

**T**HE sanctions issue, central to an argument on how best to usher change in South Africa, has become divisive within the country — and outside, as the recent Commonwealth conference showed.

Many black leaders still advocate sanctions, but the leader of Inkatha, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi has been resolute in his opposition to them.

This week in ILANGA he published his perspective on the effect of sanctions. It is a document which Dr Buthelezi sent to the outgoing Secretary-General of the Commonwealth, Sir Shridath Ramphal, in the hope that it would be circulated at the recent conference at Kuala Lumpur.

If the conference delegates did read it they certainly did not give the impression they heeded its sentiments.

Dr Buthelezi wrote that in the present circumstances the threat of more sanctions, rather than the actuality of them, would be sufficient. More biting sanctions would simply be destructive, he argued, and he pleaded for a moratorium "while Mr F W de Klerk shows us what political mettle he is made of."

Dr Buthelezi believed that Dr Nelson Mandela's release was now a foregone conclusion. With the unconditional release of the other Rivonia trialists there were prospects that Mr de Klerk was attempting to satisfy black preconditions for negotiation.

Black politics would necessarily have to redefine itself more sharply, wrote Dr Buthelezi.

"Black political groupings will be re-defining their aims and objectives and rediscovering black unity. The ANC will have its next consultative conference in 1990. Dr Mandela, Mr Walter Sisulu and others could play a very important role in that conference which will lead to black South Africa speaking with greater unity and saying different things to the international community.

There would be no seizure of power in South Africa and whites had to be given the opportunity to negotiate.

"They will probably prove very inept at negotiating with blacks," wrote Dr Buthelezi.

Sanctions against South Africa only made sense if a powerful white government adopted recalcitrant stances and remained intransigent.

"Sanctions certainly do not make sense in the face of possible rethink-

## BLACK PRESS

David Wightman



# Buthelezi calls for sanctions moratorium

DAILY NEWS

30 OCTOBER 1989

ing by whites."

□ □ □

THE male strippers, the Chippendales, were "spicy, hot and sizzling" because their roots were in the East, said POST NATAL.



The divisive issue of sanctions — THE SOWETAN carried these cartoons last week.

The paper revealed the group was the brainchild of 42-year-old Bombay-born Somen "Steve" Bannerjee, who lives in Los Angeles. The wealthy Mr Bannerjee runs a Chippendales night club, "a Disneyland for women," and has another club in New York of the same name.

"I have been in touch daily with my boys in South Africa and I am impressed with the reaction of audiences," he told POST NATAL.



# Sisulu in ANC peace overture

30 OCTOBER  
1989

NATAL MERCURY

## Mercury Correspondent

**JOHANNESBURG**—The ANC was prepared to discuss suspension of hostilities on both sides once the Government had created the necessary climate for negotiations, former ANC general secretary Walter Sisulu said yesterday.

A jubilant mass of more than 70 000 people welcomed Mr Sisulu and six other recently released ANC leaders at Soccer City, outside Soweto.

Messages of support came from 76 international and local organisations, governments and individuals, including the UN, the prime ministers of India and Sweden, the British Anti-Apartheid Movement and the Danish Communist Party.

Just before 1 pm the leaders — Mr Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada, Elias Motsoaledi, Raymond Mahlaba, Wilton Mkwayi, Andrew Mlangeni and Oscar Mpetha — took a victory walk around the perimeter of the pitch, greeting the cheering crowd. They were joined by ANC former

national chairman Govan Mbeki, whose restriction orders were lifted for a week last Monday.

## Forefront

The eight leaders took their places on the stage beneath a large banner declaring: 'ANC Lives, ANC Leads,' flanked by the flags of the ANC and the SA Communist Party. The crowd rose to sing Nkosi Sikelel iAfrika.

In a message read by National Reception Committee chairman Murphy Morobe, ANC leader Oliver Tambo welcomed the released leaders back into the forefront of the liberation struggle after 26 years.

The Justice Department refused newspapers permission to publish Mr Tambo's message.

In his speech, Mr Sisulu said from its inception the ANC had been committed to politics of peace and negotiation.

## Unacceptable

But there could be no question of the ANC unilaterally abandoning the armed struggle. So far, there was no clear indication that the Government was serious about negotiations. All its utterances were vague, he said.

Mr Sisulu said the Government's talk about ethnic elections to choose the leaders of black people was unacceptable. The ANC was looking forward to the election of a constituent assembly elected on the basis of universal adult franchise.

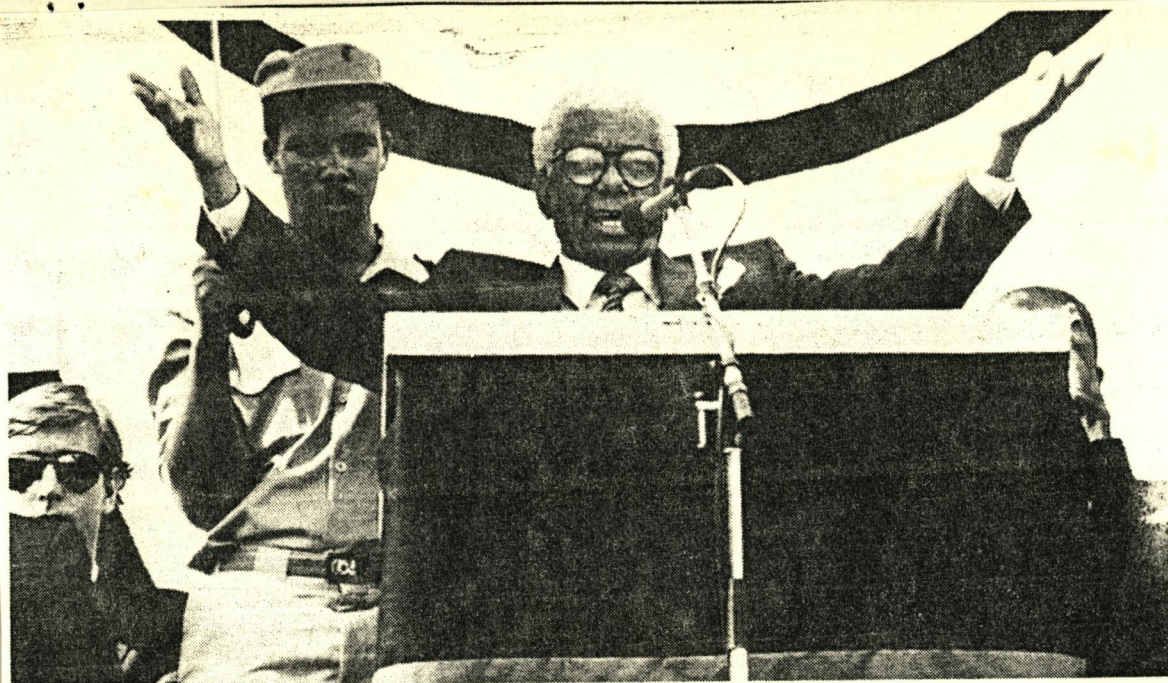
'This is where the true representatives of the people will discuss the future. If the Government is serious about a permanent and lasting solution, they will agree to this logical step,' he said.

'Our duty is to intensify the struggle until we are able to get the regime to discuss the issue of the normalisation of the situation in S.A.'

He called on the world to

CONTINUE ON PAGE 2





ABOVE: Mr Walter Sisulu, surrounded by bodyguards, speaks to the crowd at the rally addressed by ANC leaders at Bob City in Johannesburg yesterday. BELOW: Some of about 75 000 people who attended the rally.



# Sisulu call over Natal carnage

■ FROM PAGE 1

intensify the sanctions campaign.

'We are in no doubt that sanctions are, to a very large extent, responsible for making the Government responsive to the demands of our people,' he said.

Mr Sisulu told the crowd it should concentrate on building 'mass organisation and working-class leadership'.

He called for united action among the broadest range of apartheid's opponents and pleaded that ideological dif-

ferences should not be allowed to stand in the path of unity.

He called on whites to join 'the struggle for democracy so that we may shape the future together'. He described as 'true patriots' white youths who had resisted military conscription.

He called on the police to become 'part of the people' and said those like Lt Gregory Rockman had begun to show the way.

He said the carnage in Natal was a blot on 'the noble struggle for liberation' and called on Cosatu, the UDF and Inkatha to continue the search for peace.

National Union of Mineworkers general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa said he had met the Chief Magistrate of Johannesburg, who had expressed concern that the rally would be used to propagate the ideas of the ANC.

'The ANC does not have to have its ideas propagated; they are enshrined in the hearts and minds of the people. The magistrate warned we could contravene the Internal Security Act. Proposing the idea of a non-racial SA is not contravening anything,' he said.

## Outlined

Mr Kathrada said the greatest danger to whites was not black people, the ANC, the SACP, Archbishop Tutu or Dr Boesak. The greatest enemy was the CP and NP.

Mr Mhlaba, the first of the eight ANC leaders to speak, outlined the historical circumstances which led to the formation of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

'We need all the forces at our command to dismantle apartheid,' he said.

He demanded the release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners, the unbanning of all 'people's organisations', and the lifting of the state of emergency.

Mr Mbeki, whose restrictions were temporarily lifted last Monday for a week to enable him to come to Johannesburg from Port Elizabeth, could not address the rally because he was still barred from speaking at political rallies.



## THE CITIZEN COMMENT

### 30-10-21989 ANC rally

THE huge gathering at Soccer City, Crown Mines, addressed by freed ANC leaders, was an African National Congress rally, whatever the organisers claimed or the government accepted.

You cannot have a crowd of 75 000 shouting ANC slogans or wearing ANC emblems, waving or sitting under ANC flags and banners, and listening to the views of ANC leaders and still pretend that this was anything but an ANC rally (the flag of the South African Communist Party, which forms an alliance with the ANC, was very much in evidence as well).

In fact, the organisers had sought to advertise the rally under the headline, "ANC speaks", together with the ANC emblem and slogans, but changed the ad "because of a slight legal problem".

The ad, in fact, contravened the Internal Security Act and the emergency regulations, which prevent anyone promoting the aims and objectives of a banned organisation.

The organisers put out a statement afterwards saying that the rally had been called by the National Reception Committee and no other organisation.

The rally, it said, was to welcome the released ANC leaders and provide them with an opportunity to speak to their people.

These views were obviously those of their organisation — the ANC, it added.

## Hair splitting

This kind of hair splitting does not alter the fact that this was the first ANC rally in 30 years.

It raises the question whether the government has not given the ANC de facto recognition while reiterating that it is still a banned organisation.

The government's dilemma is obvious.

It released seven of the ANC leaders in one go, saying their release was unconditional but they were still subject to the laws of the country as these applied to other citizens.

"Other citizens" cannot promote the aims and objectives of the ANC; the released ANC leaders certainly can and do.

The police could, of course, arrest them for expressing ANC views, but we cannot see the government agreeing to this.

If the ANC leaders were prosecuted, there would be an uproar, here and overseas, with the government being accused of allowing the ANC leaders to speak and then charging them because they did.

In other words, having let them out unconditionally, the government could not restrict them or prevent them from saying whatever they wished to say.

If this is the case with the released ANC leaders, what will happen when Nelson Mandela is set free?

Clearly, the government will not be able to restrict him or stop him from saying whatever he wishes to say.

Nor will it be able to prosecute him if he promotes the aims and objectives of the ANC, which, like the leaders who spoke at Soccer City yesterday, is exactly what he will do.

## Not the same

In fact, Mandela will be able to do very much as he pleases.

The government obviously thinks Mandela will promote peaceful solutions, but his peaceful solutions will not coincide with those of the government.

And released ANC leader, Mr Walter Sisulu, made that patently clear at the rally.

The problem with protest marches, defiance of apartheid laws and a rally that projects the ANC's viewpoints is that the government is turning a blind eye to any contraventions of the laws that apply to other citizens.

The best thing for it to do, if it is not going to apply the laws, is to do away with them.

And if it no longer wishes to maintain present restrictions on the ANC, it should unban the organisation — at least internally.

The present position is both ridiculous and dangerous, since nobody knows what the ANC's position is anymore — and that applies particularly to the police.



THE CITIZEN

# ANC SETS PEACE TERMS AT HUGE RALLY



Former secretary-general of the African National Congress, WALTER SISULU, and his wife, ALBERTINA, raise clenched fists as they greet a capacity crowd of about 75 000 people at a mass rally at Soccer City, outside Johannesburg, yesterday. This is the first pro-ANC rally in South Africa in nearly 30 years.

Picture by Nic van der Linde

30-10-1989

FORMER African National Congress secretary-general, Mr Walter Sisulu, yesterday reiterated the preconditions necessary before the ANC was prepared to negotiate with the government.

Addressing a mass rally, attended by more than 75 000 people, at Soccer City, outside Johannesburg, Mr Sisulu also stressed there could be no question of the ANC unilaterally abandoning the armed struggle.

He said the preconditions for negotiations were the unconditional release of all political prisoners and detainees; the lifting of bans and restrictions on all restricted organisations and persons; the removal of all troops from the townships; the end of the state of emergency and the repeal of all "repressive" legislation; and the cessation of all political trials and political executions.

"If such a climate is created, the ANC is prepared, as the Harare Declaration says, to discuss the suspension of hostilities on both sides."

Mr Sisulu stressed there could be no question of the ANC unilate-

By Erik Larsen

rally abandoning "the armed struggle."

"To date, we have no clear indication that the government is serious about negotiations. All their utterances are vague."

The ANC wanted a constituent assembly elected on the basis of universal adult franchise as this was where the true representatives of the people would discuss the future.

TO PAGE 2



# ANC leaders at huge rally

FROM PAGE 1

"If the government is serious about a permanent and lasting solution, they will agree to this logical step.

"In the meantime, our duty is to intensify the struggle until we are able to get the regime to discuss the issue of the normalisation of the situation in the country. At this stage we cannot relax on the basis of mere statements."

Mr Sisulu said the defiance campaign must continue. "We cannot wait on the government to make changes at its own pace."

He said that by eradicating apartheid, they would be contributing to peace in South Africa and world peace. "We dedicated our lives to this end."

Mr Sisulu called on the international community to intensify the sanctions campaign.

"We are in no doubt that sanctions are to a very large extent responsible for making the government responsive to the demands of our people."

Mr Sisulu said in recent months millions of people had united in mass action under the banner of the Mass Democratic Movement.

"The sight of hundreds of thousands of peaceful protesters using the streets of our cities and townships as ballot boxes should be an inspiration for us to intensify the struggle."

Mr Sisulu also called for an end to the violence in Natal. "All who are committed to peace among the people must act jointly against the perpetrators of violence. We call on Cosatu, UDF and Inkatha to continue their search for peace."

Although yesterday's rally was advertised as a "Welcome Back Rally" for leaders who had been released two weeks ago, it was clear it was an ANC

rally — the first in almost 30 years.

A massive green, black and gold flag — the ANC colours — was erected behind the main stage, as was a large banner featuring the ANC logo and slogans.

Dozens of ANC flags were evident in the capacity crowd and people sported ANC banners and colours — ranging from T-shirts to badges.

A large South African Communist Party flag was also erected behind the main stage, and numerous people waved this flag around during the proceedings.

Present on the main rostrum were seven of the political prisoners released by the government on October 15 — Walter Sisulu, Oscar Mphahlele, Elias Motsoaledi, Andrew Mlangeni, Wilton Mkwayi, Raymond Mhlaba and Ahmed Kathrada.

Another recently-released political prisoner, Govan Mbeki, was also present. He is under restrictions and had to apply for government permission to attend the rally. His speech had to be read by someone as he is not allowed to address a public gathering and may not be quoted.

Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela and Mrs Albertina Sisulu also attended the rally; as did diplomats from 15 Embassies, including Britain, West Germany, France, Netherlands and Austria.

Police kept a low profile throughout the rally. There was no trouble.

The only cause for consternation was when a police helicopter circled the stadium filming events. This drew boos and hisses from the crowd.

Mr Ahmed Kathrada said in his speech that after spending 27 years in jail, they returned to find that racism is still very much in existence.

He acknowledged there had been some changes,

such as the scrapping of petty apartheid, and these he welcomed.

"However, we find that the fundamental cornerstones of apartheid are still there."

Mr Kathrada said they were still waiting for the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, and the National Party to explicitly repudiate apartheid.

They were waiting for the NP to acknowledge all its mistakes during its 40 years in power.

"We are waiting for them to apologise to the people of South Africa for the hardship and cruelty they inflicted against our people."

He said the government was playing a dangerous game by trying to create the image of a wild Black mass waiting to drive all the Whites into the sea.

He said the government was consciously creating obstacles in the path of re-conciliation. "They are doing this for their own political gain."

"The moment the whole world has been waiting for has arrived. The ANC is going to speak to us today," said a member of the National Reception Committee, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa.

He said people from all over the country were present at the rally.

"People threatened to disrupt this dignified rally. We would like to say to these people 'Do not even try'."

He said he and his attorney were summoned to the Chief Magistrate's office on Friday as the magistrate was concerned the rally might be propagating the views of the ANC.

"We said the ANC does not have to propagate the ideals of the ANC."

He said the rally was "living proof that the government has failed to drive the ANC into oblivion."

People started gathering at Soccer City from

early yesterday morning and numbers swelled as the day progressed.

Marshalls were on duty outside the stadium to direct traffic and despite the number of vehicles and buses which streamed to the rally, there were no traffic jams.

The morning was set aside for "cultural activities", which included female dancers, choirs, sing-along freedom songs and recitals from various poets, all dealing with political topics. One of the entertainers at the rally was Johnny Clegg.

As the morning progressed, the audience was driven into a frenzy, clapping hands, singing, cheering, raising clenched fists, toying, stamping feet.

The proceedings reached fever-pitch when the eight leaders arrived at 12.40 pm. There was cheers as they were escorted onto the field by a "squad" of marshalls wearing khaki uniforms with green, black and gold epaulettes.

Wearing dark suits, the leaders made a circuit of the soccer field before sitting down on the main stage. Mr Oscar Mphahlele was in a wheelchair.

Before proceedings started, the crowd rose to its feet and with clenched fists sang Nkosi Sikelel' i'Afrika.

## Man dies on way to rally

ONE man was killed and another injured in an accident while travelling to the mass rally in Johannesburg yesterday.

The death of the man, a member of the National Union of Metalworkers, was announced at the rally.

A spokesman declined to name the dead victim. — Sapa



**W**HEN President de Klerk and his Broeders settle down to negotiate with black South Africans, I pray they leave me out of any cozy special arrangements they may try to make for white folks.

I've seen enough of funny constitutions to know that, for a minority, special status is a trap and a delusion.

Racial arrogance tends to blind Africa's white minorities to a simple truth: in a world where all men are created unequal, and spend the rest of their lives striving to make themselves even less equal, the principle of equality before the law is the best shield of the weak. Equality, in fact, is the best deal a minority can get.

The American Jews, made wise by long oppression, resist every attempt to set "quotas" for minorities, whether of seats in the Congress or of places at the universities. American blacks, on the other hand, agitate for special treatment, "affirmative action". It requires hardly a glance to see who is better off.

**T**he Jews, one assumes, have learned that when the game is rigged, it's usually the nastiest kid on the block who does the rigging. In a democracy, and even in totalitarian states like the Soviet Union, any "special arrangement" is likely to work against the weak.

Worst of all, of course, is a special arrangement that makes a minority the ruling class, like the whites in this country. The majority of people work ceaselessly, down the centuries if need be, to overthrow an arrangement that seems to all mankind to be an offence against nature, and against justice.

Africa's whites don't grasp the point. They seem to think it some kind of accident — perhaps a religious conversion, or a gush of goodwill, or a fit of "caring" — that has been shifting dominance from the continent's white minorities to its black majorities.

In fact, the process is an historical

# I'll gladly snuggle into the safe arms of Mother Africa

KEN OWEN

BUSINESS DAY 30-10-1989

inevitability. Oppression, as even the Russians have discovered, is a very expensive business, and it grows more expensive with the passing of the years, as technology — the telephone and the aircraft, the limpet mine and the laser printer, the rental car and the credit card — maximise the power of the oppressed individual to cause mayhem.

The truth of the matter is that white South Africa has been destined since 1910 — doomed, if you like — to be on the losing side of a power struggle. Until Union the Afrikaners were the darlings of the freedom-loving world, helped in their battles by Russians and Americans and Irishmen, and even a Frenchman.

Since then, their possession of power has made them the world's polecats, and the target of everybody who claims to speak in the name of justice. The privileges secured at Union, particularly the minority franchise, have committed them to a battle which they cannot win. Like Gorbachev, President de Klerk will discover that the effort to dominate consumes all resources, and fails.

But if we concede that minority

rule can't last, is there no way to shore up the position of the whites in Africa? After all, why should they voluntarily yield power, only to end up as an oppressed minority fighting for equality? Why should they submit to vengeance?

It's a good question, but whites have generally come up with the wrong answers. Ian Smith and the Rhodesians squandered 15 years and many thousands of lives to try to secure for themselves something better than mere equality. They ended up with a handful of seats in Parliament, an irrelevance which has since been brushed away by Robert Mugabe.

**T**hose whites who stayed in Zimbabwe have discovered that their safety lies not in a few reserved seats, but in the normal mechanisms of justice which protect all Zimbabweans. They are vulnerable to the degree that those mechanisms are defective.

All of this is elementary stuff. White South Africans, if they could overcome their terror for five min-

utes, would readily see for themselves that in any unequal system they must either oppress the majority until they are overthrown, or endure oppression and behave like Ulster Catholics.

Nor will any constitutional device save them. The Nationalists, having ravished the entrenched clauses of the 1910 constitution to deprive black and coloured citizens of the vote, know very well that, sooner or later, the majority will destroy any law that gets in its way.

Complicated constitutional balancing mechanisms fare hardly better. A few years ago we heard a great deal about consociational systems, which appeal to very clever, upper-class people because they depend upon clever, upper-class people to mediate disputes between ruder mobs. Austria tried that system. So, more soberingly, did Lebanon and Cyprus.

What President de Klerk has in mind I do not know. It would be a pity if, like the white Kenyans, or the Rhodesians, or most white Namibians, he expended his energies and resources on a long, violent and futile rearguard action to win a spe-

cial status for Afrikaners, or for white people.

Speaking for myself, as a minority of one, I shall feel safest if I can rely on the rights which the majority demands for itself. For me, the focus of negotiation should not be on the special rights of the minorities, but on the universal rights to be enjoyed by all South Africans.

The basis of the new South Africa will be one man, one vote; there is no other basis on which agreement between all our diverse communities can be achieved, and the country will not come to rest until that is accepted. If I can have one vote, I shall be happy; I shall not ask for two.

But then arises the need to ensure against "one man, one vote — once". The last thing black South Africans want — leaving aside madmen like Idi Amin — is another Julius Nyerere who will drive away capital and skills, herd people into collective villages, and condemn us to generations of backwardness.

At least, I hope it is the last thing they want. I trust that years of unfreedom have taught them the value of liberty. The rest is mere method.

**T**he principles of a free society are well known, though we can argue about the correct combination of institutions — federal constitution, division of powers, independent judiciary, bill of rights — required for this country.

But none of it works until the majority recognises government to be the source of tyranny and the instrument of oppression. The key to the future is whether black South Africa wants to be free.

If, in the negotiations to come, they can be persuaded to create a state that guarantees their own liberty — if they set up the institutions of a modern liberal state — I shall gladly snuggle for safety into the arms of Mother Africa. If not — well, one might as well cling to power as long as possible, and afterwards behave like an Ulsterman.



Sisulu sets conditions for peace talks

# 70 000 hail freed ANC men at rally

BUSINESS DAY  
30 OCTOBER 1989

THE ANC was prepared to discuss the suspension of hostilities on both sides once government had created the necessary climate for negotiations, former ANC general secretary Walter Sisulu said yesterday.

A jubilant mass of more than 70 000 people welcomed Sisulu and six other recently released ANC leaders at Soccer City, outside Soweto.

Messages of support came from 76 international and local organisations, governments and individuals, including the UN, the prime ministers of India and Sweden, the British Anti-Apartheid Movement and the Danish Communist Party.

Just before 1pm the leaders — Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada, Elias Motsoaledi, Raymond Mhlaba, Wilton Mkwayi, Andrew Mlangeni and Oscar Mpetha — walked around the perimeter of the pitch, greeting the colourful, cheering crowd. They were joined by ANC former national chairman Govan Mbeki, whose restriction orders were lifted for a week last Monday to enable him to attend the rally.

Mbeki could not address the crowd because he was still barred from speaking at political rallies.

The eight leaders took their places on the stage beneath a large banner declaring "ANC Lives, ANC Leads", flanked by ANC and Communist Party flags, as the crowd rose to sing Nkosi Sikelel i'Afrika.

In a message read by National Reception Committee chairman Murphy Morobe, ANC leader Oliver Tambo welcomed the released leaders back into the forefront of the liberation struggle after 26 years.

The Justice Department refused Business Day permission to publish Tambo's message.

ALAN FINE, TANIA LEVY,  
THEO RAWANA and ADELE BALETA

By mid-morning, as the cultural programme got under way, buses were still arriving, disgorging wave upon wave of chanting, stomping groups, their flags hoisted high.

Sisulu said from its inception the ANC had been committed to the politics of peace and negotiations.

But there could be no question of the ANC unilaterally abandoning the armed struggle. So far, there was no clear indication that government was serious about negotiations.

Sisulu said government's talk about ethnic elections to choose black leaders was unacceptable. The ANC was looking forward to the election of a constituent assembly elected on the basis of universal adult franchise.

"This is where the true representatives of the people will discuss the future. If the government is serious about a permanent and lasting solution, they will agree to this logical step," Sisulu said.

Meanwhile "our duty is to intensify the struggle until we are able to get the regime to discuss the issue of the normalisation of the situation in SA".

He called on the world to intensify sanctions, saying sanctions were largely responsible for making government listen to people's demands.

Sisulu told the crowd it should concentrate on building "mass organisation and working class leadership".

He called for united action among the broadest range of apartheid's opponents and pleaded that ideological differences

## ANC rally

not be allowed to stand in the path of unity.

He called on whites to join "the struggle for democracy so that we may shape the future together", and described white youths who resisted conscription as "true patriots".

He called on police to become "part of the people", saying those like Lt Gregory Rockman had begun to show the way.

The carnage in Natal was a blot on "the noble struggle for liberation" and he called on Cosatu, the UDF and Inkatha to continue searching for peace.

Outlining the ANC's attitude towards negotiations, Sisulu recalled calling on then-Prime Minister D F Malan to negotiate in 1952.

In 1958, ANC president Chief Albert Luthuli had written to Prime Minister J G Strijdom urging him to negotiate.

Three years later, Nelson Mandela had urged Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd to call a national convention, Sisulu said.

"Our pleas fell on deaf ears," which was why the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, had been formed.

National Union of Mineworkers general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa said Johannesburg's Chief Magistrate had been concerned the rally would be used to propagate ANC ideas.

"The ANC does not have to have its ideas propagated; they are enshrined in the hearts and minds of the people. The magistrate warned we could contravene the Internal Security Act. Proposing the idea of a non-racial SA is not contravening anything," he said.

Ramaphosa said the rally was proof the government had failed to drive the ANC into oblivion.

Ahmed Kathrada said black leadership was waiting for the NP to stop fostering

fear and suspicion in whites.

"They are playing a dangerous and despicable game by creating a picture of a wild black monster threatening white people, their language and their religion," he said.

Kathrada said the greatest danger to whites was not black people, the ANC, the SACP, Tutu or Boesak. The greatest enemy was the CP and NP.

Mahlaba told the rally the SA army was modern and efficient while "we are relatively weak". This was why guerrilla warfare methods were initially used. But, he said, "our position will improve as we go on fighting".

He demanded that Mandela and all other political prisoners be released, all "peoples' organisations" be unbanned, and the state of emergency lifted.

At least 45 more restricted Eastern Cape activists attended yesterday's rally in Soweto after sending a fax to President F W de Klerk.

Lawyers acting for the 45 said the fax was sent after separate requests were turned down by the security branch and the Port Elizabeth Divisional Commissioner.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok had also failed to respond to a letter dated October 11 asking for permission to attend the rally.

Although other attempts to obtain permission to go failed, security police told the activists shortly after the fax was sent that their restrictions would be lifted on Friday morning and re-enforced this afternoon.

A spokesman for the Police Public Relations Directorate in Pretoria said last night there were no unrest-related incidents after the rally.



# The prospect of peace

NATAL WITNESS 30/10/89

J

ONLY a month or so into the De Klerk era and the contending African and Afrikaner nationalist groups are moving rapidly towards negotiation. The political atmosphere is transformed and a truce is in prospect after 30 years of strife. It seems too good to be true. After all, were not the early months of the Vorster era also filled with promise, with a new "Outward Policy" proclaimed to the world? And Mr P.W. Botha's first phase was likewise most hopeful and encouraging, was it not? Yet what came of it all in the end?

In both cases a resurgence of right-wing sentiment in Afrikaner nationalist ranks caused the NP leader of the day to draw back from reformist policies. Why should it be any different now? It is different this time, though, and there really are grounds for sober optimism. In the first place, electoral analysts such as Nic Olivier believe the CP has reached its ceiling among Afrikaners and would grow only if it could attract appreciable English-speaking support, which is hardly likely. And the NP these days is as much dependent on the votes of its English-speaking allies as on its traditional Afrikaner constituency.

President De Klerk has fewer op-

tions open to him than his predecessors. The country has come to a point where economic stagnation is imminent if confidence is not restored by dramatic political advance. The use of force, so dear to Vorster and Botha, is now a counsel of despair. Reliance on force to suppress black aspirations can only succeed at the cost of destroying the economy.

This is not to say that it is all plain sailing from now on. On the contrary, the transition from a white supremacist society to a new non-racial South Africa will not take place quickly or easily. The opening phase, leading to a truce, could well be fairly quick, demonstrating Mr De Klerk's serious intent and earning the country a breathing space.

But the next phase — talks to settle the negotiating structures and how they will be set up, the agenda, who gets a seat on the table, and so on could be protracted. And, finally, the substantive negotiations to draw up a new constitution could go on for years. The negotiating goals of the contending groups are far apart and are seemingly irreconcilable. A compromise between group-based power-sharing and non-racial majority rule, if it is possible at all, will not be achieved in a day.

It is too much to expect that we

**"A major threat [to the peace process] which is not often considered is the prospect of terrorist violence on the extreme right as intransigent whites realise that South Africa is going to change — in a way that they find wholly unacceptable. If the far right is no longer an electoral threat, it most certainly remains a security threat."**

will go through all this without running into bumpy patches. There will be setbacks and times of stalemate in the negotiating process and the danger of renewed violence, breaking the truce, will be ever-present.

A major threat which is not often considered is the prospect of terrorist violence on the extreme right as

intransigent whites realise that South Africa is going to change — in a way that they find wholly unacceptable. If the far right is no longer an electoral threat, it most certainly remains a security threat.

There are many reasons why this is so, not least the deeply-engrained fear of black "swamping" among those of the faithful who have not shared in the bounty of Afrikaner nationalism's burgeoning post-1948 prosperity. But the real reason why right-wing terrorism could be a threat has to do with one of the least attractive features of the Botha era — the entrenchment of a culture of clandestine operations in the murkier recesses of the security establishment, hidden from public view.

As successive United States Governments have found since World War 2, political assassinations and other such dirty tricks may have immediate utility but in time they do serious harm to the national interest, undermining political trust and the respect of the law which is supposed to be the cornerstone of the American way of life. In South Africa the dispatch of balaclava-clad death squads into Swaziland or other neighbour states to kill suspected ANC activists seemed to be almost routine at one point. If this seemed

in order at the time in what was seen as a war situation, which is arguable, it becomes rather more problematical if such killings are ordered and carried out on this side of the border.

When an official culture of clandestine operations becomes entrenched the danger is that an unofficial cult of political assassination will begin to flourish on the side, seemingly without official hindrance. People get the idea that killing this or that opponent of the system is their patriotic duty and that officialdom will look the other way. Judging by the long list of unsolved political killings in South Africa, such a thesis is by no means untenable. Could this be the explanation for the unsolved assassination of Rick Turner, David Webster, Godfrey Mxenge, Anton Lubowski, Dr and Mrs Fabian Ribeiro and so many others?

Once this kind of political malignancy has really taken hold, it is very difficult to eradicate, and it is at the root of the distrust which is the greatest obstacle facing Mr De Klerk and his hopes and plans for a new South Africa. It remains to be seen what he can do about it.

• Gerald Shaw is associate editor and political columnist of the Cape Times.



It takes two to stop the violence, Sisulu tells De Klerk

# Massive ANC rally goes off peacefully

by BRYAN PEARSON  
in Johannesburg

ABOUT 85 000 frenzied people, waving flags and chanting freedom songs, yesterday gave Walter Sisulu and his six freed comrades a heroes' welcome at Soccer City in Soweto in what amounted to the first ANC rally in South Africa for 30 years.

Excitement peaked when Mr Sisulu (77) declared that there could be no let-up in the armed struggle until Pretoria meets conditions for talks.

Officially the event was a homecoming for the seven ANC leaders freed on October 15, but it very quickly turned into a massive ANC extravaganza.

Spurred on by anti-apartheid poets and musicians, virtually the entire crowd sang songs, waved ANC flags or sported Umkhonto we Sizwe uniforms while they awaited the arrival of the ANC patriarchs.

As soon as the seven, plus another ANC stalwart, Govan Mbeki, stepped into the stadium, the crowd erupted into chants of "Viva ANC".

Led by former ANC secretary-general Mr Sisulu, the eight did a lap of honour. Accompanied by 20 khaki-clad guards, they mounted a podium backed by a huge banner proclaiming "ANC lives, ANC leads".

Despite the fact that he added nothing new to statements he has already made since his release, Mr Sisulu's address was enthusiastically received.

Urging State President F.W. de Klerk to create the "necessary climate" for negotiations, he said until then the ANC could not "discuss the suspension of hostilities".

He warned: "There can be no question of us unilaterally abandoning the armed struggle.

"We call on the regime to release all political detainees unconditionally, to lift all bans and restrictions, ... to remove all troops from the townships, to end the state of emergency and repeal all repressive legislation and to cease all political trials and executions."

Concerning the question of violence in Natal's townships, Mr Sisulu said: "While we have made many strides, the carnage among our people in Natal is a blot on our noble struggle for liberation.

"It is the evil hand of apartheid that is behind the violence in Natal. Reports of police collusion ... abound.

"All who are committed to peace ... must act jointly against the perpetrators of violence. We call on Cosatu, UDF and Inkatha to continue their search for peace."

Four of Mr Sisulu's former jailed comrades, Ahmed Kathrada, Raymond Mhlaba, Oscar Mpetha and Andrew Mlangeni, also addressed the rally, each receiving a standing ovation.

Mr Mbeki was prevented from speaking due to his restriction, even though his travel restrictions were waived to allow him to attend. He merely said: "Comrades I greet you. I greet you all. I embrace you. Amandla."

Sharing the platform were the two other recently freed ANC leaders, Elias Motsoaledi and Wilton Mkwayi, as well as veteran activist Helen Joseph.

The event was declared an "ANC rally" when MDM leader Cyril Ramaphosa told the crowd "Today the ANC is going to speak to you". He then read out a lengthy message from ANC president Oliver Tambo.

More than 76 messages were sent from anti-apartheid organisations and labour federations around the world.

An earlier threat by white right-wingers to "create a blood-bath" failed to materialise, and with marshals maintaining tight discipline, the rally proceeded without incident. Police kept a low profile.

A religious organisation, die Gemeente van die Verbondsvolk, has denied any connection with the threats.

• Meanwhile, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok said on SABC TV last night that opportunities must be created for people to express their political views in an orderly fashion.

NATAL WITNESS  
30/10/89



SOWETAN Monday October 30 1989

# Thousands welcome leaders



Part of the tens of thousands who gave a rousing welcome to the stalwards of the African National Congress at the rally held at the First National Bank Stadium yesterday.

TO PG 2



# THOUSANDS WELCOME LEADERS FROM PG 1



Excited youths "toy toyied" as the ANC leaders arrived at the First National Bank Stadium.

Workers came from all parts of the country to welcome their heroes.



# Political, labour reform in Transkei looming

30 OCTOBER 1989  
NEW AFRICAN

By Thumida Maistry

TRANSKEI continued its apparent political about turn last week when president Tutor Ndumase announced plans to unban the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) in the territory.

Announcing wide policy changes on the tenth anniversary of the bantustan's independence, Ndumase said the government would allow trade unions to operate and that new labour legislation would be drafted by early next year.

In the meantime, he said, an industrial court and wage board would be established.

Ndumase also invited lawyers and workers to participate in the shaping of the new labour laws and asked unions to register by November 30.

Although Ndumase's announcements were welcomed with loud cheers throughout the Independence stadium, workers are treating the speech with some caution. A spokesperson for the

workers co-ordinating committee said that while they appreciated the meeting of some of the demands they made at the march earlier in the week, they were unhappy about the way in which the government was taking decisions.

The spokesperson criticised the lack of consultation and said the dispensation was still unclear. He said that the announcement of freedom of association could be interpreted as freedom to work with the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu).

Apart from commenting on the labour issue, Ndumase also announced several committees would be formed to look into problems of various sectors. He promised that a committee would be established to explore the mechanics of organising of a referendum in the bantustan following the earlier announcement by Chairman of the Military council, Bantu Holomisa, that such a referendum to test the feelings of the public would be held.

A body to liaise with the committees that are dealing with the education crisis was also promised.

However while Ndumase's speech is setting off ripples on the already swelling political waters of the oldest bantustan in South Africa, it was his comments on Transkei's relationship with the international community that revealed a little more about the government's plastic surgery.

Workers are understandably suspicious of the pledge given to them regarding new labour laws - they are wondering if they are to be co-opted into the new image guaranteed to bring more unscrupulous foreign investors keen to exploit cheap labour in the third world.

During the march earlier in the week more than 10 000 people marched through the streets of Umtata to demand new labour legislation.

The march followed the spontaneous strikes which have rocked the homeland during the last month

and an emergency meeting of 200 workers representing various factories with Holomisa.

The marchers under ANC, SACP and Cosatu banners waited outside the Botha Sigcau government building as the delegation of 13 workers met with Holomisa.

The delegation told Holomisa that the non-existence of legislation to establish collective bargaining and the use of management elected liaison committees had led to extreme vulnerability of workers. Workers said that the lack of legal protection had reduced them to units of cheap labour and made them susceptible to exploitation by foreign companies who invested in the Transkei.

The delegation handed over demands for:

- \* Legalisation of trade unions;
- \* Establishment of structures to deal with disputes immediately, such as industrial councils and courts;
- \* Radical change in the labour legislation;

- \* An end to harassment of workers organising unions;
- \* Scrapping of the Public Security Act;
- \* Lifting of the state of emergency and
- \* Unbanning of organisations.

The group also said that they rejected bantustans.

The delegation returned to report to the waiting crowd. They said that they were assured the demands would be considered.

Holomisa said that it would be difficult to scrap the security act as it was necessary to protect the government from its enemies.

The marchers then split into groups and were returning to the various locations singing and chanting when police apparently moved in. Police claimed that the march was supposed to have remained peaceful and that the toy i-toying and chanting violated the undertaking on which basis permission for it had been granted. They said that they were forced to teargas the crowd into dispersing after clashes between

a group of marchers and police.

Oupa Khumalo of the workers co-ordinating committee said that the denial of freedom of speech and expression for so long in the Transkei had led to great excitement about open gatherings and marches. Khumalo said that it was obvious that people would celebrate the success of the march and added that police had provoked the violence.

Khumalo said that Holomisa's new stance of tolerance should not be over appreciated. He said that the assurances of new legislation was a result of workers organising themselves.

Khumalo said that the co-ordinating committee had been functioning since March this year but that it became possible to organise openly only after King Sabata Dalindyebo's reburial when Holomisa undertook to negotiate with the people. He said that workers were aware that Holomisa had secured foreign investment by offers of cheap labour reservoirs in the Transkei.



More than 15 000 people marched through Grahamstown recently to present a list of demands to the local police station commander at the city hall. Organisers defied most of the heavy restrictions placed on the march, which went off without incident despite the large police presence. Pic: T J Lemman

## THE CAREER INFORMATION CENTRE

Is an independent, non-racial, non-sexist, non-profit making educational service responding to the vocational guidance needs of youth in the Natal/Kwazulu region. We have one position available, to start as soon as possible.

### RESOURCE CENTRE ORGANISER

The job of Resource Centre Organiser will involve:-

- \* Co-ordinating tasks within the Resource Centre.
  - \* Administrative tasks including the preparation of an annual budget, and proposal and monthly reports for the Resource Centre.
  - \* Maintaining and Developing the Teachers Library which is one of the 3 sections in the Resource Centre.
  - \* Presentation of material by way of occasional focuses/exhibits in the Resource Centre.
  - \* Liaison work with CIC staff and other Resource Centre.
  - \* General organisational duties.
- The person should have the following:-
- \* A degree plus a relevant post-graduate qualification
  - \* Experience in a position of responsibility, in a non-formal education and/or service organisation, or Resource Centre.
  - \* Strong organising ability.
  - \* An artistic flair and an eye for detail.
  - \* An active interest in education.
  - \* A willingness to participate in a shared management structure.
  - \* Fluency in English and Zulu would be preferable.

Salary: R1 400 - R1 800 plus 13th cheque, medical aid and pension scheme.

Please apply in writing together with a detailed CV to:-  
Sunjay Panday  
36 Ecumenical Centre  
20 St. Andrew's Street  
DURBAN  
4001

For more information contact Sunjay on (031) 3012097/8

## Grahamstown detainee survives car crash

By Peter Auf Der Heyde

A GRAHAMSTOWN teacher released from detention late last week is lucky to be alive after being involved in a car crash while being transferred to another prison. Zalisile Mkontwana was taken to Burgersdorp three hours after being detained on September 6. While being driven there, security policemen handcuffed him between his legs.

Three days after embarking on a hunger strike in an attempt to secure his release, Mkontwana was again transferred to Grootvlei prison.

In a letter smuggled out of Grootvlei, a group of detainees said that Mkontwana was involved in a car crash whilst being driven from Burgersdorp to Grootvlei.

"The comrade was handcuffed behind his back to the door. The white security policeman driving the car was going at a very great speed and Zalisile thought that

something might happen.

"The car spun off the road in a curve and rolled three times, before landing, roof downwards, in a dam by the side of the road.

The driver jumped out of the car and was not interested in anything else. A black security policeman who had been sitting in the front of the car, opened Zalisile's door and unlocked the handcuffs. If he had not reacted in the way he did, the detainee would have drowned."

The detainees write that the group was then taken back to Burgersdorp, from where Mkontwana was transferred by a new group to Grootvlei.

"Before being taken to Grootvlei, they were taken to a local doctor, but Zalisile refused treatment, as he wanted to see his personal doctor."

"Luckily for him, the injuries were not that bad, and they seemed to have sorted themselves out."

Circumstances of the crash were not made public so as not to jeopardise any chances Mkontwana might have had of being released.

However, after Mkontwana and two other Grahamstown detainees were released, it was decided to make the facts of the car crash known.

Mkontwana's wife Pumeza said that her husband had confirmed the circumstances of the car crash.

Mkontwana was released with heavy restrictions. He is not allowed to speak to the press, or take part in the activities of a number of organisations, including the Grahamstown Soccer Association and the National Sports Congress (NSC).

He is under house arrest and has to sign in at the local police station. Another Grahamstown detainee, Elijah Ntentele, was released without restrictions.

## Vlok sued for R45 000

By Beverly Garson and Nosiho Kulati

A GRAHAMSTOWN man is claiming R45 000 from the Minister of Law and Order after police allegedly poured petrol over him and set him alight.

Siphwe Haas (21), was arrested on May 21 1986 by the Rini Municipal police.

While in their custody he was questioned about two guns which they alleged he knew about.

Haas alleges that while he was being kept in the office two South African policemen entered and burned him.

He is now suing for general damages in respect of shock, pain, suffering, disfigurement, disability, loss of life amenities and for unlawful arrest and detention.

Haas told the court that one policeman poured petrol over him.

The policeman, he said, used his cigarette lighter to set him alight.

After he had been burnt extensively the police then took him to the local hospital where he was treated for these injuries.

Photographs of Haas's burns were also shown in court. Judgement has been postponed.

-Albany News Agency



# THE NEW AFRICAN

TOWARDS A NON-RACIAL SOUTH AFRICA

Volume 1 No 31

Monday October 30 - Saturday November 4 1989

Phone (031) 3073601

Price 50c (44c + 6c GST)

## Moving welcome for ANC High Command

30-10-1989 NEW AFRICAN

By Mono Badela

JOHANNESBURG: A capacity crowd of 85 000 chanting, singing, ululating African National Congress (ANC) supporters from all over the country gave the eight ANC leaders recently released from long-term imprisonment a tumultuous welcome at the newly built soccer city stadium yesterday.

The rally is regarded by political analysts as the biggest and most important political event in the history of South Africa.

The stadium shook as thousands toyi-toyed and stomped their feet when the eight men, preceded by a phalanx of bodyguards dressed in the khaki uniforms of Umkhonto weSizwe, strode onto the soccer pitch.

Led by veteran ANC secretary general, Walter Sisulu dressed in a grey suit, the movement stalwarts walked around the entire soccer pitch, waving and smiling at the thousands of supporters.

Earlier a marshal - carrying a toy rifle, wearing a T-shirt calling for the unbanning of the ANC and waving the 'banned' organisation's black, green and gold flag - directed traffic, including a yellow police van, towards parking outside the stadium. It was one of the highly colourful scenes at the historic ANC rally, the first in almost 30 years.

The crowds, who sported eyecatching ANC T-shirts and waved small ANC flags, were entertained by several cultural groups all singing the praises of the national liberation movement and its leadership.

People's poet, Mzwakhe Mbuli recited to an approving crowd. Almost every speaker opened with the call 'Viva ANC', and several red South African Communist Party (SACP) flags with the gold hammer and sickle emblem flew aloft.

To all involved the rally appeared to represent the de facto unbanning of the ANC, which has been underground since 1960, despite Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok's pronouncements during the week that the ANC remained banned under the Internal Security Act and that police would act if the aims of the organisation were promoted at the rally.

After Mbuli, a choir singing praises of the ANC, including the optimistic line, 'When the ANC takes over...' broadcast their message over the giant public address system for the occasion. About 80 messages of support were read includ-



African National Congress (ANC) stalwart Oscar Mpetha enters a welcome home rally

ing those from the ANC in Lusaka, the South African Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu), the United Nations, the Anti-Apartheid movements of Britain, Switzerland, West Berlin and Ireland.

Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) spokesperson Cyril Ramaphosa read out a message of support from SACP general secretary Joe Slovo.

Diplomats representing 15 countries also arrived to hear ANC leader's 'message to the nation'.

French ambassador Jacques Dupont said the fact that the South African government had given the green light to the rally was a step in the right direction.

More than 400 buses transported people from as far as Cape Town and Venda. Natal ANC supporters - who numbered nearly 10 000 - came in 50 buses, mini buses, cars and aircraft.

Although police manned several roadblocks on roads leading to 'ANC City' and at times a helicopter hovered above the stadium, there were no incidents.

However, a member of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (Numsa) was killed in an accident while

travelling to the mass rally.

Sisulu told the crowd that there could be no question of the exiled organisation unilaterally abandoning the armed struggle.

He said, however, that if state president FW De Klerk could create a climate by releasing Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners unconditionally, unbanning all organisations, removing troops from the townships, lifting the state of emergency and ending all political trials and executions, the ANC would be prepared to discuss the ending of hostilities on both sides.

The ANC could see no clear indication that the government was serious about this as 'all their utterances are vague'.

The government, Sisulu said, was talking about ethnic elections to choose leaders of the black people. This was unacceptable to the ANC.

'We are looking forward to the election of a Constituent Assembly on the basis of a universal adult franchise. This is where the true representatives of the people will discuss the future. If the government is serious about a permanent and lasting solution, they will agree to this logical step,' he said.

He said the duty of the ANC was to intensify the liberation struggle 'until we are able to get the regime to discuss the issue of the normalisation of the situation in South Africa.'

'At this stage we cannot relax on the basis of mere statements.'

'The defiance campaign must continue - we cannot wait on the government to make changes at its own pace.'

Dealing with the Natal violence, Sisulu described the carnage as 'a blot on the struggle for liberation'.

He said the 'evil of apartheid' was behind the violence and called on the United Democratic Front (UDF), the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) and Inkatha to continue attempts to secure peace in the region.

Ahmed Kathrada slammed the concept of 'group' rights saying it was part of a devious philosophy that separated black people along ethnic lines, but lumped whites together in one 'group'.

'I have a message for white people, especially the Afrikaners. If you rely on the so-called group rights, your future happiness and that of your children cannot be guaranteed...safety cannot be guaranteed there.'

## Top security cop twice linked to killings

By Farouk Chothia

MAJOR Eugene Alexander de Kock - a security branch policeman based at SAP headquarters in Pretoria - has been implicated for the second time in the gruesome killings of suspected African National Congress (ANC) activists.

By his own admission, De Kock is linked to the killing of four Chesterville youths and the wounding of two others in 1986 and the shooting of four suspected ANC cadres at Piet Retief near the Swaziland border in June the same year.

Further, in an affidavit made on Death Row, former security branch policeman Butana Almond Nofomela referred to a Major De Kock when he claimed a police hit squad killed lawyer Griffiths Mxenge in 1981.

However, at the time of going to press it was still unclear whether he was referring to the same policeman.

### Unit commander

In an affidavit presented to the inquest on four Chesterville activists killed by police, De Kock said he was a 'unit commander' investigating 'terrorism' countrywide since 1983.

In the Piet Retief inquest - which was adjourned earlier this year and is set to resume on November 27 - De Kock personally led an ambush in which four suspected ANC cadres were killed. The four were Lenny Naidu (22), Nontsikelelo Cothoza (22), Lindwe Charity Mbethu (20) and Makhosi Nyoka (29).

From what has emerged the two inquests, there have been certain similarities in the methods of operation by police in the two incidents.

### Comrades

In the Chesterville inquest - being heard in the Durban Regional Court - Sgt Makopo Simon Radebe said he had called back three of his colleagues from the hut where they had made contact with the 'comrades'.

In order to make contact, they posed as 'comrades' who had come from Soweto and Piet Retief to assist in the fight against the A Team vigilantes.

He claimed his seven-member unit heard a shot being fired and - thinking they had been ambushed - fired into the hut.

Radebe said his unit had gone to the hut to arrest a leader of the 'comrades', Charles Ngcobo, for allegedly being in possession of an AK-47 rifle.

Tibello Mbatha - a survivor of the shooting - said none of the occupants of the house were armed, nor did the shoot.

\* Please turn to page 4

Majority support ANC says  
British publication - Page 11

Labour Reform looms in  
Transkei - Page 2



By Cheryl Roberts

THE African National Congress (ANC) has won the support of the majority of the oppressed in South Africa and can even stake a claim to being an alternative to the ruling National Party.

Furthermore, not since the 1950's has the ANC occupied the centre stage inside South Africa as it is doing at the present moment.

This is the opinion of the influential British journal *Africa Confidential*, which also points out that the ANC is experiencing the best of its times.

On an even more positive note for the exiled organisation, the journal in an article on the ANC, United Democratic Front (UDF) and Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) says that the ANC has, ahead of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), 'won the hearts and minds of the voteless.'

To demonstrate this 'victory' the article makes reference to the Organisation of African Unity's (OAU) recent endorsement of a

## ANC has the support of SA's majority, says British publication

negotiations proposal which was drafted solely by the ANC and its internal supporters.

This is viewed as quite a decisive step for the OAU, who have never accorded the ANC 'sole and authentic' status of the liberation struggle as it did in the case of the South West African People's Organisation (Swapo).

Two important factors have emerged in recent years which give the ANC a decisive edge in the liberation struggle. One is the performance of Umkhonto we

Sizwe (MK) and the other is the imprisoned Nelson Mandela.

Despite its inability to transcend the limits of armed propaganda and to wage a full-scale guerilla war, Umkhonto, served as a symbol of resistance 'to the youth who manned the barricades during the township uprising of 1984-6.'

Mandela, virtually a 'deity' in South Africa, has sealed the ANC's leading role both within the country and internationally.

According to *Africa Confi-*

dential, the youths of '76 who left the country would normally have looked towards the PAC - but instead the Soweto exiles found an organisation in disarray. Only the ANC was ready to channel and absorb their anger into armed struggle. It was the post-76 era which witnessed an escalation in the internal support for the ANC.

Spectacular attacks such as those in the early 1980's on a SASOL plant brought home the fact that only the ANC was able to send armed cadres into the coun-

try, it said.

Another phase dawned for the ANC which was characterised by the 25th anniversary of the Freedom Charter in 1980 and coincided with the Release Mandela signature campaign and the formation of the Release Mandela Committee.

During this period it was ANC stalwarts like Albertina Sisulu, Archie Gumede and Msizi Dube who guided the UDF during its formative years.

Together with these activists and a coherent programme in the form of the Freedom Charter, the ANC was able to develop a decisive advantage amongst the opposition forces.

The attempt by the National Forum to enunciate a new guiding document in the form of the Azanian Manifesto came too late to prevent the Freedom Charter from dominating opposition forums as resistance to apartheid and the ruling minority intensified throughout South Africa.



# ZP arrest

NEW AFRICAN

## Esikhawini

30 OCTOBER 1989

### marchers

By Vusi Ngema

EVEN before the ill-fated march at Esikhawini could start last week, a crowd of about 38 people were arrested by the KwaZulu police for holding an 'illegal gathering.'

The crowd had gathered at the stadium at Section J2 in order to co-ordinate a march against the recent alleged brutality of the ZP. It is alleged that in a space of a month, the ZP's had sjambokked and harassed a total of about 200 people at Esikhawini.

The main incidents which prompted the discontent of the Esikhawini residents took place on September 5 and 6 - the days when the Mass Democratic Movement's activity reached its climax. In the march that took place on those days hundreds of people were sjambokked, many were arrested and one ZP was fatally stabbed.

What raised the ire of the Esikhawini residents was the 'indiscriminate' sjambokking that took place on those two days.

The discontent was further fuelled by the sjambokking and subsequent arrest of 14 youths who were standing at the bus stop while on their way to the second march on September 29.

Consequently a meeting was

held at J2 whereby it was resolved that 'a democratically elected committee', acting as a crime prevention unit, should replace the KwaZulu police. Although the meeting concerned only one section of the township, its resolutions echoed a popular sentiment.

'We have come to the unfortunate conclusion that the South African Police - especially in the way they conducted themselves at our marches - behaved much better than the KwaZulu police,' said Sipho Cele, Cosatu's Northern Natal regional secretary.

Various attempts have been made to 'curb' the 'reactionary' behaviour of the KwaZulu police.

Two letters - one directly addressed to the branch commander of the ZP and another sent to the Esikhawini mayor - have been forwarded. As yet, no response has been forthcoming.

Meanwhile, the lawyer for the 38, Kwenza Mlaba, has disclosed that no charges have been laid against them.

While they were due to appear in court today, Mthunzini police suddenly withdrew their case 'for review', according to the branch commander.





SOWETAN 30 OCTOBER 1989

About 500 people took part in a protest march in the centre of Pretoria at the weekend. They were protesting against homelands and labour legislation. The march which was organised by the Northern Transvaal People's Congress, moved to the Union Buildings where a petition was handed to a representative of the office of the State President. The demonstrators waved banners, displayed posters and sang songs protesting against "bantustans".



# Massive welcome

SHOUTS of "Amandla" vibrated throughout the FNB stadium yesterday where over 80 000 people converged for the biggest political rally held in South Africa.

More than 150 buses and hundreds of private cars and mini-buses, car-

**By SY MAKARINGE**

rying people from all parts of the country, started arriving as early as 8am.

Police set up road blocks at various points in the vicinity of the stadium but no arrests were reported. A police helicopter was seen hovering over the stadium

at about 11am.

Proceedings began with cultural events when poets read their works to the ecstatic crowd who responded by chanting slogans and singing freedom songs.

Mzwakhe Mbuli was given a rousing ovation when he took the stage. Several musical acts also gave lively performances.

Security was very tight. Marshals were posted at strategic points inside and outside the stadium to maintain order.

## Flag

The red South African Communist Party flag was displayed side by side with the black, green and gold African National

Congress flag on the stage.

The seven released ANC stalwarts, Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, Mr Elias Motsoaledi, Mr Wilton Mkwayi, Mr Andrew Mlangeni, Mr Raymond Mhlaba, Mr Oscar Mphetha and Mr Govan Mbeki were led on to the pitch by khakhi-clad

"soldiers" before taking the stage to address the crowd.

Messages of support were received from various organisations in Italy, the Netherlands, Canada, Japan, Ireland, Norway, Denmark, South Korea, Australia, and West Germany. Messages from Sam Nujoma, president of Swapo, Rajiv Gandhi,

prime minister of India, the United Nations, and Trevor Huddleston of the anti-apartheid movement in Britain, were read at the rally.

Helen Joseph, veteran anti-apartheid campaigner was given a standing ovation when she arrived for the meeting.



SDWETAN 30 OCTOBER 1989

SDWETAN 30 OCTOBER 1989

## Page one comment

**T**HE biggest political rally, with over 80000 people attending from all parts of the country, was held at the FNB stadium to welcome the ANC seven who collectively spent close to 150 years in jail.

The rally was not only the biggest single political gathering held in the country in all time, it was also the largest and the first of its kind to have been held by any political organisation in South Africa.

The political significance of this rally is that the nation was paying its dues to men who have spent their entire adult lives in jail for a commitment that intimately affects all our lives.

There is no doubt that this event will go down in history as the most dramatic, most poignant, and perhaps the most politically significant since the start of the struggle for liberation.

Even the massive police presence that was allegedly launched to safeguard life

and property, appeared awed by the size of the gathering. The rather petulant threat by some radical rightwing groups that they would disrupt the event, looked silly long before the seven and their ANC colleague, Govan Mbeki, went on stage to address the nation.

We do not know how the state media will treat the event, but we are sure they will look pretty ridiculous to the world if they do not display the type of prominence the story deserves. These old men can die happy after the type of welcome given to them by the South African nation.

This day was in effect preparatory to the release of Nelson Mandela, as well as the prelude to the type of welcome that will be given to him. It will be a fitting welcome which might lead to the final resolution of the difficult problems we have had under apartheid for more than 40 years.



ANC stand on violence spelled out at welcome reception for 7 leaders

# Govt vague - Sisulu

THE former secretary general of the African National Congress, Mr Walter Sisulu, yesterday spelt out the organisation's stand on negotiations but asserted that there was no question of the exiled organisation unilaterally abandoning the armed struggle.

Speaking to more than 85 000 people at the First National Bank Stadium outside Soweto, Sisulu said a climate for negotiations should first be created.

This would include:

- \* Releasing of all political prisoners and detainees unconditionally.

- \* Lifting all bans and restrictions on all proscribed and restricted organisations and persons.

- \* Withdrawal of all troops from the townships.

- \* Ending of the state of emergency and the repeal of all repressive legislation and ceasing all political trials and political

al executions.

He said if such a climate was created the ANC was prepared, as the Harare Declaration proposed, to discuss the suspension of hostilities on both sides. He said there could be no question of the ANC unilaterally abandoning the armed struggle.

## Serious

"To date, we see no clear indication that the Government is serious about negotiations. All utterances are vague," he said.

Sisulu rejected the proposal by the National Party to hold elections to choose black leaders who would negotiate with the government.

He called on the international community to intensify the sanctions campaign against SA saying that sanctions were to a very large extent responsible for making the government responsive to the demands of the people.

He said the violence in Natal was a blot on "our noble struggle for liberation."

## Evil

He said it was the evil hand of apartheid that was behind the violence.

Sisulu urged Cosatu, UDF and Inkatha to continue to find solutions for peace in the region.

He said Umkhonto We Sizwe was formed after the Government refused several times to meet the ANC to find a peaceful

solution to the country's problems.

"We stood for peace in 1912 when we were formed, we stood for peace in our long struggle of resistance, we stand for peace today and we will stand for peace tomorrow," Sisulu said.

Earlier, Mr Raymond Mhlaba told the crowd that the ANC was not "blood thirsty." He said

blacks were oppressed by a white minority group. "This oppression has been going on for years and years.

"We therefore are justified to express ourselves in a peaceful manner and at times in a violent manner. This will have to carry on until political rights are extended to the black man in this country."

Mr Ahmed Kathrada said the ANC stood for individual human rights as opposed to group rights which preserved white domination

## Killed

It was announced during proceedings that a member of National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa working for Goodyear South Africa was killed in an accident while on his way to the rally. Another was reported to be in hospital.

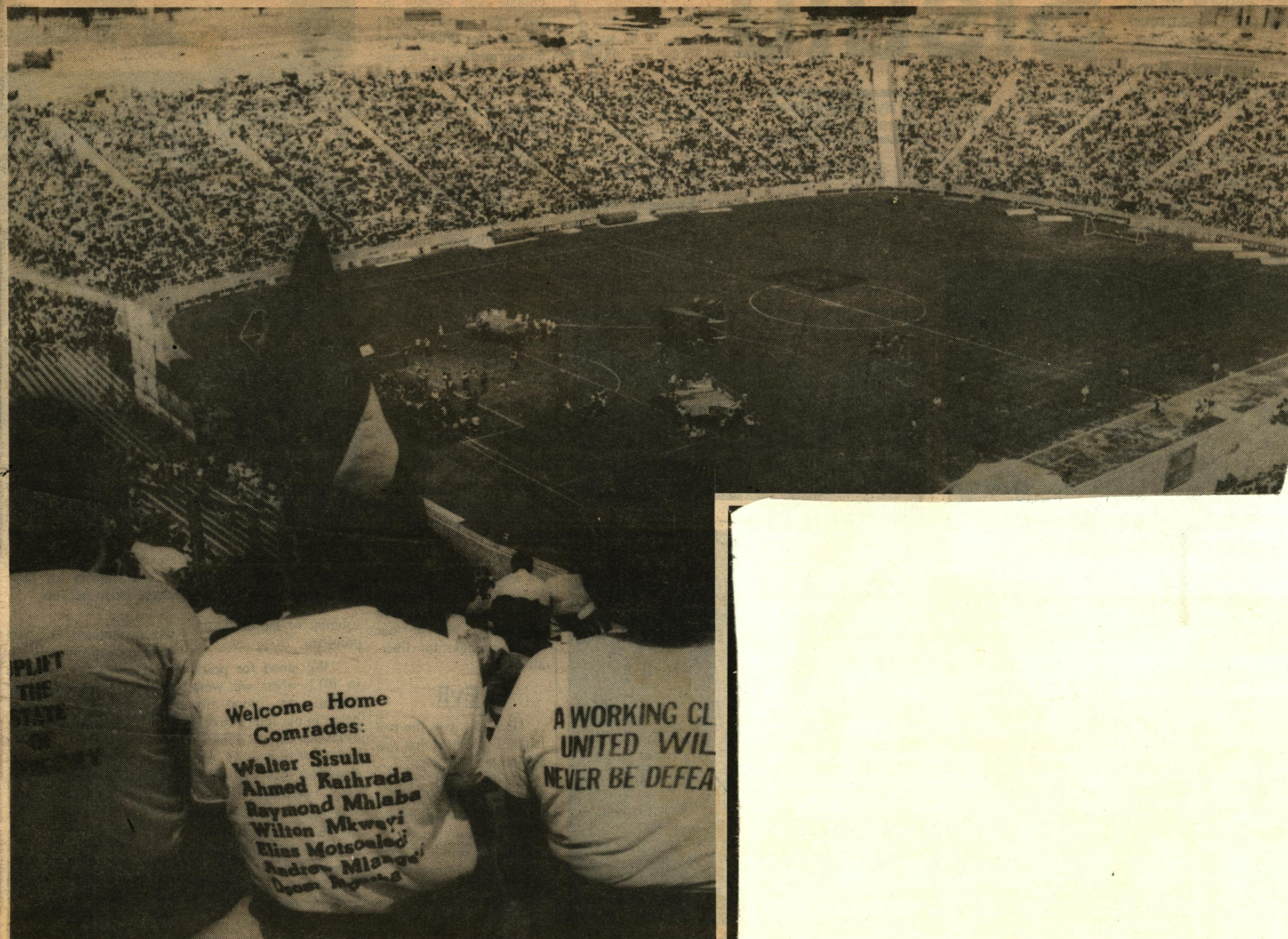
All the speeches were punctuated by shouts of "Bua" and chants of "Viva ANC".

Earlier in the day, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, who was co-chairing the proceedings, said he and lawyer Azhar Cachalia were summoned to the office of the Chief Magistrate of Johannesburg. The magistrate said he was concerned that the rally would propagate the ideas of the ANC.



Walter Sisulu speaks to the nation for the first time after his release from prison.





A bird's eye view of the massive crowd that filled the FNB Stadium yesterday to hear ANC leaders speak. People came from many parts of the country as well as neighbouring states such as Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland. See pages 2, 3, 6, 10 and 11.

Pic: JOE MOLEFE

SOWETAN 30 OCT 1989



THE INDEPENDENT Monday 30 October 1989

# 60,000 celebrate a new

THE police were nowhere to be seen and the mood so good-natured as to make English football fans blush when more than 60,000 supporters of the African National Congress gathered at a Soweto stadium yesterday to celebrate the release from prison of Walter Sisulu and six other veteran ANC leaders.

It was the biggest, most boisterously triumphant anti-apartheid rally ever held in South Africa. The leaders spoke of negotiations, of the need for a political settlement with the government and of their consistent desire for peace. They spoke to the white population, reassuring it that its best hope lay in sharing the ANC's goal of a non-racial democracy.

They spoke of apartheid's irreversible decline, while warning that the cornerstones of a racial society remained and that President F.W. de Klerk was still opposed to one person, one vote.

They spoke of the need to persist in "the struggle" and they spoke in honour of those who, over the years, had died for the cause. Above all they made it resoundingly clear that after 29 years in exile, or underground, or in disguise, the ANC was back to stay.

Eloquently illustrating the point was the number of stalls around the stadium selling newly designed ANC T-shirts, which everyone seemed to be wearing. Just two weeks ago ANC members were still bearing the insignia of the United Democratic Front or the dozens of other anti-apar-

From John Carlin  
in Johannesburg

heid organisations set up as thinly veiled ANC surrogates since the group's banning in 1960. Now there was barely a UDF banner to be seen as the stadium swelled in a sea of green, yellow and black, the colours of the ANC.

Cyril Ramaphosa, the President of the National Union of Mineworkers and the master of ceremonies yesterday, did not hesitate to tear off the mask the law had obliged him to wear. "Here is the proof," he said, "that the government has failed to drive the ANC into oblivion".

On arrival, Mr Sisulu, with the other leaders, was escorted on a lap of honour by a squad of khaki-clad ANC "soldiers". He rejoiced at the evidence that "brutal apartheid repression" had failed "to dent the spirit of resistance amongst our people".

The country's rulers were in crisis, he said. "They no longer have any vision of the future. Today the ANC has captured the centre stage of political life in South Africa. The vision of a non-racial, democratic and united South Africa is shared by all sections of South African society."

Mr Sisulu — statesman-like despite his 77 years — stressed the desirability of peaceful negotiations as "the shortest possible path to freedom".

"We stood for peace in 1912 when we were formed, we stood for peace in our long struggle of resistance, we stand for peace to-

day and we will stand for peace tomorrow." But he also listed the ANC's basic pre-conditions for negotiations — notably the release of all 3,000 or so political prisoners still behind bars and the lifting of all political restrictions — and he said that "the struggle" needed to be intensified until the government clearly indicated that it was serious about talks.

Ahmed Kathrada, a leader both of the ANC and the South African Communist Party, spoke after Mr Sisulu in a witty and analytical complement to the keynote address. As a member of what the government insists on classifying as the Indian sector of the population, he chose his theme well: the place of "minorities" in the South Africa envisaged by the ANC.

"White South Africans must know that we are very much aware of their fears. We want to assure them that it has never been the intention, the policy of the ANC to drive whites into the sea. It has never been the policy of the ANC to do away with the heritage of anyone in South Africa."

For all the conciliation, Mr Kathrada was not soft on the National Party government or its line of predecessors since 1948. He lambasted it for the "dangerous", "despicable" and "short-sighted" game it had played of "creating the image of a black monster" in the minds of white people. "We are waiting for genuine remorse after 40 years of Nationalist misrule. We are waiting for them to apologise to the people of South Africa."

Release of life for ANC

\*\*\* FOREIGN NEWS II



## 80,000 hail return of ANC leaders

From Ray Kennedy, Johannesburg

The outlawed African National Congress defiantly unfurled its banner here yesterday as more than 80,000 people welcomed home its veteran leaders, released two weeks ago after 25 years in jail.

Soccer City, a magnificent stadium recently opened between "white" Johannesburg and Soweto, its sprawling black neighbour, was the scene for the ANC's biggest rally since its foundation in 1912 and its first since it was banned in 1960.

A huge ANC black, green and yellow banner draped the podium from which Mr Walter Sisulu, aged 77, the former ANC secretary-general, and the other veteran leaders addressed the crowd. The flag of the banned South African Communist Party flew just as defiantly near by.

The packed rows of seats were a sea of ANC flags and T-shirts. Deafening shouts of

"Viva ANC" rose as entertainers exhorted the crowd with "freedom" songs and anthems.

They hissed and booed loudly enough probably for the crew to hear as a police helicopter circled overhead filming a sight unthinkable two weeks ago. But the police

### Mandela memoirs.....10

kept outside the stadium and made their presence discreet. In one of the car parks a marshal, wearing an ANC T-shirt and waving a toy rifle and an ANC flag, directed traffic including a yellow police van into vacant bays.

At the stadium entrances marshals vigorously frisked everyone entering following threats by a white extremist organization to turn the event into a bloodbath. But the only sign of tension was when Mr

Continued on page 24, col 1

## ANC rally welcomes home veteran leaders

Continued from page 1

Sisulu and the other seven former prisoners arrived.

The rally was organized by the so-called National Reception Committee but was identifiably an ANC occasion despite a warning earlier last week by Mr Adriaan Vlok, Minister of Law and Order, that it was still a banned organization and that the police would act if its aims were promoted.

There were deafening cheers as a message from Mr Oliver Tambo, president of the ANC, was read to the crowd saying that the South African Government must choose between increased confrontation or

consultation aimed at the abolition of apartheid. But he added a more conciliatory note: "(De Klerk) may yet earn a place among the peace makers of our country."

It was obvious from the tenor of Mr Sisulu's speech that it reflected detailed consultation with the ANC leadership in Lusaka.

He said there could be no question of the ANC unilaterally abandoning the armed struggle but that if a suitable climate was created by President de Klerk's administration, the ANC would be prepared to discuss the suspension of hostilities on both sides.

THE TIMES  
30/10/89  
London