

THE TIMES

i Africais

Nelson Mandela is free, 27 years after he ' began what was to become a life term. Gavin Bell charts the rise, fall and rise of the legendary black African leader t was a warm Sunday in

August, and the South African theatre director Cecil Williams and a black friend posing as his chauffeur were in a cheerful mood as they drove leisurely out of Durban towards Johannesburg. Approaching Howick Falls in Natal, they were waved down by a police roadblock and taken into custody.

The police did not appear to know who :Villtiams and his driver were, or w y ey were arresting them; they had simply been ordered to stop a car with a certain registration number. Two days later, the security police announced triumphantly that the chauffeur was the elusive "Black Pimpernel", alias Nelson Mandela, military commander of the African National Congress (ANC), and the most wanted man in the country.

Aher 17 months on the run, Mandela was bundled behind bars on August 5, 1962, shortly after his 44th birthday. It was the end of 20 years of a valiant but hopeless struggle against the iniquities of Verwoerdian apartheid by a man described by The Times as itthe colossus of African nationalism in South Africa". Two years later he was taken to Robben Island maximum security prison to begin a life sentence for treason, vowing to survive the appalling ordeal in prospect and to resume his struggle the moment he was released. His defiance was characteristic of the legendary figure he had become, and something his parents had evidently anticipated - his middle name, Rolihlahla, means 8stirring up trouble". Born on July 18, 1918, in a kraal of white-washed huts at Qunu in Transkei, Mandela came from princely stock. His father Henry was chief councillor to the paramount chief of the Tembu, the biggest tribe in Transkei, and he spent his childhood being groomed to become a chief.

Politics intervened during his studies at a college in the eastern Cape, where he met Oliver Tambo, the future AN C president, and was expelled for resisting efforts to curb the students, council. Rejecting an arranged marriage, Mandela set off for Johannesburg at the age of 22. His political education began in ear-

1 nest in overcrowded urban slums, terrorized by police raids against liquor and pass-law offenders. Fate intervened again when he was introduced to Walter Sisulu, How the mighty have fallen

When Mike Tyson hit the canvas at the weekend it was only the latest in a long history of upset results from later to become the ANC secretary-general. With help from Sisulu he took a BA degree by correspondence, and began working with a firm of white lawyers while studying law at the University of the Witwatersrand. During this period he married Evelyn Ntoko Mase, a nurse, and they set up home in Orlando, an expanding township of uniform matchbox houses 10 miles southwest of Johannesburg, which became the nucleus of Soweto. Sisulu and his wife, Albertina, lived nearby, and in 1942 the two men joined Tambo and others in founding the ANC youth league. Six years later, the National Party came to power and codified apartheid into a statutory system. Elected to the ANC executive, Mandela orchestrated a campaign of strikes, boycotts and civil disobedience which culminated in riots and clashes with police on May Day, 1950, in which 18 blacks were killed and more than 30 were injured. Mandela recalled: 8That day was a turning point in my life, both in understanding through first-hand experience the ruthlessness of the police, and in being deeply impressed by the support 'ean workers had given." Despite the bloody repression, Mandela continued to advocate non-violence, and was a driving force behind a mass defiance campaign launched in June, 1952. A month later he and Sisulu and 30 others were arrested and charged with furthering the aims of communism, but the judge accepted that they were committed to peaceful action, and imposed nine-month sentences, suspended for two years. The government repeatedly branded Mandela a communist, but his traditional tribal background and religious upbringing mitigated against Marxist influences. On trial for his life 10 years later, he said: 9I am not a communist, and I have never been a member of the Communist Party . . . we are fighting against poverty and lack of human dignity, and we do not need communists to teach us about these things? Rising through the ANC ranks, Mandela

was served his first banning orders, prohibiting him from attending public gatherings and confining him to Johannesburg. Undeterred, he continued to address illegal meetings in the townships while practising as an attorney in partnership with Tambo.

a

A tall, athletic figure who captivated audiences with a blend of passion and humour, Mandela railed against the hideous and pernicious doctrines of racial inequality", condemned the "tribal homelands as a political swindle and an economic absurdity, and quoted Nehru to his followers: "There is no easy walk to freedom?

At dawn on December 5, 1955, police knocked at Mandela's home and charged him with high treason. A total of 104 blacks, 23 whites, 21 Indians and seven coloureds (mixed race) joined him in the dock. The defendants were granted bail and the trial dragged on for more than five years, during which charges against 126 of them were dropped. During this period Mandela separated from his wife and married Nomzamo Winnie

SPECTRUM

Madikizela, a medical social worker who became active in the anti-apartheid movement. In the end Justice Rumpff, the judge who had acquitted Mandela in 1952, found the state had failed to prove the ANC was communist and committed to violence, and he found the remaining accused, including Mandela, not guilty.

His followers' jubilation

was short-lived. The

ANC was now

being binned, police were

opening fire on huge

anti-apartheid rallies, the policy

of passive resistance was proving

futile, and Mandela went under-

ground. In May 1961, he met

British journalists in a Johannesburg apartment and told them: "The

government reaction is to

crush by naked force our non-

MONDAY FEBRUARY 12 1990

81 have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society. Nelson Mandela raises a clenched fist of defiance after his release yesterday

violent struggle, we will have to

reconsider our tactics. In my mind

we are closing a chapter on this

question of a non-violent policy?

Shortly afterwards, a small

group led by Mandela formed

Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the

Nation), the armed wing of the

ANC, but they agreed to limit

their activities to sabotaging

power stations, and railway and

telephone communications. tilt  
did not involve loss of life?  
Mandela said. liStrict instructions  
were given to our people right  
from the start, that on no account  
were they to injure or kill people?  
In 1962, he attended a conference  
in Addis Ababa and toured north  
and west African states, arranging  
military training for his recruits  
and revelling in a sense of freedom  
sifrom the idiocy of apartheid and  
racial arrogance, from humiliation  
and indignity . . . wherever I  
went, I was treated like a human  
being". Mandela flew to London  
in June for talks with the Labour  
Party leader, Hugh Gaitskell, and  
the Liberal Party leader, Jo  
Grimond. But his arrest in Natal  
was just six weeks away.

A reporter who observed Man-  
dela's arrival at Johannesburg  
magistrates court on August 8  
wrote: uVerwoerdis most wanted  
man made a slow and dramatic  
appearance, mounting the steps to  
the court like a quiet, avenging  
giant.w Charged with inciting black  
workers to strike, and leaving the  
country without valid travel docu-  
ments, Mandela replied: 81 con-  
sider myself neither legally nor  
morally bound to obey laws made  
by a parliament in which I have no  
representation . . .11 am a black  
man in a white man's court?

11  
most wanted man

Three months later, he was  
sentenced to five years imprison-  
ment with hard labour, but worse  
was to come. In July the following  
year Sisulu and eight others were  
arrested at a farmhouse in  
Rivonia, a suburb of Johannes-  
burg, and in October 1963  
Mandela 'oined them in the dock  
to again ace charges of treason.  
n a historic four-hour ad-  
dress to the court in Pretoria,  
Mandela declared: 111 have  
cherished the ideal of a  
democratic and free society  
in which all persons live together  
in harmony and with equal  
opportunities. It is an ideal which  
I hope to live for, and to achieve.  
But if needs be, it is an ideal for  
which I am prepared to die." On  
the eve of sentencing on June 12,  
1964, the United Nations General  
Assembly called for the uncondi-  
tional release of all political  
prisoners in South Africa, includ-  
ing the Rivonia defendants, and  
The Times commented: t1The  
verdict of history will be that the  
ultimate guilty party is the govem-  
ment in powerC - and that is  
already the verdict of world

opinion." The court ruled other-  
 wise, and the following day  
 Mandela, Sisulu and six others  
 were flown to Robben Island, a  
 rocky, windswept outcrop in tur-  
 bulent seas seven miles north-west  
 of Cape Town, where they began  
 labouring on a new maximum  
 security section of 88 cells which  
 they were the first to occupy.  
 Despite the harsh conditions,  
 the ANC leaders remained un-  
 bowed. Eddie Daniels, a fellow  
 prisoner, recalled: itMandela and  
 Sisulu lifted you, they made you  
 strong. Mandela taught me how to  
 survive? In 1982, Mandela and  
 Sisulu were transferred to a more  
 modern prison near Cape Town,  
 and in December 1988, Mandelals  
 conditions improved further when  
 he was assigned to a warderis  
 house at Victor Verster prison in  
 the western Cape.  
 In 1985, the then South African  
 President, P.W. Botha, said Man-  
 dela would be released if he  
 renounced violence. Mandela's  
 reply was read out by his daughter  
 Zindzi at a rally in Soweto: uLet  
 Botha renounce violence, let him  
 dismantle apartheid." Evidently  
 Botha had not paid attention to  
 Mandelals speech in court aher his  
 arrest in 1962: 91 hate race  
 discrimination most intensely and  
 in all its manifestations. I have  
 fought it all my life. I fight it now,  
 and I will do so until the end of my  
 days . . . I 'will still be moved by  
 my hatred of race discrimination  
 against my people when I come  
 out from sewing my sentence, to  
 take up again, as best I can, the  
 struggle for the removal of those  
 injustices, until they are finally  
 abolished once and for all?  
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 s upsets go, Mike  
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 James tiBuster" Doug-  
 las is a heavyweight, first-divi-  
 sion thoroughbred. If that is a  
 jumble of references, no mat-  
 ter, for tales of the unexpected  
 rain down as thick and fast as  
 a championis blows through  
 modern chronicles of sporting  
 confrontation. in  
 The first shock result on  
 record, David v Goliath, does  
 not count since the challenger  
 was under age and probably

fighting unlicensed.

The Douglas sensation -  
whatever its official status is  
to be - almost certainly  
outstrips the victory of  
Muhammad Ali (then Cassius  
Clay) over Sonny Liston in  
1964. Liston was then consid-  
ered as invincible as Mike  
Tyson today, yet the odds  
against the young Clay were a  
mere 7-1, compared with  
Douglas's 10-1. It also out-  
points the underdog Ali's win  
over George Foreman in Zaire  
1974, and Foreman's  
flattening of the 8-1 favourite,  
Joe Frazier, the previous year.  
Unless you fancy Ingemar  
Johansson's defeat of Floyd  
Patterson as a contender, you  
probably have to go back to  
1935 to Long Island, New  
York, when "Cinderella Man"  
James J. Braddock came fresh  
off the breadline to topple  
defending heavyweight cham-  
pion Max Baer.

But forget about inter-  
national boxing; the real ac-  
tion in the running against the  
bookies, or Mis-Stakes, is in -  
Irish cricket, which vaunts the  
ultimate upset, a thrashing of  
West Indies. It happened at  
the picturesque ground of  
Sion Mills, a village 15 miles  
from Londonderry, in 1969.

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they cannot be guaranteed after this date.

Underdog: Johnson lines up to take Davies's 1986 world title  
communicate his disgust so of astounding solo virtuosity  
effectively that two of his to give his side victory over:  
players never again kicked a the mighty All Blacks; the 17-  
ball for Arsenal. Then there year-old American schoolboy  
was the 1-0 Victory by the Bob Mathias, who entered the  
United States (who are rough- decathlon trials as a joke and  
ly. to football as Ireland 18 to finished by winning the 1948  
cricket) in 1950 over England. Olympic gold medal with only  
Two hot favourites in. the his second outing in the event;  
Mis-Stakes come appropriate- the 1972 Soviet Olympic  
ly from the world of racism, basketball team, which beat  
although both are made sus- the US (the West Indies of the  
pect by a technicality. One is sport) with the last throw of  
the horse Aboyeur, which the final; and the unseeded 17-  
came home first in the 1913 year-old West German tennis I  
Derby at odds of 100-1; but, later called .

as the modern commentator p y e Boris Becker,  
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WrwwvDIACNosncca/mg out forascarcely believable 25 fragism. The second was sound, but th  
e fall of the  
bizamn'zuosnos W'EZYLI runs. That total represented Fomavon, winner of the 1967 mighty is  
poignant. Norman Sharmrglmegm BLOCKl.E'l'l'ERSPl.EASF D (100 D 1550 D 30 . D (:20  
\_ - \_ -- something Of a recovery, #5 Grand National, where, Wlth Giller, a sports histori  
an and I i . . - other amount ,5 (min. 515)  
they had lost the first Six 26 runners falling fromafield avid statistician was one of Eo  
ggnamds) Th . - - '  
- - ' . . , y e maxtmum investment is 171/20/0 of your earnings  
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(more if youltre 36 or over)  
Dominican,Grayson Shilling- the late Becherls Brook. hearing the outcome at the I Address  
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ford, then came to the rescue  
with a score of nine.  
Upset-fanciers believe this  
episode to be untrumpable. It  
cannot be translated into a  
boxing parallel as it would  
entail one man defeating  
another of twice his height and  
three times his weight.  
Football furnishes us with  
something close - the beating  
of Herbert Chapmanis great  
Arsenal side by third division  
Walsall. It happened in 1933,  
when the London club was .on  
its way to a third successive  
League title, and was consld-  
ered even harder to beat than  
todayls Liverpool.  
Tyson. fight, was walking  
round in a daze - as though he  
had been hit by Tyson. 81  
really thought that we were  
going to have a perfect record I .  
snooker player Joe John-  
son takes some beating.  
When he overcame Steve

Davies (who else?) in the 1986 World Championships by 18 frames to 12, he did so as a 150-1 outsider.

The Argentinian Roberto de Vincenzo enjoys a similar status for having won, in 1967, the only major event of his career as a golfer. He was, by then, 44, the event was the British Open, and this was his twentieth crack at it.

Other strong runners include the Russian Prince

In terms of odds, the ST. IOSEPHLS

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5. Name of Financial Adviser (ifany)

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pass Rocky Marcianois mark

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SUNALLIANCE

LIFE 6: PENSIONS

ture. Instead he was bowled

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that, they couldnt speak. Now

I know the feeling?

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WSIW' It was about 50 years too Obolensky who, in his debut Member of LAUTRO.

early to be as sick as a parrot, rugby match for Oxford Univ- Alan Franks . . . A43/P1 BT

but Chapman did manage to ersny m 1936, scored two tnes The Tyson fight, page 36 \_\_ -\_\_ \_

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THE TIMES MONDAY FEBRUARY 12 1990

...HE, RELEASE OF 'MANDELA'

Thatcher presses

for end to

- ans

on new investment

By Andrew McEwen, Diplomatic Editor

Mrs Thatcher yesterday wrote

to European Community and

Commonwealth leaders call-

ing for a more positive ap-

proach to South Africa after

Mr Nelson Mandel's release.

Britain will also tell both

groups of countries that it

wants to resume investment

in South Africa. The two org-

anizations decided in 1986 to

ban new investment.

Opposition to the British

request is likely unless Presi-

dent de Klerk drops the state

of emergency quickly.

The investment sanction

remains in force pending dis-

cussions, but it is understood

that Britain will break out of

its commitment unilaterally if

it does not get agreement.

Mr Neil Kinnock, the Lab-

our leader, has written to Mr

Charles Haughey, the Irish

Prime Minister and current

President of the EC, urging

that pressure on apartheid

should not be eased.

Mrs Thatcher said in a

statement on Saturday that

discouragement of investment

in South Africa 'no longer

makes sense'. Mr Douglas

Hurd, the Foreign Secretary,

will seek approval at a meeting

of the Twelve in Dublin on

February 20 for ending the

measure.

Commonwealth sources

said that it was likely that

Britain's 48 partners would

wait for advice from a group

of nine foreign ministers be-

fore taking a decision. They

are not due to meet until May,

but that could be brought

forward. Britain is not a

member of the group.

South African business

leaders hoped that Mr Man-

del's release would stop for-

eign disinvestment and boost

financial markets.

Mr Gavin Relly, chairman

of Anglo American Corpora-

tion, the country's biggest

company, said: 'Mr Man-

del's return to public life

creates opportunities for all

parties to engage in reasoned

debate about how to structure

democratic politics in a future

South Africa? Mr Ronnie

Bethlehem, chief economist of Johannesburg Consolidated Investment Company Ltd, said that Mr Mandel's release was a "fantastic gesture" which would greatly relieve pressure for further sanctions in the US, Western Europe and Japan.

Whitehall sources said yesterday that Britain was legally entitled to drop the investment ban unilaterally, as neither the EC nor the Commonwealth agreement took the form of a treaty. Ten days ago it dropped another sanction agreed with the EC and the Commonwealth - the discouragement of cultural, academic and scientific contacts. There are 10 other sanctions which Britain could drop as they are not legally binding:

1. A ban on arms imports agreed with the EC and Commonwealth in 1985;
2. A ban on exports of sensitive equipment (EC, Commonwealth, 1985);
3. No new military attaches to be appointed (EC, 1985);
4. A ban on military co-operation (EC, Commonwealth, 1985);
5. A ban on oil exports (EC, 1985; Commonwealth, 1986);
6. The Gleneagles Declaration on discouraging sporting contacts (Commonwealth, 1977; reaffirmed, 1985);
7. A ban on new nuclear collaboration (EC, Commonwealth, 1985);
8. A ban on new government loans to South African Government and agencies (Commonwealth, 1985);
9. No government funding for trade missions to South Africa (Commonwealth, 1985);
10. A voluntary ban on promoting tourism (Commonwealth, 1986).

Before 1985, about 300 American companies operated in South Africa. About half have since left, including most of the best-known multinationals - Ford, General Motors, Coca-Cola and IBM. One in five British companies has disinvested.

Manufacturing industry has developed very slowly and South Africa remains dependent on gold for about 30 per cent of exports. Economic growth of 4 per cent during the 1970s slowed to less than 2 per cent in the 1980s.

An unidentified man appealing for calm as a policeman fires his shotgun into the ground during the outbreak of violence yesterday in central Cape Town.

Murder trial revives ANC embarrassment

Question mark over wife's future role

By Nicholas Beeson, Johannesburg, and Michael Hornsby, London

Among the many urgent political matters awaiting Mr Nelson Mandela's attention now that he is out of prison is one of a more intimate and domestic nature - the future role of his vivacious, outspoken and, in recent years, increasingly controversial wife, Winnie.

As the Mandela household, and South Africa at large, celebrated Mr Mandel's release from his long incarceration, one of Mrs Mandel's youthful supporters was today to appear in the Johannesburg Supreme Court on a charge of murder.

The case relates to an incident in late 1988 when Mrs Mandel's Soweto bodyguards, known as the Mandela United Soccer Club, were accused of abducting four youths and beating one of them, Stompie Moeketsi, aged 14, to death.

For the exiled African National Congress and Mr Mandela, the incident was deeply embarrassing.

Early last year anti-apartheid leaders inside South Africa publicly repudiated her, and for many months afterwards the "Mother of the Nation" vanished from sight. Towards the end of last year she began to reappear at opposition rallies, but there still has been no public reconciliation between her and the anti-apartheid movement, and the ANC has felt obliged to issue public corrections of some of her recent statements.

Mrs Mandela is expected to be called as a key witness in the court case, which threatens to damage further her already tarnished image. Nine people associated with the Mandela soccer club face charges over Moeketsi's death.

The prosecution is expected to allege that Mrs Mandela and her bodyguards, who devoted little time to football, were responsible for a "reign of terror" in Soweto during which they staged kangaroo trials of political opponents in Mrs Mandel's house, meting out beatings as punishments.

She has denied any wrongdoing.

Mrs Mandela first drew unwelcome publicity for the ANC four years ago at a rally in Soweto when she appeared to endorse the hideous "neck-lace killings" in which petrol-soaked tyres were set ablaze after being placed round the necks of political opponents and suspected government collaborators.

A year later she was sharply criticized for using the funds of well-wishers and the royalties from a ghost-written book about her life to build a palatial house, including gold bath taps and Italian ceramic tiles, on a hillside in Soweto, where the majority of blacks live in overcrowded and box-like houses.

Both the ANC and Mr Mandela, in a message from prison, had to intervene to prevent Mrs Mandela from moving into the mansion, which stands unfinished and empty to this day, a monument to the delusions of grandeur which many of her former supporters fear has come over a woman some now call a "Black Evita".

Aged 55, Mrs Mandela, despite all the adverse publicity of recent years, undoubtedly continues to command widespread affection and sympathy in the townships. (

She is blunt, rash, emotional and speaks from the heart - that is why people respond to her and why she is controversial. Mrs Fatima Meer, author of the authorized biography of Mr Mandela, said in a recent interview. "Even during the crisis, Winnie had the support and loyalty of many, many people. She will remain highly visible and widely respected."

The Mandelas were married in 1958, when Winnie was a 24-year-old social worker. They were to have little time together.

Her husband, already one of the leading lights in the ANC, was deeply involved in the anti-apartheid struggle, alternately on trial for treason, on the run from the authorities or underground. In 1962 he was arrested and remained in custody until yesterday.

Mrs Mandela was herself

under police restrictions or house arrest almost continuously from 1963 to 1986 and was held in solitary confinement for 17 months in 1969 and 1970.

In 1987 the South African Government lifted a ban which had prohibited her from being quoted by the South African media, apparently in the belief that she had become so controversial that her utterances were more likely to retard, than advance, the cause of black liberation; The question now is

whether she will be content to play the dutiful wife of the released black leader or will want her own political role.

As Mrs Helen Suzman, another formidable figure in South African politics and an admirer and friend of Mrs Mandelals, once said: "Winnie never fitted the description of a shrinking violet." Soweto's biggest street party draws thousands. Thousands of South Africans of all races made a pilgrimage yesterday to a modest brick bungalow in this sprawling township.

Mr Nelson Mandela was on his way home after an absence of 27 years, and no one, from the groups of dancing children to the elderly couples in their smartest Sunday clothes, wanted to miss Soweto's biggest street party.

Television crews with satellite dishes blocked off the side-streets, mini-buses from neighbouring black and coloured townships cruised up and down, honking horns and waving ANC flags, and even the shebeens, the black drinking houses, offered free beer. Archbishop Desmond Tutu,

who was conducting the christening service for his grandson, admitted to the packed congregation at the nearby Holy Cross Anglican Church that he had been unable to sleep the night before in anticipation of the homecoming. To mark the occasion he added the name Nkululeko to his grandson's three Christian names, the word for freedom in Xhosa.

Will Mandela think Mandela is going to have a shock when he sees this reception? said George, a neighbour of the Mandelas

who has only vague childhood memories of a slightly overweight youthful figure who disappeared from the community one day in 1962. Elderly neighbours who knew Mr Mandela before his imprisonment remembered him as an up-and-coming black lawyer and political activist who you could rely on for help.

The residents of Orlando West, where the Mandelasi home is located, form practically the Whois Who of black South Africa's political and professional elite.

Mr Walter Sisulu, the ANC leader freed last year, lives a few hundred yards away; Archbishop Tutu has a house a few doors down the same road as the Mandelas. Across the street in a housing complex built during Mr Mandelals imprisonment and known locally as iiBeverly Hillsl, live the townships most successful doctors, lawyers and upwardly mobile . professionals.

81 am not sure he will be able to recognize the area after so many years and so much change? said one American-educated black businessman.

If Mr Mandela finds the social changes dramatic in Soweto after 27tyears, he may also find that adjusting to his new lifestyle is even more extraordinary. .

The small fence that once surrounded his garden has been replaced by a tall concrete wall and barbed wire.

No longer the promising young lawyer, he will. be expected to emerge from his incarceration as a world leader and elder statesman. ANC officials predicted that he would need 24-hour armed guards to protect him from the threat of assassination.

Trafalgar

By Alan Hamilton

Hundreds of anti-apartheid demonstrators blocking the street in front of South Africa House in Trafalgar Square yesterday broke into prolonged cheering at the news they had awaited so long.

As the clock of St Martin-in-the-Fields showed 18 minutes past two, a member of the platform party that had been conducting a celebratory rally seized the microphone and

roared: "Mandela is released."  
The crowd roared back,  
dancing and waving a forest of  
arms in black-power salutes.  
Somewhere above the excited  
din a champagne cork went off  
like a gun.

Within seconds the roar had  
turned to the familiar chant of  
"Free Mandela!" - what had  
been a demand was now a  
statement of fact.

Two dozen policemen sur-  
rounding the rally looked on  
impassively, but there was no  
trouble except for traffic  
disruption. Black activists on  
the platform urged the crowd  
to join in the singing of the  
African National Congress an-  
them. The crowd, overwhelm-  
ingly young and white, did not  
know the words and re-  
sponded with raised and  
clenched fists.

The chant turned to "Viva  
Mandela", with an additional  
"Viva" for each name as a list  
of prominent black activists  
still in prison was read out.  
The biting wind tugged at the  
of the ANC that sprouted  
from the crowd, along with  
familiar banners: Woolwich  
and Eltham Labour Party,  
Hackney Communist Party,  
Socialist Workers Party of  
Great Britain, Harlesden  
Methodist Church.

High above the crowd the  
official blue, white and orange  
flag of the Republic of South

Africa  
Square deli

JAMEE GRAY

1983; u, ' . :

A crowd of anti-apartheid protesters gathering in front of the  
green, yellow and black flags South African embassy in London to hear the good news.  
Africa streamed from the em-  
bassy roof. A light burned on  
the first floor, but no face  
showed at the window, and  
the gates remained shut.

In front of them, another  
hastily prepared poster re-  
called that Mr Mandela's  
supporters in Britain had  
maintained a vigil on that  
pavement for 1,395 days and  
nights.

The immediate objective  
had been achieved, but  
speaker after speaker insisted  
the battle would not be won  
until South Africa had none  
man, one vote". The release of  
prisoners on Death Row was - ,  
now a priority.

After more than 27 years in  
jail, Mr Nelson Mandela  
emerges to freedom in a South

Africa where the prospects for a negotiated settlement of the racial conflict have never looked so promising. Much of the injustice and discrimination that he fought against is being rapidly eroded by the momentum of political and economic change. Yet, paradoxically, he will also find many of the legal pillars of the apartheid edifice remain in place.

A central target of the African National Congress and other black groups in the coming negotiations must be the Land Act. One of the first moves of the ANC, after its founding in 1912 as the South African Native National Congress, was to send a delegation to Britain to protest against the Act, which had been passed the previous year. The Act allocated a mere 7 per cent of the country as native reserves. In 1936 this proportion was increased to 13 per cent. The Act remains the basis of so-called iigrand apartheidli, which gives the white 15 per cent of the Population virtually unchallenged legal title to 87 per cent of the land and divides the rest of South Africa into tribally defined tthomelandsll for blacks. .

No less important is the Population Registration Act of 1950, passed two years after the National Party swept Smuts's United Party from power. D.F. Malan, the first Nationalist Prime Minister, called it the whole basis of apartheid". Apartheid itself was a term that was widely used for the first time in the 1948 election campaign. It is the Afrikaans-language word for ilapartnessll or ilseparatenessll.

Under the Act, all South Africans must be registered at birth as belonging to one of four main race groups defined by law - black (which in South African parlance applies only to blacks of Negroid By Michael Hornsby

descent), Coloureds (those of mixed race), Asians (in practice, those of Indian descent) and whites (mainly those of European descent). There are about 22 million blacks, five million whites, three million Coloureds and one million Indians.



A South African's racial classification largely determines his or her rights. The Group Areas Act, also passed in 1950, segregates residential areas in urban areas, in effect relegating blacks, Coloureds and Indians to ghettos on the fringes of white towns. It also provides for racially separate schools and hospitals. The Government has said that it will recognize areas, where racial mixing has taken place illegally, and has set up a mechanism whereby white-only suburbs may vote to become multi-racial if they wish. Hospitals are moving slowly towards desegregation. Many private schools have been multi-racial for years, but the Government is still strongly opposed to racial integration of state schools.

For decades a range of public services and amenities - toilets, cinemas, hotels, restaurants, parks, libraries, swimming-pools, beaches, buses, trains and even graveyards - were strictly segregated. Much of this petty apartheid has gone or is going (the last beaches were desegregated just before Christmas) but the legal basis for it remains in the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act. Pretoria has promised to repeal the Act during this session of Parliament.

Over the past decade three important pieces of apartheid legislation have been abolished. In 1985 the Botha Government repealed the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act and the notorious Section 16 of the Immorality Act, which together forbade sexual relations, inside or outside marriage, between whites and members of any other race group. The next year saw the abolition of the pass laws, which prohibited blacks from living outside the tribal homelands unless they had special passes. Their presence in urban areas was generally tolerated only if they were needed as labour. Blacks still may not own land or operate businesses in most of South Africa. Even if all remaining apartheid laws were repealed tomorrow, the central question

of political rights would remain. Under the 1984 Constitution, the South African Parliament consists of three segregated chambers - for whites, Coloureds and Asians. The system is designed to give the white chamber the final say. The blacks are not represented.

The Government still talks of a political system based on "group rights" (code for continued white control), and has refused to accept the principle of majority rule even as a distant goal.

Rivonia comrades, who shared jail hardship in Johannesburg (Renter) - Mr Nelson Mandela's release from jail that all the leading African National Congress activists captured in the early 1960s are now free.

Nine men stood in the dock at the 1964 Rivonia treason trial, named after the village outside Johannesburg. Command was situated and where most of the leaders were arrested following a police raid where the ANC High Court was in July, 1963.

Only one of the defendants, Mr Lionel Bernstein, was acquitted of sabotage and conspiracy to overthrow white rule, but he was

immediately rearrested and banned after the trial. He later escaped from South Africa. The remaining eight were found guilty and sentenced to life imprisonment. Mr Dennis Goldberg, the only other white defendant, was freed in 1985 after accepting President Botha's offer of an amnesty if he renounced violence.

The other members of the Rivonia Eight rejected the amnesty deal. The oldest, Mr Govan Mbeki, born in 1910, was released from Robben Island in November, 1988.

Five of the Rivonia defendants were released in October, 1989. A few weeks after his colleagues' release, Mr Mbeki's restrictions were lifted.

Most prominent of those freed is Mr Walter Sisulu, former Secretary-General of the ANC, regarded as Mr Mandela's closest comrade and one of the ANC's most notable intellectuals.

In 1962, Mr Sisulu went underground to join Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), the ANC's military wing. He went to jail in July, 1963, after being captured at the Rivonia trial.

Another of Mandela's co-accused was Mr Raymond Mhlaba, a trade unionist active from the mid-1940s in farm-

both the ANC and the South African Communist Party. He played a key

local role in anti-apartheid protest  
from his home in the ,eastern Cape.  
Mr Andrew Mlangeni became one  
of the founder members of Umkhonto  
we Sizwe. During the early 1960s he  
was involved in hiding recruits and  
procuring arms.  
Mr Ahmed Knthrada was elected  
Secretary-General of the left-wing  
Transvaal  
Indian Congress and  
played a key role in boosting the  
group's links with the ANC.  
Mr Elias Matsoaledi served with  
Umkhonto we Sizwe.

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SOUTH AFRICA'S NEW START

Nelson Mandela yesterday exchanged the burden of imprisonment for the far greater burden of his country's hope. During the twenty-seven years he spent in a variety of South African jails, the world's most famous political prisoner has grown rather than diminished in stature, and now his image has become an icon of the liberation struggle of black South Africans, his name an incantation for freedom.

But as in recent years it became increasingly evident that the South African Government had become the prisoner of the man it had jailed, it was equally obvious that Mr Mandela's stature was due as much to the force of his personality and his political wisdom as it was to the ANC's need for a unifying and internationally recognised symbol of its struggle against apartheid.

From the moment, however, that he emerged yesterday from the gates of the Victor Verster prison into the full glare of the world's media spotlight, Mr Mandela exchanged the mantle of near-mystical hero for the far more difficult flesh-and-blood role of active politician. In the anarchic cauldron of black politics, it is one which will test to the uttermost all his undoubted skills as strategist and negotiator.

His first and most difficult task will be to impose some form of coherence on a black opposition which remains - as its confused response to President de Klerk's initiatives has shown - deeply divided by strategy, ideology and personal ambition.

The divisions separate those in the internal parties who believe - mistakenly - that "people power will win the day and who insist on victory and a transition to majority rule before negotiation on one side; and on the other, those of the older ANC leadership who understand that white fears have to be accommodated. There are the unreconstructed Marxists, the milder socialists made uneasy by events in Eastern Europe and still others who know that South Africa must maintain a vigorous market economy if they are not to inherit a country which has beggared itself and its neighbours.

Indeed, the ANC flag, which shares with the hammer and sickle of the South African Communist Party pride of place at most opposition rallies in the black townships, is today little more than a flag of convenience for mutually hostile factions both within the organization and outside.

Protest politics and violent demonstrations together with the euphoria over Mr Mandela's release mask those fissures for the moment. This is surely one reason why the exiled leadership of the ANC appears content to let them run while it dithers about how to react to the bold political moves of President de Klerk. Rallies and demonstrations, however, cannot secure the goal of a free non-racial democracy for which Nelson Mandela went to jail. Indeed their continuation, once the tumult and the shouting surrounding his release dies

down, could put that goal beyond reach. For they risk feeding both the fears of the white electorate and the the unbridled appetite for repression of the South African Police, which seems determined to thwart Mr De Klerk's agenda of reform.

Certainly - as the violence, looting and the police brutality at yesterday's welcoming rally in Cape Town so dismally demonstrated - there would appear to be an unwitting conspiracy between those at opposite ends of the political spectrum to destroy this moment of hope for all South Africans and return to the politics of unrest and repression which will reduce South Africa to a wasteland.

The only way that dread option can be foreclosed and a highly volatile situation defused is for both sides to give President de Klerk and Mr Mandela the space in which to start the negotiating process as quickly as possible.

To achieve that, President de Klerk will probably have to exercise even greater statesmanship than he has already shown. He will have to curb the excesses of the police by changing the internal security laws to which they so gleefully adhere. Meanwhile, Mr Mandela will have to display even greater strength of purpose than he has shown during his years of incarceration by calming the violent euphoria of his followers and those who use his freedom as an excuse for riot, rampage and looting.

If either fail, the long-held argument of South African security chiefs that Mr Mandela's release would spark a general insurrection could become a self-fulfilling prophecy. In that case both President de Klerk and Mr Mandela could be swept aside and with them all hope of a peaceful end to the apartheid state.

It is here that the rest of the world has a decisive role to play. It is of course a truism that the future of South Africa will be decided by 'South Africans themselves. Nevertheless, the time has arrived for those nations which have long claimed an interest in and an ability to influence events in South Africa to use that influence in the most benign way possible.

The ANC leadership should be urged to accept Mr de Klerk's invitation, return from exile and convert itself from a liberation movement into a political party capable of devising strategies as well as slogans, and a party capable of compromise as well as confrontation.

At the same time, Mr De Klerk, who in ten days has taken his courage and his country's future into his hands, needs to be given more than words of encouragement if he is to allay the fears of South Africa's white tribe. Shifting the goalposts so far away that all the white population can discern is its own extinction is not the way to calm those fears or strengthen the South African President's hand against the doom-laden prophecies of the far-right.

This is why Mrs Thatcher is correct in responding positively to events in South Africa, by offering to lift sanctions; and why the United States and the European Community should close their ears to the pusillanimous

advice of Mr Neil Kinnock, Sir Sonny  
Ramphal and all those who dread the end of  
the anti-apartheid industry. At best, Mr  
Kinnock would reward Mr De Klerk with a  
carrot or two only when majority rule is in  
place and South Africa's most famous former  
political prisoner is its first ever black  
President. '

That day can only be achieved once the  
shouting and the shooting stops and the talking  
begins. To ensure that it starts quickly and in as  
peaceful an atmosphere as possible, a world  
ever eager to punish vice should now be  
equally ready to recognize, encourage and  
reward Mr De Klerk's high-n'sk conversion to  
virtue. Only that way will yesterday's event  
mark not merely the end of Mr Mandela's  
imprisonment, but a new beginning for all  
South Africans.

City group aims to meet Mandela and the ANC

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Fund managers take SA temperature:

By Colin Campbell

The first party of London and Continental fund managers to test the South African investment waters in the wake of Mr Nelson Mandelais release and President de Klerk's apartheid reforms leaves for Johannesburg this week. The group includes Mr Robert Guy, director of NM Rothschild & Sons, Mr Keith Bryant, of GT Management, Mr O Burli, senior vice president of Union Bank of Switzerland, and various London analysts and brokers who form part of an overseas contingent attending the annual Frankel, Kruger, Vinderine investment conference in Johannesburg and Cape Town.

Mr Geoff Rothschild of Frankel, Kruger, the Johannesburg broker, says 80 overseas visitors are expected from \$1M

London, New York, Italy, Germany and Switzerland and that they and local investment managers will meet Mr Berend du Plessis, SA Minister of Finance, Dr Chris Stals, Governor of the SA Reserve Bank, and Mr T Pikh Botha, SA Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The fund managers findings will be influential in deciding whether fresh

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investment should be made in South Africa at a time when social and political reforms are under way and in the wake of the release of Mr Mandela. In view of the significance of yesterday's developments, and the role in shaping South Africa's economic future which the African National Congress will play, W40 i

London fund managers are hoping to sound out ANC officials about their economic aspirations and plans - and if possible meet Mr Mandela himself. The ANC's reiteration of an intention to nationalize banks and certain aspects of mining if it obtains political standing hangs heavy over investment decisions. The recently rising gold price and prospect of an end to South Africa's economic isolation has put SA as a potential investment area back under the spotlight. However, a rush of fresh investment is only expected if political aspirations are realized peacefully and once the economic outlook is more clear-cut. South Africa needs reliable sources of foreign capital and can only expect investment in size once investors are assured economic hopes are realizable.