

# Freed PAC leader challenges PW



Pan Africanist Congress President ZEPHANIA MOTHOPENG and his wife URBANIA yesterday at his first public appearance since his release from prison at the weekend.

By Erik Larsen

THE leader of the banned Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) Zephania Mothopeng (75) yesterday issued a challenge to the State President, Mr P W Botha, to unban the PAC and all other political organisations should he wish to prove his bona fides about reform.

Addressing a Press conference in Soweto after

his sudden release from jail at the weekend, Mr Mothopeng called on the international community not to be fooled by the "cosmetic changes" in this country and to continue with their economic, cultural and sports boycotts.

Mr Mothopeng, who was serving a 15-year sentence for activities on behalf of the PAC, also called for the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and the longest-serving political prisoner in this country Jeff Masekela of the PAC.

"I do not believe there is any justification for keeping those two gentlemen in jail.

"I am naming them as symbols of all other prisoners of conscience who should be out here working for the return of our land."

The reprieve of the Sharpeville Six should have led to their release as it was never proved that they had committed a crime, he said.

A lot had already been publicised about his health. "But I must stress that it is only my body that is weak and not my spirit. I am as determined to fight for the liberation of Azania today as I was the day I joined the liberation struggle as a young man."

His first task would be to unite the African people. "I have been committed to that unity and I am going to devote all my time and effort in seeing to it that the task is fulfilled."

He said this would include members of other political organisations, irrespective of the colour of a person's skin.

"We surely have paid a high price for our beliefs. We must now get our freedom, which I know will not be offered on a golden platter."

Concerning the trade union movements, Mr Mothopeng said that if the State President was serious about change he should remove all restrictions on unions and remove the new Labour Relations Act.

On the question of a negotiated settlement, Mr Mothopeng said the PAC held the view that it would not participate in or support a "Muzorewatype" of government.

Mr Mothopeng said he was surprised by his sudden release from prison on Saturday. "But I am also very delighted to be out of prison. I am de-

lighted to be close to my beloved wife, my children, grandchildren and all the sons and daughters of Azania, who have been a great source of encouragement while I was in prison."

He thanked them for their courage and support, particularly during the past two years.

He also thanked people for electing him President of the PAC two years ago. "The honour they gave me could only have humbled me, particularly because it came at the time when my health was troubling me a lot."

Mr Mothopeng's wife, Urbania, son, daughter and granddaughter attended yesterday's Press conference.

There were also a large number of PAC supporters who sang freedom songs and chanted "Long live the PAC", "Viva Mothopeng" and "Viva PAC of Azania".

## UK praises release of Black prisoners

LONDON. —The British Government has welcomed Pretoria's decision to release two leading Black nationalists, Mr Zephania and Mr Harry Gwala.

Whitehall officials said Britain had long called for the unconditional release of political prisoners in South Africa.

"Therefore when a political prisoner is released, we are naturally pleased," said one official.

ed," said one official.

Mrs Margaret Thatcher's government has also been encouraged by other domestic and regional initiatives taken by Pretoria recently.

These include the reprieves granted to the Sharpeville Six, the easing of the conditions under which Nelson Mandela is detained and the accord struck over Angola and SWA.

There has been newspaper speculation in Britain that this could lead to Mrs Thatcher paying a visit to South Africa next year.

But there is no sign yet from Downing Street that the British Premier is ready to make such a trip.

Downing Street has said for some time that Mrs Thatcher would only contemplate going to South Africa if she saw significant moves being made towards the dismantling of the apartheid system.

Many commentators are agreed that the release of Mandela would almost certainly be one of her conditions.

Britain has underlined the important role which Russia has played behind-the-scenes in aiding the peace moves over Angola and SWA.

Foreign Office Minister of State Mrs Lynda Chalker met the Russian ambassador in London last Friday and asked him to convey Britain's appreciation of the Soviet role to Moscow. — Sapa.

## Mothopeng visited after release

SCORES of people from all over South Africa and overseas packed the four-roomed Orlando West home of the Pan Africanist Congress president, Zeph Mothopeng (75), who was released at the weekend.

Many of those who arrived to meet Mothopeng were Whites, some from overseas.

Several of the guests were church ministers, seeking permission for their congregations to meet Mothopeng and hold a short prayer service for him.

In a brief interview with journalists and television crews, he said: "I am not well now, but my condition is better. I want to have a complete rest and then I can give interviews.

"I feel quite nice and excited about my release. I did not expect to be released and was surprised when a prison official told me that I was being released without conditions," said Mothopeng in response to questions from journalists. — Sapa.



Air chief is contradicted in court

# We're not at war, say security police

THE STAR NOVEMBER 29, 1988

CAPE TOWN — Contrary to the chief of the Air Force, Lieutenant-General Jan van Loggerenberg's claim, the security police did not believe South Africa was at war.

This was said by Brigadier Hermanus Stadler in evidence in the Supreme Court yesterday in the trial of 14 men convicted of terrorism and related charges.

Brigadier Stadler was given a copy of General van Loggerenberg's affidavit used in the End Conscription Campaign's application restraining the Defence Force from harassment.

The general had said the activities of the SADF fell outside the jurisdiction of the court because South Africa was at war.

Brigadier Stadler said in reply to a question by Mr Michael Donen, for the defence, that he had been asked to provide an affidavit for the ECC action backing this assertion, but refused.

"Certainly the African National Congress is committed to a revolution in South Africa and they are

## Own Correspondent

using revolutionary tactics," the brigadier said.

"But there is no war in South Africa — the ANC also admits this. If there was a war, the SADF would have been called in a long time ago."

Brigadier Stadler said the ANC repeatedly stated in their publications that they were at war.

## ANC's 'naive view'

While the ANC was supporting Zapu in Rhodesia, the term "Today Rhodesia — tomorrow South Africa" was repeatedly used.

"This was a naive view, as Joe Slovo correctly pointed out at the time," Brigadier Stadler said.

"But this perception is still created in ANC publications."

He said he believed that South Africa was at war in Angola, but that inside the Republic only acts of terror took place.

The security police regarded these acts of terror as criminal actions and not actions of war.

"Unrest does not make a war. There is a definite difference between terror and war."

Asked by Mr Donen whether a term of imprisonment would rehabilitate the accused, Brigadier Stadler said: "Rehabilitation as regards this kind of people is practically nil."

"In the words of Mr Justice Van Dijkhorst, they study at the feet of Nelson Mandela at Robben Island," Mr Donen said.

"I agree," said Brigadier Stadler. "That's probably why Nelson Mandela was moved off Robben Island."

The accused are: Ashley Forbes, Peter Jacobs, Nicklo Pedro, Na-zeem Lowe, Anwa Dramat, Clement Baadjies, David Fortuin, Jeremy Veary, Walter Rhoo-de, Wayne Malgas, Collin Cairncross, Ashraf Karriem, Colin Petersen and Leon Scott.

The hearing was postponed to December 5 for argument.

## Mothopeng — a man jail didn't cow

By Patrick Laurence

Mr Zephania Mothopeng, now critically ill with a malignant thymus gland, was born in the Free State in September 1913 and matriculated at St Peter's Secondary School in Johannesburg.

In the 1940s he joined the ANC's Youth League, which functioned as a pressure group for greater militancy in the ANC.

Later he became a leader of the Africanists within the ANC. He worked closely with the man who was to found the Pan Africanist Congress, Robert Sobukwe.

## LEADERS ARRESTED

He helped launch the PAC's non-violent campaign against the pass laws in 1960. It led to the shooting by police of black civilians in Sharpeville, declaration of a state of emergency, outlawing of the PAC and arrest of PAC leaders.

Mr Mothopeng was one of those arrested. He was jailed for two years for



Mr Zeph Mothopeng ... seriously ill.

his role in the 1960 campaign. But he was not cowed.

In 1964 he was jailed for three years for furthering the aims of the PAC. In 1979 he was jailed for 15 years after being convicted under the Terrorism Act for furthering the PAC's aims between 1963 and 1977.

Typically, he and his co-accused refused to plead, saying they did not recognise the court as it had been formed under laws that black people had no share in making.

## Call to unban outlawed groups

By Jo-Anne Collinge

At his first public appearance in Soweto yesterday, Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) president Mr Zeph Mothopeng called especially for the release of African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela and the longest-serving political prisoner, Jeff Masemola.

"I do not think there is any reason for keeping them in jail," Mr Mothopeng (75) told a press conference attended by local and foreign journalists.

He added that the release of Mandela, Masemola and all other political prisoners should be granted not on grounds of compassion "but because we are being held illegally".

Mr Mothopeng, released on Saturday after serving all but three years of a 15-year sentence, said he was issuing a "direct challenge" to the State President to unban the PAC and other banned organisations.

Flanked by family members, the PAC leader kept his conference short. He has cancer and was obviously tired.

Asked whether he would be content if the ban on the PAC was lifted but not that on the ANC, Mr Mothopeng reiterated his demand that "all banned organisations" be unbanned.

Mr Mothopeng referred throughout to the PAC as the "vanguard" liberation organisation and to South Africa as "Azania" or "occupied Azania".

Asked about the acceptability of whites within PAC ranks, he said: "We ... consider a person's convictions. We are non-racial."

Mr Mothopeng said: "It is not for us to decide whether there will be violence — we are living in a violent situation not of the making of the African people."

In response to a question on possible unity between the ANC and PAC, Mr Mothopeng said: "My first task is to unite the Azanian nation."



# Living and learning to integrate

THE STAR NOVEMBER 29, 1988

Recently returned from an educational visit to the United States, **BRIAN CARLSON**, Headmaster of St Andrew's Preparatory School, Grahamstown, concludes that racial integration cannot be achieved simply by opening the doors of schools. More must happen than that. This extract comes from a longer article in Kappa Delta Pi Record, Summer 1988.

Visiting American schools and talking to students, one cannot help but be impressed by a feeling that the new generations of young people growing up together are more closely integrated than their parents' generation.

In spite of this obvious progress, it does not mean that the problems of desegregation have been entirely resolved. The movement of large numbers of white people from the centre of Washington DC to the suburbs, for example, is one indication of the way in which American people responded to the desegregation of schools.

The schools in the suburbs are generally good and mainly white; the ones in the city centre are comparatively bad and largely black.

As a generalisation, it does seem as if integration has taken place more successfully in the south than in the north of America.

A teacher at one New York school said a recent report stated that 67 percent of northern schools are still not fully integrated, while only 23 percent are not in the south.

## Genuine integration rare

One independent school in New York also claimed it was the only independent school in New York that freely admitted pupils of all races. The others, it was stated, have a quota — an unofficial one, of course.



Communication across the racial barrier — senior pupils at St Andrew's Preparatory School read their own stories to an attentive group of Standard 1 children.

The comments of other educators served to validate this impression. In the south, it appears that because blacks and whites had lived and worked side by side for many years —

once the civil rights issue had been gally won — they were able to settle down and come to terms with the process of integration far more successfully than the people in the north.

There, for the majority, the problems of segregation have been a more theoretical issue rather than one they encountered frequently in their daily lives.

The implications for South Africa are interesting. For one thing, perhaps the thrust to develop integrated education in the country should take place in rural or semi-rural areas where black

and white children do not live far apart.

Judging by what has happened in America, in the big cities such as Johannesburg and Cape Town, the structure of the residential areas will make it difficult for children of different races to find anything in common if, outside of the school environment, they are going to continue to live separate lives.

Genuine integration occurs successfully only when criteria such as the following apply over and above black and

white children simply attending the same school:

- There are opportunities for children to play together, visit each other's homes and establish friendships outside the school environment.

- Parents of different groups are seen by their children to interact positively with each other, even if it is only when they are brought together in the school environment.

- There are opportunities for students to mix in formal areas of society other than school, for example, to have shared experiences in worship, recre-

ation and entertainment.

- The school teaches ethnic awareness and operates a multicultural curriculum.

There is no doubt that the desegregation movement is working most successfully in American communities where factors such as these apply.

To eliminate fear, prejudice and inequality and develop respect and understanding is an on-going process, one which is well served by schemes such as the Magnet Schools Assistance Programme, operated by the US State Department of Education.

To be eligible to receive federal funds under this scheme, a school district must offer an educational pro-

To P.C. 2



# LIVING AND LEARNING TO INTEGRATE FROM. PG. 1

gramme which has a desegregation plan built into it. In this way, quality programmes are developed for mixed groups of pupils and their progress carefully monitored to ensure that objectives are being met.

## Material assistance

Ideally, one hopes that a future South African government will adopt a similar concept to assist integration in schools, but until it happens, this is an approach which interest groups both within and outside the country could develop to bring about positive change in South Africa.

It is easy to follow the sanctions line of thinking, one which is negative and destructive to the South African society as a whole. A far more challenging and productive approach would be to create new structures within the country and materially assist those who are striving for positive, peaceful change.

South Africa is very much a nation at risk. It needs the courage and commitment of all its people to create a continuous process of creative growth and change in order to provide a peaceful, long-term solution to its problems. The challenge to the American people is to assist and support us positively in this approach and, particularly in the field of education, to share with us the knowledge and experience gained from trying to resolve similar problems in American society.



## Options facing SA parliamentary politics

# 'Co-operation is needed'

THE STAR NOVEMBER 29, 1988

In his opening speech to a week-end conference of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa), of which he is a director, Dr Slabbert pinpointed the obstacles to be overcome before joint strategies could be formulated.

The vision shared by a majority of South Africans — that of a non-racial democracy — was frustrated and complicated by differences about or the absence of common strategies, he said.

"Those who govern are poor in vision and rich in strategy, and those who oppose are rich in vision and poor in strategy."

One of the major sources of strategic poverty on the part of those who want a non-racial democracy was to be found in the coercive strategic resources of the State.

It had used bannings, detentions, persecution, intimidation and disinformation to force all political expression into its self-created channels of participation.

In the process, the State had sowed disunity and confusion in the ranks of its opponents.

### Gross distortion

"But dare those of us who desire a non-racial democracy let the matter rest there? Is there nothing else we can do but to shrug our shoulders and say: 'We can do no more because the State will not allow us'?"

"I believe not only would this be a gross distortion of the reality but an abdication of our rights to participate in the dynamic future which is unfolding before us."

Dr Slabbert said the conviction for a non-racial democracy had deepened, but people realised that they would have to work much harder and longer for it than they had ever imagined.

Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, former PFP leader who quit Parliament in 1986 after becoming disillusioned with parliamentary politics, has made a significant plea for closer co-operation between parliamentary and extra-parliamentary organisations striving towards a non-racial democracy. **ESMARE VAN DER MERWE** reports.



Dr Van Zyl Slabbert told a conference of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa that the conviction for a non-racial democracy has deepened.

"This is good. It means that we can consider strategies for change without illusions or an unrealistic sense of euphoria. In other words, we can begin to take the art of politics seriously."

He highlighted the key issues — participation vs non-participation and parliamentary vs extra-parlia-

ment has increasingly not been able to make much of a difference to the authoritarian drift we are experiencing. This means that white and black opposition to Government find themselves more in the same boat and can lend a totally new dimension to the politics of participation."

The dangers of co-option were real.

"The green benches of representative institutions can anaesthetise intellects and dull political convictions."

Second, there were those who legally could participate in parliamentary politics and those who could not.

Dr Slabbert, tipped to be considered for the leadership position of a new liberal political party, clearly left his options open.

He said: "Contrary to the views of some, I do not, and have never had, a principled or moral opposition to either participatory or parliamentary politics. My considerations have always been of a strategic nature."

"I still find it impossible to accept that an all-white political party left of Government on its own can mobilise enough support to get into power, change the constitution and persuade the majority to participate in it."

"If such a party becomes hopelessly trapped into the process of polarisation where Parliament itself is ignored by the major political forces, including Government, whilst also seeing its own support base declining, then parliamentary participation as a strategy to promote a non-racial democracy has to be looked at very carefully indeed."

mentary politics — in the new quest for closer co-operation between all the political actors opposed to the present rule.

Whites came from a history of participation; blacks generally from one of non-participation.

"White participation left of Gov-

### Useful forum

When considering parliamentary politics as a strategy, the following should be kept in mind:

- Was Parliament a useful forum for protest, highlighting injustice and raising national and international political awareness? (He said it was.)
- Could parliamentary participation be of such a nature that it could bridge the gap between parliamentary-extra-parliamentary politics?
- Could parliamentary participation become an extension of a broader democratic struggle?
- Was it possible to bridge the divide in such a way that white support away from apartheid would grow?



## THE CITIZEN COMMENT

# Stillborn?

IT looks more and more as if the new Left-wing party is going to be stillborn. Or if not stillborn, then a creature that is not going to have a very lusty life.

If, of course, the liberal businessmen who fund the three parties, the Progressive Federal Party, the Independent Party and the National Democratic Movement, have their way, the party will be put together whatever the consequences.

But the same businessmen have never backed a political winner in their lives — and they're not going to now.

If politics was a business, it would be easy to merge the three parties, issue a new prospectus and get voters to subscribe to it.

However, politics is not a business and it requires that partners in any new party should share the same political philosophies and principles if the new party is going to amount to anything.

In the absence of such shared principles, the liberal businessmen are simply trying to force a shotgun marriage of the three — if you don't unite, they are saying in effect, we won't foot the bill for you.

Even the Prog Press is beginning to highlight the differences. For example, the Star reports that there "are still deep divisions, particularly between the NDM and the IP."

NDM leader, Mr Wynand Malan, practises "inclusive process politics" involving political groups across the political spectrum. Parliamentary and extra-Parliamentary groups should be complementary in creating a democratic future, he says.

IP leader, Dr Denis Worrall, stresses the IP is mainly interested in Parliamentary politics.

In terms of involvement by Blacks, Mr Malan favours ANC — UDF participation, whereas Dr Worrall looks to Inkatha and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

How the two can be reconciled is beyond us. As for the PFP, while it has entered the Indian House of Delegates as a party and wants links with extra-Parliamentary bodies, it certainly does not want to be associated too closely with the ANC and UDF.

It learnt the lesson in last year's general election not to be soft on law and order — which is what the new party would be if it followed Mr Malan's penchant for chatting to the ANC.

Put bluntly, it is not enough for a new party to be against the Government and apartheid. It must have principles and a detailed policy, and nothing suggests that the PFP, IP and NDM will find common ground in that respect.

A new party must also have a leader. Some Prog papers rule out Dr Zach de Beer, the PFP leader, Dr Worrall and Mr Malan. Others think Dr De Beer will lead the new party.

Yet others suggests that Dr Van Zyl Slabbert might be the leader — a mindboggling suggestion, considering how he walked out of Parliament and the PFP while he was leader of the Progs, causing the Official Opposition irreparable harm.

If Dr Slabbert led the new party, it wouldn't have a hope of getting anywhere. Besides, it could never be sure that Dr Slabbert would not stage another walkout.

Interestingly, Dr Worrall has set December 14, when the parties meet again, as the deadline for forming the new party. In other words, agreement must be reached then or not at all.

At least he has the good sense to know that if the government calls a general election next April, the new party had better be conceived as quickly as possible if it is to be conceived at all. But even then, it would not have enough time to familiarise the voting public with its name and platform.

If the new party did contest the April election, it would have to rely chiefly on the Prog organisation since the IP and NDM haven't electoral machines of any consequence.

However, a merger with the NDM would lose the Progs support, a merger with the PFP would lose the IP support, and the three together would find great difficulty in presenting a policy acceptable to the voters.

All in all, it's a hopeless prospect.



FREED PAC LEADER  
CHALLENGES P.W.  
FROM P.G.1

## SA Govt's action 'road to peace'

THE release from jail of PAC President Zeph Mothopeng and ANC activist Harry Gwala "is an action for which we are thankful, and one which will come as a Christmas present to their families," the President of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa, the Rev Stanley Mogoba, said yesterday.

"We believe that their release came because both were of advanced age and failing health — a condition to which we believe imprisonment in no small way contributed" Mr Mogoba said in a statement.

"However, we thank the government for having taken this action, which is the only way which can lead to peaceful negotiations and the realisation of the dream of many South Africans for a new, nonracial, democratic South Africa." — Sapa.



## BACKGROUND

# This was YOUR week, PW

## A SHAKING HAND, BUT A FIRM SPIRIT

Patrick Laurence

JOHANNESBURG: Mr Zephania Mothopeng stood to attention, his hand raised in the open-palm salute of the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) and shaking slightly.

The words of African anthem Nkosi Sikelel' i-Afrika reverberated in the crowded room at the Ipelegeng Community Centre in Soweto as the Press conference drew to a close yesterday.

The scene was joyful but poignant. Mr Mothopeng, president of the outlawed PAC, was free, having been released from prison less than two days earlier.

But the 75-year-old Africanist was clearly ailing.

Time was running out.

The open-palm salute reflected his determination to continue the quest for a united Azania.

The shaking hand was a sign that the struggle would be against his advanced age and poor health as much as it would be against his political foes.

Wearing a jacket and tie, his beard trimmed to join his moustache in Edwardian fashion, Mr Mothopeng did not mince words.

"If I had my way, I would be resting in bed," the PAC president said, his clear, resonant voice hinting at his oratorical power of younger days.

"But I must stress that it is only my body that is weak and not my spirit.

"I am as determined to fight for the liberation of Azania today as I was the day I joined the liberation struggle as a young man."



Mr Mothopeng, now critically ill with a malignant thymus gland, was born in the Orange Free State in September 1913 but matriculated at St Peter's Secondary School in Johannesburg.

In the 1940s he joined the Youth League of African National Congress,

Mr Zephania Motopheng — still determined to fight for freedom

which functioned as a pressure group for greater militancy in the ANC.

Later he became a leader of the Africanists in the ANC.

He worked closely with the man who was to found the PAC, Robert Sobukwe.

He helped launch the PAC's non-violent campaign against the pass laws in 1960.

It led, tragically, to the gunning down by police of African civilians at Sharpeville, to the declaration of a state of emergency, to the outlawing of the PAC and to the arrest of many PAC leaders.

Mr Mothopeng was one of those arrested.

He was jailed for two years for his role in the 1960 campaign.

But he was not cowed ....

SUE LEEMAN

reports from LONDON

IT WAS A week when President P.W. Botha found himself being praised instead of reviled.

Many of his critics agreed that in only seven days the South African Government seemed not only to have got its political agenda more clearly into focus and contrived to have its public relations machine working efficiently on full power.

A week that began with formal agreement on SWA/Namibian independence and Cuban troop withdrawal also saw re-prieve for the Sharpeville Six, the announcement that Nelson Mandela was not going back to jail and the release of two sick and ageing African nationalists.

An Observer columnist said that "all these add up to a formidable crossing out of subjects of international concern".

An Independent headline read: "Pretoria's compassion unmasked."

One of those who has been watching developments most closely is Mrs Thatcher, someone Mr Botha is keen to impress with his desire for reform.

The British Premier is finalising plans for a visit to southern Africa early next year and Mr Botha would dearly like to see her include Pretoria on her list of stops.

Many observers are noting that at least part of the object of last week's exercise was to persuade the British Premier that a visit to Pretoria was now timely.

It has been said that Mrs Thatcher's anti-sanctions stance has made her a firm friend in Pretoria's eyes, and the Botha Government is prepared to go to great lengths to accommodate her.

Mr Botha, said the Telegraph yesterday, was now simply responding to the offer of a visit waved by Mrs Thatcher "like a chunk of particularly tempting biltong under (his) nose".

But observers agree that freedom for Mandela is only the first of a list of demands for further reform in South Africa — and most believe Mrs Thatcher will up the stakes further before





BOTHA: seven days of progress



THATCHER: won't come running

agreeing to go to Pretoria.

Professor Jack Spence of the Department of Politics at Leicester University said he believed, whether by design or accident, last week's combination of events had been well timed.

"Mrs Thatcher has been looking for a *quid pro quo* (for opposing sanctions), and this appears to go some way towards that.

"But I don't think she will rush into announcing that she is to visit South Africa — she will probably ask for more assurances first.

"Even after Mandela is released, she will want to know what sort of political environment he is to be released into.

"She will want to know whether his release is a prelude to some real talks with Mandela.

"If he is just released into a political vacuum she will not go

near Pretoria."

Professor Spence believed freedom would come to Mandela in stages carefully co-ordinated to minimise any loss of face by the South African Government.

"Mandela will be freed on his own terms.

"It appears the (South African) Government has given up on the violence question.

"But they have a very real fear that once freed he may be assassinated by the right wing.

"So some sort of security will be necessary — but how do you differentiate between security against assassination and a moderate form of house arrest?"

Visiting research fellow at the Royal Institute for International Affairs, Mr Jesmond Blumenfeld, said he believed the Government had handled the public relations side of last week's events well.

"I welcome last week's moves. They go in a direction that everyone would desire.

"It is nice to see the (South African) Government responds to reason from time to time and is not beyond some kind of rational argument."

But he remained sceptical about the Government's motivation, pointing to the reprieve of four white policemen as a sop to the right wing.

There was, he added, still a great deal of domestic reluctance to "give away" over SWA/Namibia.

"But there is generally a more conciliatory mood in Pretoria at the moment."

Mrs Thatcher, he said, was not going to rush to Pretoria.

"A visit is unlikely without a clear indication of important developments to follow.

"I would be surprised if (her demands) would be limited to the release of Nelson Mandela.

"She will want to know what process of negotiation with black leaders is being negotiated and how it will get under way.

"It is early days yet and if the South African Government is hoping for major gains in the short-term without pushing a lot further along this road, they are making a serious mistake."

## 'Bitter fight' for freedom continues

IN 1964 Zephania Mothopeng was jailed for three years for furthering the aims of the PAC.

In 1979, he was jailed for 15 years, having been convicted under the Terrorism Act for furthering the objectives of the PAC between 1963 and 1977.

Typically, he and his co-accused refused to plead.

They did not recognise the court as it was formed under laws which the

African people had no share in making.

He was released unconditionally on Saturday.

Within two days, after warding off the pressing claims of age and illness, he said: "We must now get our freedom, which I know will not be offered on a golden platter.

"We have to be united and to fight bitterly for it." — Political staff



# Mandela mansion

SOWETAN 29 Nov. 1988

## — opposite view

SIR — May I start expressing the hope that as much as you exercised your right to comment on the building of the mansion for the Mandela family, you will be kind enough to publish this letter, expressing an opposite view to yours.

May I also clarify matters by stating that, the last thing I would want to do would be to "throw mud at the Mandela family," rather, I would like to put the role of individuals in the struggle in perspective.

I do respect Mr Nelson Mandela for his selfless sacrifices in the liberation struggle, but I do not believe that such sacrifices automatically entitle him to fringe benefits in the struggle, whereas

other equally selfless sons and daughters of the soil in the struggle are exempted.

Again, I do not believe that our struggle should be based on cult figures, but should rather revolve around locals and ideas.

I feel we should be wise enough to see the disadvantages of cult figures in the struggle by reviewing the liberation struggles of other African brothers and sisters in this continent.

In Kenya, Jomo Kenyatta, the so-called "Burning Spear of Africa", was what you might have termed "one of the most, if not the most respected and revered black leader in the continent".

But we all know what happened after Jomo Kenyatta got

into power after he had been defied by the masses during the freedom struggle.

He incarcerated every Kenyan who believed in ownership of mansions by the leadership while the workers and peasants lived in hovels. Today Jomo's successor, Daniel Arap Moi, turns the South African regime green with envy with his brutal suppression of the socialist Kenyan organisation, Moa Kenya.

I am not for one moment suggesting Nelson Mandela is going to act like Jomo Kenyatta when he happens to gain power, but I do not subscribe to the colonial/imperialist action that leaders should live in "white houses" and 10 Downing streets" when the masses live in abject poverty.

Otherwise every Robben Island prisoner "for the momentous sacrifice he and his family have made for the struggle, should be housed in a palace when he leaves jail".

Again, I hope you will have the courage to publish a view that is opposed to yours.

SIZWE KHUMALO  
Atteridgville.



# President Bush is out to woo the black American

**SIMON BARBER in Washington**

have come to "encourage" SA, not "punish" it.

Lewis acknowledges that "when" P W is ready for "dialogue," "he will have to find resources to meet black people's needs — desperate needs for education, housing and the like. He will be able to find those resources only if foreign investment resumes".

Given the artful "when," this is not quite a trumpet to sound retreat on sanctions, but at least it recognises there is some linkage between the "desperate" straits of black South Africans and the economic strangulation that people like Lewis have been helping legitimise.

**T**here will, of course, be an upsurge of activism in the new year, when Congress returns to confront President George Bush and the children of the privileged head back to campus to make life uncomfortable for their elders and betters.

But so long as Pretoria commits no outrage to provide them with kindling, the political arson of the past four years is unlikely to be repeated.

How unlikely depends not solely on SA's behaviour or on the changes of heart whose symptoms opinion-makers like Lewis now seem to be showing. A critical component will be Bush's relations with black Americans.

If the new administration moves forcefully to implement the black "empowerment" policies at home which it preaches as the alternative to sanctions against SA, the whole nature of the South African debate

here may well undergo an historic and productive change.

The Free South Africa Movement, as Robinson himself has admitted, had very little to do with its name. It was an attempt, an astonishingly successful one, to rally the forces of victim politics after they had been resoundingly repudiated in Ronald Reagan's landslide re-election.

That it did nothing to improve the lives of the "victims" those forces purported to represent — principally poor black Americans — was beside the point. In the Washington power game, elites like the Congressional black caucus and Robinson's Trans-



□ BUSH . . . wants to atone for Ronald Reagan's record

Africa, had found a way to make themselves felt.

That said, Reagan had given blacks a lot to be bitter about, as much as a future majority-rule South African government might give the Afrikaner if it were to announce that it was dispensing with constitutional minority protections.

Reagan's frequently-stated belief in a "colour-blind" society may have sounded fine in theory, but not if you happened to be a member of a group that feels, justifiably, that it needs to be seen to avoid being trampled.

The US administration repeatedly ignored such sensibilities in attempting to roll back existing civil rights law and by refusing to consult even perfunctorily with black leaders as it did so.

**T**o be sure, there was fault on both sides. Black leaders poured venom on Reagan almost from the moment of his election. Even so, that was no reason to request tax exempt status for private church schools that practiced flagrant discrimination in their admittance policies, or to launch so contumacious an attack on affirmative action and voting rights law.

Bush and his advisers have made clear they wish to atone for this record and to make the Republican Party one whose presidential candidate can achieve more than a pitiful 10% of the national black vote. Many blacks have grown tired of being taking for granted by the Democrats, especially since the latter seem so incapable of making it to the White House. Bush thus has an opportunity on his hands.

If he wishes to seize it, he will look to the advice of the populist Congressman Jack Kemp, the only candidate for the Republican presidential nomination to draw a measurable black following and one of the few politicians anywhere on Capitol Hill with a plan for dealing with what has come to be known as the "underclass" — the predominantly black, underemployed, welfare-dependent and crime-ridden communities of America's inner cities — that is not custodial in nature.

One of his most single successes came in fighting both the Federal bureaucracy and a number of powerful Democrats in Congress to allow the tenants of a public housing project in Washington to take control of, and ultimately title to, their tenement. Which, as a result, it has ceased dramatically to be.

In a letter to Bush campaign manager James Baker shortly before the election, Kemp laid out what he termed an "anti-poverty agenda for economic empowerment" that he hoped the new administration would unveil during its first 100 days.

**I**n addition to tenant management and ownership, the proposal called for free enterprise zones to encourage employment in "underclass" areas, effective tax-cuts for low-income families, the establishment of new schools to broaden the choices available to inner-city children and the creation of community-based youth corps which would recruit unemployed black teenagers to provide services to their neighbourhoods.

If Bush enthusiastically adopts such ideas — and hopefully he may even appoint Kemp his Secretary for Housing and Urban Development to battle the bureaucrats whose livelihood depends upon the status quo — the spin-offs for SA could be significant.



. PRESIDENT BUSH IS OUT  
TO WOO THE BLACK AMERICAN  
FROM P.G. 2

First, and most obviously, by showing he cares, the new President will dampen the urge to use the sanctions issue to sublimate domestic black resentments while earning himself the credibility to oppose further Bills — such as the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act — without being dubbed a racist.

Second, and in the long run more importantly if “empowerment” is seen to work at home, it may also be seen to have some application abroad. Indeed, it may even be discovered that there are useful alternatives to impoverishing black South Africans for their own good.

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## COMMENT

# Brave moves

**P**AC PRESIDENT Zeph Mothopeng and ANC activist Harry Gwala are ill men and their unconditional release from prison was presumably decided primarily on humanitarian grounds. But there are strong political overtones which made the decisions both courageous and welcome.

The release of Mothopeng, ANC leader Nelson Mandela and other security prisoners is a constant precondition set by black leaders, including moderates such as Mangosuthu Buthelezi, for negotiations on a new SA constitution. Having first set its own precondition of the renunciation of violence before any would be freed — not an unreasonable demand — government began with the unconditional release of senior ANC member Govan Mbeki. This move was widely seen as a trial run for the release of other senior black nationalists, including Mandela. Although Mbeki's pronouncements led to his restriction, and a ban on newspapers quoting him, government has continued the release by stages of Mandela.

Given Pretoria's difficulties on the right, the assurance that Mandela would not go back to prison once his treatment for tuberculosis was completed, and the release of Mothopeng and Gwala, are brave moves. The man accused of Pretoria's Strydom Square massacre told police he went to a public meeting prepared to shoot President Botha had Mandela's release been announced. This particular individual's sanity has still to be decided by

the courts, but government is only too well aware of the danger of a right-wing backlash, political if not violent, to its current course. It deserves recognition, here and abroad, for proceeding, albeit slowly, towards positive change.

Domestic considerations apart, there is a continuing process of rescuing relations with Western countries from the slough of despond caused by a period of militarist adventures across the sub-continent. Steady progress towards regional peace through settlements in Namibia and Angola has already helped. The reprieve of the Sharpeville Six and now the release of Mothopeng and Gwala are further contributions, as would be freedom for Mandela.

The progress of Mandela towards that freedom is irreversible, although complicated by the fact that Mandela is a symbol whose symbolism increases with every pop concert, street-naming and media event designed to draw attention to him. Like Mothopeng and Gwala, he is both ageing and unwell. His days in prison are over. Barring a domestic political calamity, he will move from a de luxe clinic to some other form of lesser restriction and then to ultimate freedom.

Those seeking that freedom can contribute most by being less pious and less noisy. By giving credit where credit is due, even if that constitutes merely holding their tongues, they might hasten the day they find Mandela free to walk the streets.

## The Boksburg lesson

**F**EELINGS are running high over the Conservative Party's plan to drag Boksburg back into the laager of Verwoerdian apartheid. That party's racism is abhorrent, but Boksburg may yet prove to be a welcome development.

The controversy there is forcing white South Africans to confront apartheid. Business in particular is finding this is one issue it cannot duck.

Our political system is far from democratic, but it is fair to say that Boksburg's whites have got the local government of their choice. What they have yet to learn is that this does not give them the right to impose the will of the few upon the many, even though it may seem the

Nats have got away with it for decades.

Serious opposition to the CP's racism has already started. Ster-Kinekor has stated that Boksburg's only cinema will stay multiracial or may close down. Black residents are planning legal steps. Others will follow these examples.

Before long, decent people will simply stop going to Boksburg. New businesses will not establish themselves there, and existing firms and individuals will move out. Black people in particular will choose to sell their labour and spend their money elsewhere. The CP is set to find out, sooner than expected, that it is people and not political parties who change society.

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**F**OUR YEARS ago last Thursday, I was prevented from celebrating the annual Thanksgiving holiday by Randall Robinson and his fellow leaders of the Free South Africa Movement. The day before they had contrived to get themselves arrested for trespass at the South African Embassy. I was obliged to forego the traditional turkey blowout to await their appearance in court.

This year's festivities were more fattening, interrupted only by news that Nelson Mandela was about to be made a notch freer, and by a near argument with a dinner guest over why P W Botha commuted the death sentences of the Sharpeville Six. She was convinced, on the basis of instinct, that the State President had spared the six purely as an excuse to reprieve the four white killers granted clemency at the same time. If that was her assumption ... I restrained myself and let the subject drop. We were, after all, only at the pre-prandial drinks phase.

The woman was very much part of the establishment whose natural reflexes on the matter she was unconsciously illustrating. Whatever positive steps Pretoria may take, its own halting, toe-in-the-water, fist-in-the-face sort of way will always be analysed abroad in the least flattering light.

**W**hat matters, however, is whether the lordly dim view translates into the kind of action we saw erupting in November 1984. Right now, it is not.

Indeed, I am aware of only one event in recent weeks where the US administration's Southern Africa policy has come under public fire. This was a Press conference at which the United Church of Christ wheeled out a handful of Angolan amputees, their stumps cynically bared to the onset of winter, in hopes of encouraging opposition to the Unita aid programme.

Held at the National Press Club well before the bar opened, the show attracted all of half a dozen genuine journalists and inspired no more than a filler in the following day's Washington Times. The Washington Post ignored it altogether.

By contrast, even columnist Anthony Lewis of the New York Times, a leading intellectual (by default) in the sanctions crusade, has fallen mute, grudgingly suggesting in Sunday's offering that the time may

TO P.9. 2



# PAC leader Mothopeng will 'work for reconciliation with ANC'

SOWETO — Pan Africanist Congress president Zeph Mothopeng, who was released at the weekend after 12 years in prison, said yesterday the PAC would move towards reconciliation with the ANC and other political groups opposed to the government.

A sick and weary-looking Mr Mothopeng told a press conference in Soweto his first task, which he said he would do everything in his power

to discharge, was to unite the African people.

"We don't look at the colour of a person but consider his convictions."

Mr Mothopeng was a member of the ANC until he left the organisation in 1959 and became a founder member of the PAC during the same year.

He said although he welcomed his release, he would like to see

prominent PAC member Jess Masemula and ANC leader Nelson Mandela out of jail.

"I am naming them as symbols of all other prisoners of conscience who should be out here and working for the return of our land. They should be released not on the grounds of compassion, but because they are held illegitimately."

He issued a direct challenge to the State President, Mr P.W.

Botha, to unban the PAC and all other political movements "in order to prove the bona fides of this country".

The 75-year-old leader, who appeared overwhelmed by the large press contingent and crowd which gathered to meet him, welcomed the reprieve of the Sharpeville Six, saying it vindicated the efforts of the Sharpeville Six Committee, but said they should have been re-

leased, as their crime had not been proved.

Replying to a question whether the PAC was the same movement he knew before he was imprisoned, Mr Mothopeng said the changes were not ideological, but merely organisational.

Although he is sickly, Mr Mothopeng said he intended to travel to other countries to talk to various groups. "I will meet everybody

when I am free — anybody ... anywhere."

Mr Mothopeng was jailed in 1976 under the Terrorism Act and was elected president of the PAC in 1986 while he was in prison.

The release of Mr Mothopeng and ANC activist Harry Gwala has been welcomed by the PAC, the Methodist Church, the British government and the National Council of Trade Unions. — Sapa-AP.

Discussion vital, says Gwala

## Natal killings 'ugly aspect of revolution'

by BRYAN PEARSON

FREED ANC activist Harry Gwala has condemned "blind action" and said the political killings taking place in and around Pietermaritzburg are "ugly aspects of a revolutionary situation".

Mr Gwala, who was released on Saturday from Westville Prison after 13 years in jail, was speaking to The Natal Witness at his Dambuza home yesterday — in between greeting a steady stream of well-wishers and taking telephone calls from as far afield as London.

"Blind action has never been of use to anyone. Action must be combined with discussion and with proper theory and motivation. But the state of emergency is making it difficult to understand what is happening in the form of discussions."

Mr Gwala warned, however, that some conflicts were arising out of "deliberate action to stifle the struggle of the people". The killings in the townships were ugly aspects of a revolutionary situation, he said.

He said his first concern would be to "add to the voice of reconciliation, particularly

what is being done by Cosatu and Inkatha".

"It would be wise for the state to allow the UDF to participate (in the peace process) since it is so much involved in the conflict."

He said the state of emergency and the banning of publications were hampering discussions. "It is also making it difficult to say whether the youth are only involved in blind action, although I don't think that this is so."

He said the youth were playing an important role. "When I was arrested (in 1975) the youth only had a nominal role. Now they are very active. That is a good thing because the youth are the adults of tomorrow."

Mr Gwala (69) is suffering from motor neuron disease which is believed to be terminal and which has left both his hands paralysed. He was jailed for life in November, 1975 but was released on "humanitarian grounds".

Mr Gwala said his initial concern was to consult doctors about his illness.

"I also hope to get travel documents so I can travel to Britain, France or West Germany for medical treatment."