

GOVERNMENT signalled yesterday that it intended assuming a leading role in the process of repatriating and re-integrating an estimated 40 000 SA exiles.

A statement by Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said government had appointed two senior officials to ensure and expedite the exiles' return.

It also disclosed that government had given the multiparty organisation overseeing repatriation arrangements the green light to receive foreign funding.

However, the statement gave no indication of whether government had decided yet on whether to allow the UN High Com-

missioner for Refugees (UNHCR) to become involved locally in the exercise.

The statement said Home Affairs chief director Mike Bester had been appointed to "co-ordinate and expedite within a government context the return of exiles and their integration into the community".

Bester would also liaise with state departments and interested organisations, identify problem areas and bring these to the attention of departments concerned.

The statement confirmed that Coetsee, Home Affairs Minister Gene Louw and Health Minister Pina Venter had met a delegation of the National Co-ordinating

PETER DELMAR

Committee for the Repatriation of SA exiles (NCCR).

Venter, it said, would make "a considerable effort" to ensure that existing programmes to accommodate people in need would be implemented by her department on the ground.

Overseas funds for the repatriation could be managed by organisations such as the NCCR, subject to routine prescribed control measures, the statement said, adding that Venter had made particulars available to the NCCR on procedures to

collect funds for needy exiles.

Foreign governments which have indicated a willingness to donate millions to help repatriate SA exiles have complained they are unable to do so until clarity is obtained on the UNHCR's role.

Home Affairs and Justice department spokesmen were unable to comment last night on whether government's latest announcements indicated that it was preparing to undertake the tasks previously envisaged in some quarters for the UN.

Negotiations between government and the UNHCR have taken place over several weeks, but government is believed to be

concerned that a UNHCR presence inside SA could undermine SA's sovereignty. The NCCR has consistently called for the UNHCR's involvement.

A Home Affairs spokesman said no arrangements had been made for donations to be made through the financial rand.

Yesterday's statement added that procedures relating to granting exiles indemnity for "more serious matters" than those gazetted last week were well under way.

Estimates of the number of exiles likely to return range between 10 000 and 60 000. The NCCR is working on a figure of 40 000, while government estimates it to be lower.

of exiles

Exiles' return to be eased after Chikane meets Govt

By Norman Chandler
Pretoria Bureau

330

The return of thousands of exiles to South Africa is to be considerably eased following secret talks between three Cabinet Ministers and representatives of the exiles.

This was disclosed in Pretoria yesterday by Minister of Justice Kibie Coetsee.

He said in a statement that permission had been given for the National Co-ordinating Committee for the Repatriation

of SA Exiles (NCCR) to receive funds from abroad to facilitate the resettlement of about 40 000 exiles.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus last night said many foreign governments had offered to help with the repatriation of returnees, and the ANC would welcome this money becoming available.

The money would go to the NCCR and might only find its way to the ANC indirectly.

Some exiles have already returned to South Africa but

thousands more are expected within months.

Mr Coetsee said that he had held talks with Minister of Home Affairs Gene Louw and Minister of National Health Dr Rina Venter. They had also met the Reverend Frank Chikane and a delegation from the NCCR.

He said that the question of indemnity of exiles in regard to "minor statutory offences" had received attention and had been finalised by the Government.

"In addition, various depart-

ments, particularly the Department of National Health and Population Development, have programmes which can accommodate people in need.

Dr Venter had indicated that she would make a considerable effort to ensure that such programmes were introduced at grassroots level and Mr Louw had also made efforts to facilitate documentation for exiles.

Regarding exiles who may have committed serious statutory offences, the Department of Justice was investi-

gating the matter fully in co-operation with interested organisations.

Mr Louw had appointed two official to co-ordinate and expedite the return of exiles and act as liaison between State departments and organisations concerned with the returnees.

"In this way, South Africa can fulfill its responsibilities and continue to hold planned consultations.

Overseas funds could be managed by the NCCR, subject to normal controls.

Returning exiles weep with joy

CMR 10/18
29/12/90
(370)

JOHANNESBURG. — Ten exiles and their dependants wept with joy at an emotional reunion with their families and friends at Jan Smuts Airport here yesterday after being away from their homeland for up to 27 years.

The returnees — all former members of the ANC and PAC — flew in from Kenya under the indemnity regulations announced by President F W de Klerk earlier this year.

They joined 16 others, also exiled in Kenya and brought back to South Africa after the personal intervention of Archbishop Desmond Tutu and SA Council of Churches general secretary the Rev Frank Chikane.

The Rev Joseph Vilikazi, who has been in exile for 27 years, said his main ambition was to preach at church rallies in townships. "I want to establish myself now and preach about Jesus Christ," said Mr Vilikazi, who split from the ANC in 1973 after his conversion to the Pentecostal Church. His three children were born in exile.

Mr Vincent Malhungu left the country to join the ANC in 1973. His wife, a Tanzanian, has been given permission by the authorities to remain with him. He has left a daughter in Kenya and hopes she will soon be able to join the family.

Welcoming the returnees, NCCR official Mr. Moss Chikane said there would be many hurdles and obstacles, not least of which were finding employment and ensuring their safety.

Mr Chikane also announced that 250 more exiles were expected to return from Zambia in the new year. — Sapa

More exiles home

CPH 30/1/90

330

Emotional scenes as they meet families and friends

TEN exiles and their dependants wept with joy at an emotional reunion with their families and friends at Jan Smuts airport in Johannesburg on Friday after being away from their country for up to 27 years.

The returnees — all former members of the ANC and PAC — flew in from Kenya under the indemnity regulations announced by State President F.W. de Klerk earlier this year.

They joined 16 others, also exiled in Kenya and brought back to South Africa after the personal intervention of Archbishop Desmond Tutu and South African Council of Churches general secretary, the Rev Frank Chikane.

As the returnees entered the international arrivals lounge after waiting for more than an hour for their papers to be processed at Immigration, they were swamped by family and friends, who wept, hugged and kissed them.

taken to the SACC's Khotso House headquarters, where they were introduced to members of the National Co-ordinating Committee for the Repatriation of South African Exiles (NCCR).

At a brief Press conference, the men, women and children described their joy at being home. For the Rev Joseph Vilikazi, who has been in exile for 27 years, his main ambition is to preach at church rallies in townships. "I want to establish myself now and preach about Jesus Christ," said Vilikazi, who split from the ANC in 1973 after his conversion to the Pentecostal Church.

Vilikazi's three children were born in exile. Kenneth, 21, did not view South Africa as a strange country. "I am happy to be back in the land where my parents were born. Now I want to go to college," he said.

Vincent Mahlangu left the country to join the ANC in 1973. His wife, a Tanzanian, has been given permission by the authorities to remain with him. He has left a daughter in Kenya and hopes she will join his family soon.

But for Jeffrey Nchauppe, his homecoming after 14 years was bitter-sweet. None of his relatives knew he was coming home and were not at the airport to meet him. "But I am looking forward to giving them a shock when I walk in. "I only made contact with my relatives in October this year. It was just

too difficult to make contact with them before," he said.

Welcoming the returnees, NCCR official Moss Chikane said each returnee would receive a grant of R300 to buy basic foodstuffs. This grant was small, but vital, as no returnee was allowed to bring in goods manufactured in other African countries, he said. The 10 former exiles and their dependants had to dump whatever goods they had bought in Kenya.

An enigma among the returnees was "Rasta Tom", who described himself as "non-aligned" and refused to be drawn on his feelings and beliefs. He wore the regalia of the Rastafarian movement.

Chikane also announced that the NCCR expected a further 250 exiles to return from Zambia in the new year. ■ Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee has given the NCCR permission to receive funds from abroad. — Sapa



NCCR's Moss Chikane... welcomed exiles.



Clean out yoursy Freshen Health

If you've eaten too much, or are just generally feeling a bit uncomfortable, try Freshen. It's the trusted laxative that makes your stomach work properly. You just mix half to one medicine measure in half a cup of lukewarm water first thing in the morning. Drink it on an empty stomach and you'll feel much better soon afterwards.



FRESHEN HEALTHSALTS

CMP
T-1
31/12/90

Hendrickse warns on exiles

Political Correspondent

LABOUR PARTY leader Mr Allan Hendrickse warned the government not to give returning exiles preferential treatment when it came to housing and jobs.

Mr Hendrickse was loudly applauded by the 1,000 delegates at the LP's congress when he said that those who remained behind should receive priority in social upliftment programmes.

"The government must be careful and act circumspectly when it comes to returning exiles," he said.

Govt stands firm on rejecting UN role in repatriation and

TANIA LEVY

GOVERNMENT did not see the UN High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) playing a role in the repatriation of SA exiles although discussions were continuing, a Home Affairs Department spokesman said at the weekend.

And National Health and Population Development Minister Dr Rina Venter declined to say whether government would make funds available specifically for the returning exiles.

This came after Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee announced government had appointed two senior officials to co-ordinate and expedite the return of exiles, and that

programmes to accommodate them would be implemented on the ground by the National Health and Population Development Department.

In view of the existing infrastructure in SA and the arrangements already agreed to, the Home Affairs spokesman said, government found it difficult to visualise any role for the UNHCR within SA.

The UNHCR could not be contacted for comment, but it has previously insisted on being allowed to act as a monitor to assure itself of returnees' safety, and as a condition for involvement including the raising of funds internationally.

The Home Affairs spokesman said government would prefer the National Co-ordinating Committee for Repatriation of Exiles (NCCRE) to play the major role on the ground.

On Friday Venter said the NCCRE had agreed government would assist exiles through existing state relief programmes, and maintenance and pension allowances available to all South Africans in need.

She did not specifically identify these programmes.

Medical facilities available all over SA could be used by returning exiles as necessary on the same basis applied to all SA citizens, Venter said.

This meant exiles who could not afford to pay for medical services would be treated for free.

Venter's department was still waiting for the NCCRE's application for a fundraising number to allow it to collect funds locally and abroad to finance the other needs of exiles.

EDYTH BULBRING reports that ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said yesterday the

organisation felt strongly that the UNHCR should be involved in the repatriation of exiles. She said it would continue to push for such involvement.

Government's opposition to a role by the UNHCR was based on an argument that SA was a sovereign state and that such involvement could undermine this status.

This was not a valid argument, and the ANC's contention that the best should be done for exiles was an argument with far more weight, Marcus said.

The UNHCR's expertise in the field of repatriation could not be underestimated.

Care of exiles