

Gall

uty President Mr Nel-

ed in Bonn yesterday
by leading German in-
dustrialists to consider
accepting at least a
partial lifting of boy-
cotts and sanctions
against South Africa,
possibly in the field of
sport and culture.

- Speaking at a lunch-
-eon, hosted by the Ger-
man Chamber of Industry
and Commerce, Mr Man-
dela responded by saying
he was not authorised to
reply to this now on be-
half of the ANC, but that
| he would be taking the
| representations back to
the organisation's ex-
ecutive.

The ANC leader, how-
ever, reiterated the theme
of his message to Europe
| that any lifting or easing
of sanctions now would
be counter-productive.

son Mandela was ask-.

A 1990_

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By lifting

peace in South Africa.

Mr Mandela was wel-

comed to the luncheon by
Mr Hans-Gerd Neglein, a
senior board member of
Siemens, the giant Ger-
man electric power gener-
ating group which has
maintained substantial in-
vestment in South Africa
while at the same time
condemning apartheid.

Mr Neglein said Ger-
man business in South
Africa had always clearly
stated its opposition to

apartheid practices and
had been in the forefront
in racial integration of the
workforce.

It was accepted that Mr
Mandela's ANC and Ger- |
man business interests
differed to an extent on

0 Man
aen L

BONN. ANC Dep-! ;

sanctions
now you are playing into
the hands of those against

June

whether continuing sanc-
tions could promote the
negotiation process.

German businessmen
and industrialists no long-
er wanted sanctions
against South Africa to be
used as a political
weapon.

In his main address, Mr
Mandela made clear the
ANC wanted to allay
fears of Western capitalist
businessmen about the
organisation's plans for
nationalisation of key
components of the South
African economy to effect

S0

a re-distribution of wealth
in favour of those op-
pressed and deprived for
decades by the politica
system. 3 :

We don't care what
the system is, as long as it
brings about the needed

dela: Let
Some cumms go

redistribution of wealth -

... it does not matter if the
cat is Black or White, as
long as it catches mice. The working lunch,
held largely behind closed
doors with Mr Mandela
and members of his del-

TO PAGE 2

Call to M:

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FROM PAGE 1

egation, was attended by

| about 30 German indus-

trialists, businessmen and
bankers.

Included among the top
institutions represented
were the Mercedes Benz
and BMW car manufac-
turers, Siemens, Hoechst,
and the powerful _

. Deutsche Bank â\200\224 the
world's largest bank out-
side Japan.

Speaking ~ briefly to

: newsmen after the lunch,

Mr Mandela said the

sanctions issue had

formed a very important
part of the discussions.

â\200\234We have exchanged
views and we are quite
certain that they will con-
sider our representations,
as we will consider what
they said to us. ks

â\200\234The important thing is
that we feel we have
made progress on this is-
sue.â\200\235

This view was con-
tradicted by Mr Neglein,
who commented hls
views, and by implication
_generally those of Ger-

many industry, that sanc-
tions should be lifted, had
not changed, even though
the opportunity for dis-

cussions with Mr Mandela
were very welcome.

â\200\234According 10
worldwide experience ...
looking into history '@}1

recent developments, it is clear that any sanctions never had a positive effect, always negative to the community.

As we really stated our point that in general, - sanctions are counter productive.â\200\235

The government was talking negotiation and peace with the ANC, but at the same time unacceptable allowing the Natal violence to continue. In an attempt to destroy the organisation, Mr Mandela said at the luncheon.

He said nobody was asking the real question about Natal, which the government was presenting to the outside world as Black on Black violence.

In his meeting with State President Mr F.W de Klerk before leaving for overseas, Mr Mandela

only

â\200\224

Mandela

said he had asked him why, with such a strong, efficient and well equipped police force and army that had elsewhere quelled violence within a matter of days, the government had failed for over four years to stop the killing in Natal.

He had also put this question to Mr De Klerk previously, and "He has never been able to give me a proper answer ... I gave him the answer .

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MARGARET Thatcher's meeting with ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela meant that she has finally recognised the organisation " as a key player in South Africa.

The British premier's treatment of = Mandela, which ~ included sending cabinet minister William Waldegrave to welcome

-strong position after his ti-

â\200\234of the ANC in South Afri-

him at the airport, was also a long way from her earlier tirade against the "typical terrorist organisationâ\200\235.

ANC officials also point to the cordial tone of the three-hour meeting and to the agreement to have regular consultations.

Mandela has been in a |

dal wave tour through the United States (US) and his successful lobbying. This | had earlier led the European Community (EC) to keep sanctions, signalling a defeat for Thatcher.

And, by agreeing to meet Mandela, she climbed down from her rank hostility to

~ the ANC..

One ANC official commented: "Britain, as an important international player, has finally accepted the role can

Mandela,
meetsâ\200\230%lg
business

BONNâ\200\224ANC deputy president Nelson
Mandela was asked yesterday by lead-
ing German industrialists to consider
accepting at least a partial lifting of
boycotts and sanctions against South
| Africa, possibly in the field of sport and
culture, ; : | i
Speaking at a luncheon hosted by the
German Chamber of Industry and Com- \\
merce in Bonn, Mr Mandela said: â\200\234By \
lifting sanctions now you are playing
into the hands of those against peace in
South Africa.â\200\235 \
He was welcomed by Mr Hans-Gerd \
Neglein, a senior board member of Sie-
mans. Also at the closed-doors lun-
cheon were were about 30 German
| industrialists, businessmen and bank- -
| ers, including representatives of Mer-
| cedes Benz, BMW, Hoechst, and the
] , '\rowerml Deutsche Bank â\200\224 the worldâ\200\231s
largest bank outside Ja an, . '
. Speaking afterwards Mr Neglein-
| said â\200\234it is clear that any sanctions
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| gative to the community. So we really
stated our point that in general, sanc- |
| tions are counter productive.â\200\235
~In his main address, Mr Mandela
made clear the African National Con-
Ss wanted to allay fears of Western
lb sinessmen about the organisationâ\200\231s
-plans for nationalisation, ;

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â\200\234We donâ\200\231t care what the system is, as
long as it brings about the needed re-
- distribution of wealth . .. it does not
matter if the cat is black or white, as
long as it catches mice,â\200\235 he said.
. Butata rally in Bonn last night, Mr
â\200\230Mandela said the continued suffering
~of blacks in South Africa meant noth-
| ing to those European Governments
| who were aying the time had come to
| liftsanctions. ! .

- He said: â\200\234We have made great pro-
gress in the peace talks, but the reality |
| inSouth Africa is that apartheid is still
| in place.â\200\235 â\200\224 Sapa-Reuter. s

Traitor .

WE have had Mr Nelson Mandela, the ANC deputy president, embracing Yasser Arafat, the Palestine Liberation Organisation leader and terror master.

We have had Mr Nelson Mandela embracing Col Muammar Gaddafi, the Libyan leader and terrorist master.

Since the ANC engaged in terrorism and received help from the PLO and Col Gaddafi, we suppose the association is understandable though deplorable.

Terror groups do help each other, and they do claim to be fighting just causes, though the families of their victims might think otherwise.

But when Mr Mandela embraces Mrs Ruth Gerhardt, the Swiss woman who, with her husband, Dieter, spied for the Soviet Union, then we must ask ourselves where Mr Mandela intends to draw the line.

For Mrs Gerhardt was no heroic â\200\234liberationâ\200\235 or anti-apartheid fighter.

She was a spy â\200\224 and she and her husband accepted a great deal of money, seemingly about R2 million, as spies.

Dieter Gerhardt was commander of the Simonstown naval dockyard and was privy to secrets not just concerning South Africa but Western countries too.

Since his and his wifeâ\200\231s trial was held in camera, we do not know the details, but their crime was serious enough for Dieter Gerhardt to receive life imprisonment and his wife ten years for high treason.

Mr Justice Munnik disclosed that from 1962 to January 1983 Dieter Gerhardt was engaged in espionage with the USSR, transmitting by various means South African military secrets to that country, for which he received payment. ,

Mrs Gerhardt assisted him by being a courier, carrying information in film form to various places in Europe, and on one occasion to Tananarive, in Madagascar, where she met representatives of the USSR to deliver the film to them, and on some occasions received fresh film and sums of money.

Mrs Gerhardt, in her defence, said she was sent by her husband to deliver films at pre-arranged meeting places â\200\234without knowing what it was all aboutâ\200\235.

Her husband had told her he was engaged in counter-intelligence work for South Africa. From about 1980 she had begun doubting her husband's word and started to believe in her heart of hearts that he was a Russian spy.

However, as a result of threats of violence, she continued to assist her husband.

The court rejected these claims.

Gerhardt was picked up by FBI agents in Washington in January 1983 after American agents had received a tip-off from a Soviet intelligence defector.

He was interrogated for 11 days during which he made startling disclosures about the information he gave to the Russians, including intelligence on Nato and British defence systems.

By his own admission, he visited the Soviet Union five times. Mrs Gerhardt admitted accompanying him on two of these visits.

Mrs Gerhardt was released last month at the request of the Swiss Government, no doubt as a gesture to the Swiss during State President Mr F W de Klerk's visit to Geneva.

For Mrs Gerhardt to claim now that they spied as a contribution to overcoming the inhuman apartheid system is absolute rot.

Like all spies, the Gerhardts sold their country's secrets for money.

Neither is heroic; both are traitors to this country. And as a British solicitor who was nearly dragged into the affair said at the time: There is a special place in Hell for traitors.

For Mr Mandela to give this treacherous woman any recognition is deplorable.

Her spying did not help the fight against apartheid. It did not help the ANC. It helped the Russians. And that's no excuse for betraying South Africa.)

Mr Mandela must ask himself whether a woman who helps to sell her adopted country's secrets is someone to be trusted, never mind honoured. Â\$

He should have nothing to do with her.

B! s

HE film Being There is the
parable of Chance the Gar-
dener, an idiot savant who

risks, quite innocently, to
immense fame and influence be-
cause the powers that be sense in
his simple-minded references to
horticultural lore a Solomonic
wisdom on the vexing issues of
the day.

Isolated behind the garden walls
of his employer for most of his con-
scious life, he in fact has no know-
ledge of the world beyond.

is infallibility rests in the desper-
ate eyes of his beholders. When the
truth ultimately begins to dawn on
them, they dare not admit it.

Nelson Mandela may not be such
an empty slate. That apart, it is
worth pausing to wonder the extent
to which he is the world's rather than
his own creation.

Could it be that the Mandela to
whom we must all now do obeisance

| was invented as he sat in his jail cell

because the various parties to the SA
drama needed a figure that did not
exist in nature?

Mandela's claim to greatness â
claim, let it be said, that he has not
made himself â rests principally on
three things: his last words at the
Rivonia trial, his long and nobly en-
dured incarceration at the hands of
the SA government and the testimo-
ny of those, both friend and foe, who
saw him during that time and who
have been in his presence since.

Of the first, it may be said that
however fine Mandela's , the
circumstances that led to its deliv-
ery involved a murderous conspir-
acy. Staunch ANC veterans who op-

the resort to violence were

subsequently liquidated for their views. â\200\230

As for the confinement, it ha

ed to him, he did not do it himself.

at he endured it with dignity and without cracking may be said of most of his fellow prisoners.

This brings us to the matter of testimony. Consider the witnesses.

To be sure they now tell basically the same story, at least in public. This might seem persuasive.

It is less so, however, when one

Is

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> Busnek DA

Mandela merely

the hero the world
needs so badly?s

SIMON BARBER in Washington

R."

stops to think about how the judgments were arrived at.

terminated, perhaps even more so than the ANC itself, that Mandela be great and good.

His authorised hagiographer Fatima Meer pointed out here the other day that â\200\234however they look at it, Mr Mandela is the best thing the government has and they had better look after himâ\200\235.

Confronted with a highly factionalised opposition, President F W de Klerk and his men are desperate for some kind of transcendent hero who can act as what the French, in Alge-

ria, called a â\200\234valable interlocuteurâ\200\235.

Given his mythic status as the
ANCâ\200\231s symbol of struggle over the
East quarter century, they have seen

ittle alternative to settling on Man-

dela. In the process, they have had to
build him up among their own con-
stituency just as the ANC marketed
him as an international rallying in-
strument during his years in jail.

Their wish for him to be the kind of
leader on whom they could pin their
hopes has long since convinced them

Pretoria, for example, is now de- /\

that he is that leader. As witnesses to

his true character or intentions, they
cannot therefore be trusted.

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Abroad the urge to invest Mandela
with all but superhuman qualities is

no less great. Out here, nobody is

interested in the individual as he
really might be.

What people want is a saint, a sort
of moral celebrity. Woe betide the
policymaker, politician, scholar or
Journalist who evinces the slightest
scepticism. Mother Theresa is
scarcely more sacrosanct.

This is particularly true in the US
where the civil rights movement has
adopted Mandela as a sort of Martin
Luther King reborn.

The sentiment is summed uĩ-\201aby
Roger Wilkins, co-ordinator of Man-
delaâ\200\231s US tour, who declared in the
New York Times that the ANC depu-
ty president was â\200\234our cousin, our
kingâ\200\235. The pun was apparently
intended.

Such is the abyss into which racial
politics has fallen here that news
organisations have felt obliged to
sanitise their coverage of Mandelaâ\200\231s
activities and statements.

The Washington Post, it is true, did.

remark upon the ideology of his first
speech in Cape Town. That was a
rare breach of protocol, however.

Mandelaâ\200\231s praise of Fidel Castro as a
beacon of human rights and embrace

of both Col Gaddafi and Yasser Arafat (whom he has met now on three occasions) went largely unreported until members of the Jewish community started threatening to stage protests during his visit. :

The last non-head-of-state invited to address a joint session of Congress was Lech Walesa. His invitation was made from genuine, across-the-board respect for a leader who had led the overthrow of a tyrannous regime without recourse to violence.

Mandela, on the other hand, is being accorded the same privilege less from any consensus that he should receive it than out of fear of the domestic political consequences if he did not. As it happens, very few of the congressional leadership were even consulted before the invitation was extended by House Speaker Thomas Foley at the insistence of Congressman William Gray. {

To the contrary, the Mandela session was presented to most members as a fait accompli, Not even Senator Jesse Helms, perhaps the ANC's most dogged critic on Capitol Hill,

could bring himself to complain. fiPerhaps it does not bother Man-

dela that he is being used. However, the extent to which he is letting this happen surely casts doubt on whether he is the historic leader he is alleged to be.

One may even be inclined to think that the movement he represents sees him as little more than a useful PR tool to be trundled out when needed but otherwise kept on a tight rein. President George Bush might * do well to think about this before the two meet. {

Whoever runs the ANC clearly . does not want him to spend a great deal of time at home. They have already blocked his inclination to make peace with Chief Mangosuthu. Buthelezi.

And now, a septuagenarian fresh out of surgery (however minor), he is supposed to undertake an itinerary that would exhaust a man half his age. His 10-day schedule in the US alone includes no less than eight - major rallies, not counting the New York ticker tape parade and addresses to Congress and the UN General Assembly. In one 48-hour period, he must, among other lesser duties,

speak at rallies in Atlanta, Detroit and Los Angeles, address a union convention in Miami and visit a car assembly plant in Detroit.

He is granted not a single day off

~ throughout. This, say the organisers,

ANC US representative Lindiwe Ma-buza among them, is an abbreviated version of what they originally had in mind, specially pared down for the sake of his health.

Not, of course, that they admit his health might be a problem. Local ANC officials insist more loudly than anyone he is as healthy as an ox, problems in Geneva notwithstanding. i

Insanity. And to what end? Merely to ensure that sanctions stay in place to strengthen the ANC's constitutional demands? That Mandela permits it is evidence at best of foolishness, but also of vainglory. â\200\230

That his colleagues seem determined to have him proceed suggests the only use they have for him is to parade him overseas like some seductive but ultimately expendable artifact. . "

| IF Nelson Mandela play-
â\200\234ed rugby, he would have
â\200\234fitted as_scrumhalf and
would score many drop
Is. Â¢ - ks
goaAsr.a-politi(:ian he is
shrewd, as a strategist
bold, as a leader charis-
_matic, as an ideologist ob-
stinate, and as an oppor-
tunist brilliant. Yet as a
pragmatist, he is a failure
_and as a realist dubious.
This ambitious promi-
nent Black politic:an'of
our times is venturing
blindly into a unique situ-
ation that needs dyna-
mism. Presently, he is
creating more encmies'for
himself and his organisa-
tionâ\200\231s interest first with-
out considering the other
real issues when dealing
with the South African
politics.

-

sion he gives. indicates
that he is suffering from -
conceptions. Like
the old Muhammed Al,
who tried to wrest the

_heavyweight title at his-

prime age. Mandela, likg.-
wise, thinks that he still
has an ego to enforce par-

icies down the
throats of the millions ol

f
â\200\234 South Africans both

Black and White.

It is good and wise that
he has been given the op-
portunity to speak his
lungs out, not that every-
body can read in-between
his mind and his mouth.

Equally all the contro-
versy about his speeches
will be exposed for every-
body to see. Some people
just listen and salute what
he says without thinking

or analysing those say-

AL Eives detal
constituent asse

THE Pan-Africanist Congress. (PAC) has for the first time revealed details of the mechanics of a Constituent Assembly (CA) it says must be agreed on before negotiations take place with the De Klerk Administration.

The details are contained in one of three position papers dealing with a transitional constituent assembly, negotiations and the organisation's economic policy.

The PAC's position on the CA will be made public today when General Secretary Benny Alexan-

Step.d D â\200\230â\200\234n '

der -addresses a

lunch

Be careful and cautions and - believe not every word he utters.

There is either a motive - ; orthe opposite of what he

says. g
Please, Mr Mandela, step down and retire like

good old PW. You de-

serve it. To us you are just a bore. as

We need people like Dikgang Moseneke, Dr G Mosala, people with zest. You should be &Sï¬\202ng

acefully with Winnie
gzd your grandchildren somewhere in th; Trans-
kei â\200\224 Qunu is where you belong now. Our struggle needs fresh minds and fresh ideas and a dynamic leadership for a new South Africa.

FED UP

Johannesburg

delay

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hosted by the Foreign A, says the document.

Correspondentsâ\200\231 Associa-
tion. .

In an exclusive inter-
_view with Sapa, Mr Alex-
ander described the mo-
del as an inverted pyra-
mid â\200\234the model
guarantees that = the
people will have the final
say, with their representa-
tives being directly
elected and answerable to
the masses on a non-racial
basis.â\200\235 -

According to the PAC
document, negotiations

can only take place once

straightforward majority
rule, the redistribution of
resources, ~ particularly
land, and a constituent as-
sembly are agreed upon
by the ruling government.
The document states
that the CA will consist of
265 seats, with represen-
tatives being elected on a
proportional basis. =
â\200\234This means that one
would vote for a political
party and not specific in-
dividuals in demarcated
areas. The total national
individual votes will be
counted at the end of the
elections to determine the
winner. ; :
~â\200\234This means that the
party with 40 percent of
the total national indivi-
dual votes will get 40 per-
cent of the 265 seats in the

Once elected,
â\200\234â\200\234peopleâ\200\231s delegatesâ\200\235 will
appoint constitutional ex-
perts on a proportional
basis.

â\200\234In effect, this will
mean that 40 percent of
the seats in the Constitu-
ent Assembly will appoint

40 percent of the experts to draw up a new constitution. The term of office of these experts will expire when the constitution is adopted.â\200\235 :

Before the constitution is presented to the CA, delegates will be mandated to take it back to

_ their verified support base for comment and â\200\234verification before it is tabled again in the assembly for final ratification. -

â\200\234Our belief in voting

~ for representatives of pol-

~_itical parties is a way out - of the quagmire of racial

representation and constituencies based along racial lines,â\200\235 said Mr Alexander. :

There could be no question, he added, of the CA dealing with minority or group rights â\200\234as they would be directly accountable to â\200\234the vast masses, who do not want apartheid in any guiseâ\200\235. â\200\224 Sapa.