

Egypt congratulates Nelson Mandela

CAIRO. — President Hosni Mubarak yesterday sent a cable to Nelson Mandela, congratulating him for his imminent release.

"The decision for release resulted from the sacrifices of the African people in South Africa, and their loyalty to Mandela" Mr Mubarak said in his cable, a foreign ministry source said.

The State President, Mr F W de Klerk on Friday declared that Mandela, serving a life sentence since 1962 for helping plan the ANC resistance cam-

paign, would soon be freed unconditionally.

Mr De Klerk also declared that the ANC and 30 other opposition groups would be legal.

Mr Mubarak, current head of the Organisation of African Unity, also sent a message to Mr Oliver Tambo, ANC exiled president assuring him of "the support of the Egyptian people."

"The decision to lift the ban (on the ANC) is a victory for human rights everywhere." — Sapa-AP.

UDF will 'intensify liberation struggle'

Citizen Reporter

THE United Democratic Front (UDF) is to "intensify the struggle on all fronts" to bring about "total liberation" in this country.

This comes in the wake of President F W de Klerk's announcement in Parliament on Friday that the African National Congress (ANC) and other political organisations are now unbanned.

"To the mass of our people we say that freedom is now in sight. Now more than ever before there is greater urgency to intensify the struggle on all fronts," the UDF said in a statement.

It said that through mass action, people should ensure that the process that has started in Parliament becomes irreversible.

"We commit ourselves to dictate the pace of change from the townships and villages of our country.

"To this end we call on our people to build afresh those organisations which have been damaged by the State of Emergency and other repressive legislation.

"We must rebuild the trade unions, the civic organisations, the street committees, the area committees, women's organisations, and so on to ensure that total liberation is achieved."

The UDF also urged "our Afrikaner compatriots" and Whites in general, to welcome the return of the ANC.

The international community was also called on to recognise the ANC as the authentic representa-

tive of the people of this country.

"Now is the time to pressurise the De Klerk government to move rapidly towards democracy.

"To this end the sanctions campaign must be maintained and indeed intensified. To lift sanctions now would be to run the risk of aborting the process of democracy."

The UDF favours a single non-racial democratic state and believes the country can begin to move towards that objective "only if a vehicle capable of producing a non-racial and democratic constitution can be set in motion.

"It is our view that such an organ would be a constituent assembly in which the various leaders of the people participate."

10 INTERNATIONAL NEWS

Pretoria says it is determined to avoid mistakes of white-ruled Rhodesia

De Klerk aimed reforms at 'avoiding revolution'

The Guardian - 5/2/90 - London

Reuter in Johannesburg and Stockholm

SOUTH Africa's State President, Mr F. W. de Klerk, said last night that his decision to relax curbs on opposition was risky, but necessary to avert revolution.

"We must accept the risk that goes with new initiatives. Everything we do, we do to avoid revolution," he said in an Afrikaans-language television interview.

Asked whether South Africa was going the way of white-dominated Rhodesia, now black-ruled Zimbabwe, he replied: "In Rhodesia the mistake was that the opportunity for constructive negotiation was not exploited. They waited too long. We are determined not to repeat that mistake."

"Renewal brings uncertainty. The government will maintain

law and order firmly and strongly."

Mr De Klerk made no mention of Mr Nelson Mandela's assertion yesterday from his prison bungalow, relayed by his wife, Mrs Winnie Mandela, that the country's state of emergency had to be lifted before he was freed. The President said that by his reforms he hoped the silent majority of South Africans would have a say, instead of a radical minority.

An unbanned ANC, able to function as a political party, would have to defend its policies. "If they carry on promoting [international economic] sanctions and perpetrating violence, then they have no moral basis any more."

Now they will have to defend their disastrous economic policy or abandon it." Mr De Klerk said he had expected a positive international response but was very pleased by the extent of appreciation. "I feel

more sure than I did on Friday that we did the right thing."

In Stockholm, Archbishop Trevor Huddleston introduced veteran ANC leaders to a cheering crowd. It was the first time since the late 1950's that so many of the ANC's ageing leaders, many of whom served lengthy prison terms in South Africa, had shared a platform together.

The former ANC Secretary-General Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Govan Mbeki, and six other African National Congress officials released from prison last October were applauded.

The Swedish Foreign Minister, Mr Sten Andersson, diplomats and members of the Swedish anti-apartheid and ANC solidarity groups packed the hall, decked with the ANC's black, green and gold flags.

Archbishop Huddleston, president of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement, said the world should not be misled by the un-

banning of the ANC. "Be warned. Repression continues and apartheid is still in place." He said South African security forces had used tear gas to break up celebrations in black African townships after last Friday's momentous announcement and added that two nationalists had committed suicide in prison this weekend.

"The international community must stand side by side with the ANC and bring about the final death of apartheid," he said, accusing De Klerk of trying to delay full reforms for five years. "There must not be even a five-minute delay."

The ANC Secretary-General, Mr Alfred Nzo, called on President De Klerk to clarify the terms under which members of organisations which were previously banned could return to South Africa.

"There is still this Sword of Damocles hanging over the heads of liberation fighters."

Slovo urges all-out change

Independent - 5/2/90 - London

From Karl Maier
in Stockholm

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk's reforms have made South Africa's political scene "more volatile" and are too limited to bring exiled opponents home to negotiate an end to the country's racial conflict, the Secretary-General of the South African Communist Party, Joe Slovo, said here yesterday.

"If he doesn't go further, he will be in a worse situation than before," Mr Slovo said. To truly normalise South Africa's political life, he said, Mr de Klerk must lift the state of emergency completely, end army occupation of the black townships and free all political prisoners, including those jailed for violent crimes.

Mr Slovo, formally chief of staff of the armed wing of the African National Congress, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), left South Africa in 1963. His wife, Ruth First, the subject of the film *A World Apart*, was assassinated in Mozambique by a letter bomb in 1982. Mr Slovo said that if he returned to South Africa now he and other exiles could still be detained for up to six months under existing security legislation. He was in Stockholm this weekend to meet with senior anti-apartheid leaders, including the ailing ANC president, Oliver Tambo, to prepare for the new political era — what he calls "new space" — opened by Mr de Klerk's speech to parliament last Friday, which included the lifting of bans on the ANC and the Communist Party.

Mr Slovo credited internal resistance and international sanctions for forcing Mr de Klerk's hand. "It would be inaccurate and ungenerous to say that he has not shown a degree of freshness and courage," Mr Slovo said. But he



Winnie Mandela after visiting her husband, Nelson, yesterday. She said he would not leave jail until the state of emergency was lifted

argued that it was premature for Western nations to consider lifting sanctions against Pretoria.

Although "we half expected" Mr de Klerk's announcement — "he could hardly do less than what he has done" — Mr Slovo and other anti-apartheid leaders appeared to have been caught off guard by the scope of the concessions. "We have been in the wil-

dermess for 40 years and don't yet see the promised land," he said. "We need a little more than 40 hours to work things out."

Even if Pretoria meets the opposition's demands in full, Mr Slovo said, negotiations will go nowhere if the government continues to insist on minority rights, which the ANC regards as euphemism for white domination. "If

they are not prepared to talk about democracy as it is understood in the whole of the civilised world, there would be very little to talk about," he said.

ANC plans to nationalise the commanding heights of the economy, he said, were necessary to counter the "inheritance of deprivation" of the black majority. "When the ANC flag flies over

the union building in Pretoria, we will have to not only bake slogans but bake bread," Mr Slovo said. "You cannot pole-vault into socialism," he added, admitting that socialist nations had experienced "enormous failures". A new democratic government would need the skills of whites in the economy, and "incentives will have to be provided to retain them".

Riding the tide of SA's new-found spirit of optimism

STEPHEN MULHOLLAND

FOR those of us, like me, who are not naturally light-hearted, of sunny disposition or given to easy optimism, living in South Africa is often akin to labouring under a dark and heavy cloud.

Each day's headlines bring a sense of gloom, of dread at what the future holds, at despair over the threat of physical violence and the spectre of economic ruin.

I recall the terrible sinking feeling in my stomach as I watched the egregious P W Botha bring our nation to its economic and moral knees with his unspeakable Rubicon performance. As sanctions tightened and their direct consequence, black unemployment, increased, my sense of depression drew deeper and stronger.

Thus, as President F W de Klerk, urbane, polished, the epitome of the reasonable and rational man, moved through his address to Parliament on Friday my spirit lifted, I was immensely cheered, hope rose in me. It was physical: I actually stood straighter and felt better. One could almost feel the national mood lift as this consummate politician painted his vision, outlined his plan of action and told us all: "The season of violence is over."

Some of us gathered in an office to toast the new South Africa, the cheers of black staffers were heard down the corridors, a usually unflappable editor confessed to me he had a lump in his throat and a tear in his eye. After office hours dozens from our company met in the suburbs to share libation and celebrate a new dawn. Notices on our bulletin boards invited staffers to join their colleagues at home.

All this brings me to the thoughts of another urbane and sophisticated man of affairs, the great Lord Keynes, author of the monumental General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money. An intellectual, not, like President de Klerk, a politician, Keynes was nonetheless very much a man of the world, a highly successful speculator in the markets

who endowed his college at Cambridge with his fortune.

Keynes taught us that economic and social progress depends to a very great degree on what he called the "animal spirits". He wrote: "A characteristic of human nature is that a large proportion of our positive activities depends on spontaneous optimism rather than on a mathematical expectation, whether moral or hedonistic or economic."

"Most, probably, of our decisions to do something positive, the full consequences of which will be drawn out over many days to come, can only be taken as the result of animal spirits — of a spontaneous urge to action rather than inaction, and not as the outcome of a weighted average of quantitative benefits multiplied by quantitative probabilities."

And he added: "Thus if the animal spirits are dimmed and the spontaneous optimism falters ... enterprise will fade and die ... It is safe to say that enterprise which depends on hopes stretching into the future benefits the community as a whole."

This then is the very great, even historic, service De Klerk has done South Africa. He has lifted the national mood, he has shifted us from hesitancy and uncertainty to confidence and action.

It will be no easy feat to maintain

the momentum. But, almost immediately, business will adjust to what it perceives to be new realities and new opportunities. Keynes's animal spirits will go to work, investment decisions, long postponed, will be made, the stock exchange will be active and volatile, the currency probably strong.

Markets will respond, as they always do, absorbing and sifting all this new information, peering into the future as millions of new decisions are taken here and abroad which are all interconnected and which, taken together, shape our unfolding future as it happens.

We are part of the world. In order to prosper and create jobs, particularly for our black youth, we need access to the skills, technological advances and investment resources of the great Western economies. As De Klerk correctly put it: "Without contact and co-operation with the rest of the world we cannot promote the well-being and security of our citizens."

Those of us who believe in freedom and, therefore, in free markets have taken heart from the courage

and determination of the deprived millions of eastern Europe as they struggle to throw off the yoke of communism, much as our black brothers and sisters struggle to throw off the equally evil yoke of apartheid.

President de Klerk dwelt on the historic phenomenon of the collapse of communism. "In eastern Europe," he recalled, "and even the Soviet Union itself, political and economic upheaval surged forward in an unstoppable tide. At the same time, Beijing temporarily smothered with brutal violence the yearning of the people of the Chinese mainland for greater freedom."

Economics, or rather the sort of economic system under which the new South Africa will function (or crumble), will be at the very core of the negotiating process when it starts. De Klerk made his bargaining position clear: "The collapse, particularly of the Marxist economic system in eastern Europe, also serves as a warning to those who insist on persisting with it in Africa. Those who seek to force this failure of a system on South Africa should engage in a total revision of their point of view. It should be clear to all that it is not the answer here either." He might have added John Kennedy's remark that "a rising tide lifts

all ships".

Businessmen will approve of the President's economic priorities. Reductions in state spending and its consequence, lower inflation, together with tax reform, export promotion and spurs to savings and private initiative — if these goals are assiduously pursued we could begin to look like the sort of high-growth, low inflation economic model which we are so very capable of being.

Bearding the white, largely verkramp, civil service will demand all the fortitude the President possesses. They have ridden the gravy train for far too long to disembark without putting up very serious resistance.

Our civil service *corpus* is a creation of the National Party. President de Klerk deals here with his own people who together are a considerable political factor. Decimating the civil service, as must be done, will for a National Party cabinet be as painful and bloody as self-amputation, and as risky.

Wrenching poverty, rampant crime, growing unemployment, the intense frustrations of black youth — these are only some of the seemingly intractable problems we now face. To address them, massive resources must be marshalled. This can only be accomplished, as De Klerk acknowledges, by allowing a vigorous private sector to create — and, more important, constantly recreate — the needed wealth. And, of course, the remaining evil pillars of apartheid have to be pulled down.

Finally, pragmatic businessmen, and not only those of conservative bent, will find it difficult to disagree with President de Klerk's view that the problems of heterogeneity do not simply disappear when equal rights are formally recognised. As Lord Acton taught us: "The most certain test by which we can judge whether a country is really free is the amount of security enjoyed by minorities."

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Naidoo issues 'declaration of war' against Inkatha

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Cosatu general secretary Mr Jay Naidoo issued a virtual declaration of war against Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his Inkatha movement during a May Day rally at the Athlone Stadium.

Speaking to a capacity crowd of about 12 000 yesterday, Mr Naidoo said all avenues to find a peaceful solution in Natal had failed and the only way to resolve the problem was to fight.

"In the past, we had to be diplomatic when we explained the cause of the violence, because we hoped the peace talks with Chief Buthelezi would succeed," he said.

"The only option is to fight in dealing with Buthelezi."

Mr Naidoo claimed Chief Buthelezi told a meeting of Zulu chiefs in Natal on March 23 that they should place themselves on a war footing because they were going to war against the enemy that threatened

them and the people they governed.

"There is no more hope for peace with Buthelezi while he talks like this. Our enemy has two faces — one is that of Buthelezi and the other is of F.W. de Klerk and his SAP and SADF."

Mr Naidoo said President de Klerk was to meet the ANC today, something the Nationalists had been trying to avoid for over 40 years, because he wanted to be part of the new South Africa.

"Yet he calls Buthelezi his ally — he cannot be part of a new South Africa if he sides with a murderer."

"Mr de Klerk can end the violence in Natal in two weeks if he removes his SAP and stops the supply of arms to the kwaZulu Police and Inkatha."

He described the situation in Natal as "more death and destruction than that caused by the two world wars".

● See Page 2.

epicenter, it is at the end of a dirt lane on the grounds of Victor Verster Prison Farm, 35 miles east of Cape Town, where Mandela remains confined. There, in a comfortable three-bedroom former warder's house overlooking the vineyards of the Franschhoek Valley, Mandela rises early each morning to begin another day of appointments. The government suggests that his freedom is imminent, but even while still behind a prison fence, Mandela is already playing his self-appointed role as "facilitator."

His choice of that word seems to indicate that he has accepted the job of wresting tangible results from this moment of opportunity. For three years Mandela has held periodic meetings with a team of government officials, and since November he has had sessions with Cabinet ministers as well as almost daily talks with anti-apartheid leaders to try to find a common meeting ground. The 71-year-old prisoner, still tall and distinguished looking, his smooth face barely lined, his black hair just streaked with gray, greets each visitor with a smiling embrace.

Mandela's unconditional release is widely regarded as the key to implementing the government's promises of reform. It is believed that if anyone can bridge the vast divides between whites and blacks, and among the blacks themselves, Mandela can. The white government looks on him as a born-again moderate, a "man you can negotiate with," as De Klerk himself decided. For blacks, Mandela may be the one who, as the personification of their long suffering, can help them transcend the disagreements over strategy and allegiance that have splintered their strength, and bargain on equal terms with the whites.

When he is freed, Mandela will walk out into a world vastly

different from the strict apartheid society he vowed to overthrow. Starting with then Prime Minister P.W. Botha's warning in 1979 that whites must "adapt or die," the idea of changing national institutions and the realization that power should be shared with the black majority have moved into the mainstream. That change of attitude has been given real impetus in the five months since De Klerk was elected to succeed Botha. With a speed that surprised almost everyone, the new and little-known President made a series of conciliatory moves, unofficially lifting a 30-year

restriction on mass protests, releasing several prominent political prisoners and giving restricted anti-apartheid groups some leeway to operate.

But De Klerk's most important step was to begin a personal dialogue with Mandela, a revered leader of the African National Congress. The government wanted to speed up the "talks about talks," designed to get formal negotiations underway. On Dec. 13, at the presidential residence in Cape Town known as Tuynhuys, the two men held the first of a planned series of meetings on ways to convene an

PICTORIAL PARADE

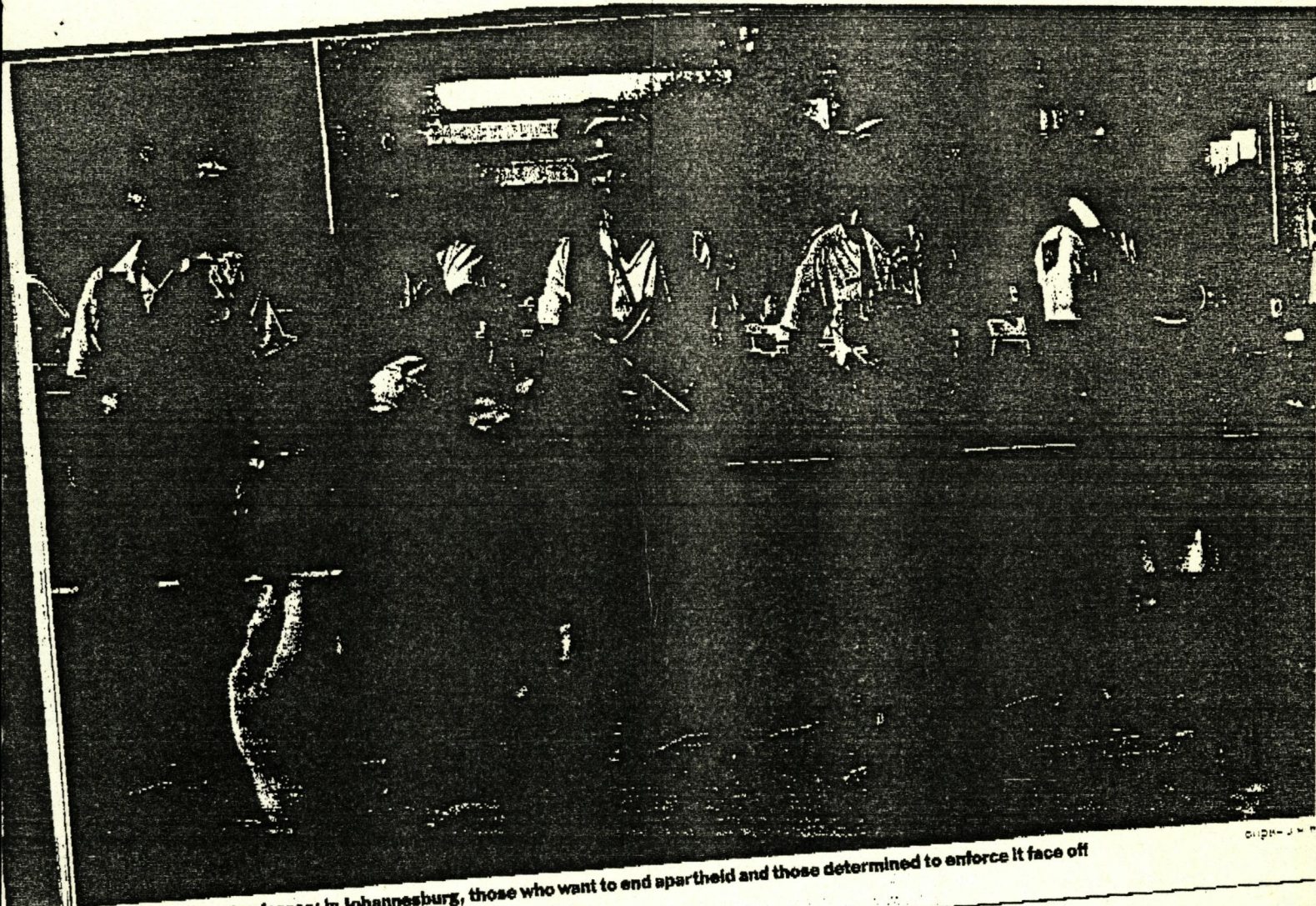


“White South Africa has to accept that there will never be peace until the principle of majority rule is fully applied.”

NELSON MANDELA

Out of sight: Image of Mandela, in prison on Robben Island in the 1960s

5 Feb 1990



Opposing forces: In Johannesburg, those who want to end apartheid and those determined to enforce it face off

World

• COVER STORIES

At the Crossroads

Nelson Mandela may soon be free, but is South Africa ready—or able—to take the road to a nonracial democratic society?

By **SCOTT MAC LEOD** JOHANNESBURG



Mandela. The name reverberates like a mantra through South Africa these days, half in excitement, half in anxiety. Mandela will soon be free. Mandela will solve the problem. If Mandela can't do it, who can?

South Africa is at a crossroads. For the first time since the National Party came to power in 1948 and began introducing the laws of apartheid, or separateness, there exists a widespread acceptance of the need to change. With the exception of a diehard

minority, most of South Africa's 5 million whites have gradually resigned themselves to the fact that they cannot continue forever to dominate 26 million blacks politically, economically and socially. Blacks, who have fought so ineffectually for almost 80 years, have come to feel that their long struggle has not been in vain. In the climate of flexibility fostered by the reform-minded government of State President F.W. de Klerk, the vast majority of South Africans expect a new kind of country to emerge. But the races are still far, far apart on what kind of country that will be.

In one of those astonishing ironies of history, many have invested their hopes in

Nelson Mandela, the aged black visionary now endowed with almost stature. Imprisoned for life for unseen and largely unheard from than 27 years, he is somehow expected to lead South Africa to salvation. Can he perform that miracle? Is South Africa really ready to be led out of the mire of apartheid into the promised land of what? The black dream of a democratic society—in short, it is. Or something less, a revision of apartheid in which white power would remain in place but only shared, in serving white rights and privilege.

If the current wave of h

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indaba (Zulu for "negotiations") that would write a new constitution granting blacks the right to vote for a national government. The meeting signaled that De Klerk, unlike his predecessors, was willing to negotiate with the outlawed 78-year-old A.N.C., which only months ago was still officially vilified as a band of terrorists.

The step was a huge psychological leap for the National Party. But, acknowledges Roelf Meyer, Deputy Minister for Constitutional Development, "there is no chance of a legitimate process of negotiations if only three-quarters of the players are around the table." Adds Education Minister Stoffel van der Merwe: "Mr. de Klerk has fully accepted that blacks, whoever they are, have a right to participate."

With expectations growing daily, anti-apartheid leaders will be listening closely this Friday when De Klerk delivers his maiden state of the nation address to the opening session of Parliament in Cape Town. They want the President to outline a timetable for negotiations and to meet the main conditions blacks have laid down for participation: Mandela's release, an end to the 1986 state of emergency and the lifting of bans on anti-apartheid organizations.

"Clearly," says U.S. Ambassador William Swing, who was a junior diplomat in South Africa in the mid-1960s, "there has not been a time in my association with this country that the prospects for a settlement along just lines have been as favorable." Yet Pretoria is notorious for its habit of

taking two steps backward for every step forward. De Klerk is urging against unrealistic hopes. But if he fails to fulfill at least some of the expectations, he will risk a powerful backlash that could wreck any prospect for progress in the near future.

What private understandings, if any, De Klerk and Mandela may have already reached is a tightly guarded secret, but indications are that the two leaders have come to respect each other. "Mandela had the impression that De Klerk was a man he could do business with," said Azhar Cachalia, treasurer of the A.N.C.-allied United Democratic Front. "But he also made the point that history is not simply made by people who are good and honest. Whether the National Party as a whole will shirk its past, he is not able to say." For his part, De Klerk confided to colleagues that Mandela is "a man of integrity, a man you can trust."

Freedom will mark a great personal triumph for Mandela, who has repeatedly refused offers for his conditional release and never wavered from his demand for a multiracial South Africa based on a system of one man, one vote. When Botha announced in 1985 that Mandela could go free if he simply renounced the A.N.C.'s armed struggle, Mandela defiantly replied, "Let Botha show that he is different. I cannot and will not give any undertaking. Only free men can negotiate."

A year later, with South Africa reeling

from two years of unrest that left 5,000 people dead, the government acceded to Mandela's request for top-level political talks, initially focusing on the release of political prisoners. But a historic 45-minute tea with Botha last July, the first and last meeting between the two men, seemed only to show how little they had to say to each other.

Following De Klerk's election, according to a Cabinet minister, the government's talks with Mandela took on real meaning. In October they worked out the release of eight political prisoners, including Walter Sisulu and other A.N.C. leaders who were convicted along with Mandela in the Rivonia treason trial a quarter-century earlier.

For the past three months, Mandela has pressed the government to meet the A.N.C.'s terms for negotiations. "He has told the government that he does not want to leave prison empty-handed," says one of Mandela's lawyers, Dullah Omar. "Otherwise, he would report to A.N.C. headquarters that three years of discussions have been a waste of time."

Mandela's busy life at Victor Verster contrasts sharply with the years of hard labor he endured on Robben Island, a penal colony across from Cape Town Harbor where he was incarcerated for nearly two decades. For the first ten years he swung a pickaxe in a limestone quarry, breaking boulders into gravel. But the harsh punishment only strengthened his resolve, and he directed his anger into a crusade for better

SCRAMBLING FOR SEATS

If negotiations do begin, it will not be easy to settle who sits at the table. Already, black and white groups are debating whether to go and who has a right to attend. Some possible players:

Prominent church leaders

They support the A.N.C. but say De Klerk is a man with whom they might be able to do business.



Timothy D. Boesak

Pan-Africanist Congress

A vocal rival to the A.N.C., the small P.A.C. rejects talks and favors armed struggle until total victory.

This is a small group of trade unions and the United Democratic Front, 2.5 million strong, is the A.N.C.'s main partner.

Black Consciousness Movement

This small but influential movement rejects the A.N.C.'s multiracial approach and is undecided about talks.

Conservative Party

The broad right-wing group, De Klerk ignores.

Afrikaner Resistance Movement

This small neo-Nazi group wants an Afrikaner-only state and would likely boycott talks.

Terreblanche

NATIONAL PARTY

The dominant party would give blacks without taking away from whites.

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Seen by most blacks as their standard bearer, the A.N.C. has never wavered in its demand for black-majority rule.



A.N.C. position: One man, one vote (black majority rule)

GOVERNMENT position: A federal power-sharing structure with guarantees for the white minority

Democratic Party

The liberal 21% of white voters advocate the total abolition of apartheid, but De Klerk considers them supporters.

House of Representatives

Members of the colored house are "system politicians" but they oppose apartheid.

Inkatha: The 1.5 million Inkatha movement (IsiZulu) white but

They have worked closely with Pretoria but generally support greater political rights for blacks.

These officials, elected in white-controlled elections, are mistrusted by many blacks.

The Indian Chamber of the legislature is considered close to Pretoria.

These officials, elected in white-controlled elections, are mistrusted by many blacks.

Key figures

TIME Chart by Nigel Holmes

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prison conditions. "To us," says Steve Tshwete, an A.N.C. guerrilla leader imprisoned for 15 years, "he represented the correctness of our cause and the inevitability of our victory."

Mandela's talent for leadership traces back to his tribal heritage as the son of a royal family of the Thembu tribe of the Xhosa people. After earning a law degree from the University of the Witwatersrand, he joined the A.N.C. With classmate Oliver Tambo, he set up the first black law practice in South Africa in 1952. Defiantly working from a whites-only downtown neighborhood, they specialized in representing blacks who failed to carry the passes that were required of blacks in white neighborhoods.

Mandela and Tambo helped form the Youth League in 1944, and three years later drew up a program of action calling for strikes, boycotts and acts of civil disobedience. In 1955 they supported the Freedom Charter, an economic credo many considered to be socialist. But Mandela abandoned peaceful methods after the Sharpeville Massacre in 1960, in which police killed 69 black protesters. When Tambo left to establish a headquarters in exile, Mandela stayed behind to set up the A.N.C.'s underground military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation) and launch a campaign of sabotage. After 17 months on the run, he was caught in 1962. He was convicted in June 1964 of attempting to overthrow the government along with seven others in the Rivonia trial. His sentence: life in prison.

In his years away, apartheid has acquired a more presentable face. The humiliating restrictions of petty apartheid have largely faded away. A sizable black middle class has sprung up, bringing with it consumer power that has not escaped the notice of white merchants. "Buppies" live in handsome Soweto neighborhoods like Diepkloof and drive their BMWs to work each day. Black businessmen make deals over lunch at trendy restaurants while being served by scurrying white waiters. Compared with blacks on the rest of the continent, many in South Africa live well. More, of course, do not.

But the main pillars of Hendrik Verwoerd's Grand Apartheid remain firmly in place, with no explicit commitment to remove them. The Population Registration Act still legally classifies people by race; the Group Areas Act still bars blacks from residing in most white neighborhoods or from sending their children to whites-only government schools; land acts dating back to 1913 and 1936 still reserve 87% of South

Africa's land to whites, who today constitute 14% of the population.

Yet the issue is no longer really apartheid; it is political power. Foreign Minister Roelof ("Pik") Botha explains that the government began to shift away from apartheid when the National Party realized that it was impossible to stem the tide of blacks moving to urban areas in search of employment. "As the economic realities overwhelmed the dream," he says, "so did we come to realize that there were consequences of these policies that were indeed oppressive and humiliating." Bowing to those realities, P.W. Botha scrapped the hated pass laws in 1986.

In another attempt to soften the face of apartheid, he had set up the tricameral Parliament in 1984. It established a strictly limited form of power sharing that for the

them. De Klerk has put the position squarely a number of times: "White domination must end, but we are not prepared to exchange it for black domination."

In practical terms, that means something far less than the black demand for a nonracial democratic system based on one man, one vote, which would transfer power from whites to blacks. The National Party is willing to accept only a partial sharing of power on the basis of what it calls group rights, under which each racial group would decide its own affairs on the basis of self-administration.

What the carefully coded words mean, in effect, is a system of separate but equal parliaments, neighborhoods and schools, a form of private rather than government segregation. At the local level, the group-rights concept would permit whites to live



An Orange Free State mother does her laundry: they invest their hopes in Mandela

first time included coloreds, or people of mixed race, and Indians, but not blacks. Whatever the failures of that system, Pik Botha insists, it at least helped condition the minds of whites "to see a man of color acting like a gentleman just like everybody else." By the time De Klerk ordered the removal of the remaining WHITES ONLY signs on South Africa's beaches just before the Christmas holidays, whites complained about "crude" black sunbathers but accepted the inevitable. As Christiaan Kirstein, 51, a corn farmer from the Orange Free State, said, "You can't keep the blacks down; you can't stop development."

However, the whites' commitment to reform stops short of entrusting their own destiny to any other than white hands. If apartheid as a method has failed to protect their rights and privileges, whites will find another, more palatable way to retain

much as they do now. At the national level, it would require a cumbersome system of multiple lawmaking bodies ruling on narrow issues, with some sort of mechanism to settle issues of common interest that would allow the minority white community to retain a disproportionate share of power. Whites may be willing to go further than before toward accommodating black demands, but not all the way to a fully integrated society.

Despite the white limits to reform, De Klerk has managed to create a climate of optimism and opportunity with his language of conciliation, moderation and flexibility. His constant emphasis on negotiations and on finding a peaceable resolution of racial differences has won domestic support and international approval. It has also confronted black organizations with a host of thorny questions about how to

COMMENT

Testing time

AFTER the euphoria comes the stocktaking. The political, diplomatic and financial markets will begin making more considered judgments this week on the implications of President de Klerk's bold steps.

For years the demand made of the National Party was for a declaration of intent, a commitment to abolish apartheid and move towards democratic government by accommodating black aspirations. That declaration has been made, largely unambiguously, and a new political order awaits. Insofar as the process can be controlled, there is an obligation on all sides to offer constructive suggestions on how we get there. Those who wanted the logjam freed have got it; they cannot now just sit and watch as a torrent of potentially dangerous lumber pours down the Rubicon.

President de Klerk has set about transforming the country in a way few expected when he took over the NP leadership a year ago. His new South Africa is coming more quickly than anyone expected; Friday's speech showed above all that he must be taken seriously. South Africans, from those in plush white suburbs and black townships to home-sick exiles, will have to reassess their country's future and what it will demand of them.

Much will depend on the response of the ANC, understandably confused and needing to rethink its political gameplan. They can, if they wish, hold their next congress in any South African sports stadium

or five-star hotel; they are free to organise politically, to get backing for the demands they will take to the negotiating table. They will have to test, as Swapo had to in Namibia, the degree of support they had claimed and many simply took for granted.

Apartheid still exists in the Population Registration Act, in the Land and Group Areas acts and in the denial of black representation in Parliament. Those are not non-negotiables which justify continuing the armed struggle; negotiations could begin this year on what will take their place. But the debate on the efficacy of violence or negotiation, on links with the now legal Communist Party and on future political and economic systems will be an open one; it will put new strains on an organisation kept cohesive by oppression.

A country where the first black rejoicings at the unbanning of the ANC were dampened by police teargas will have to learn a new tolerance; the dangers of violent reaction from left and right are real. The leadership and courage demanded from those who must guide their respective factions is immense.

President de Klerk has not solved South Africa's problems but he has given this country the hope it has lacked since 1948; hope of peaceful accommodation, of political settlement and of economic prosperity. His success or failure depends crucially now on how others respond.

5/2/90

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

No euphoria

THE euphoria over the State President's announcements may be short-lived.

Those who thought his brave, bold speech will lead to the lifting of sanctions will be disappointed.

President George Bush has talked of reviewing sanctions with Congress, but he has hedged his immediate statements and in any event South Africa has not met the US conditions for even the partial lifting of sanctions.

The European Community and the Commonwealth have announced that they are not going to lift sanctions either until South Africa meets various demands that were made on it.

British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, says her government will look at removing some "minor sanctions".

However, the anti-sanctions lobbies, the Rev Jesse Jackson, who is about to descend on us, and the ANC itself are calling for more sanctions.

They regard sanctions as one of the main reasons why Mr De Klerk has announced his far-reaching steps.

If sanctions worked to achieve that remarkable effect, it is argued, then a further twist of the sanctions screw will result in the rest of the demands being met.

Money may flood in from foreign investors snapping up relative bargains on the stock exchange, but there is a big difference between this type of investment, welcome though it may be, and international loans, credits and capital, which are not on the cards at this point.

The best that can be said is that the foreign climate has changed, South Africa is no longer being regarded as the polecat of the world, and some important advantages may flow from this in time.

5 FEBRUARY 1990

The ANC is also saying that while Mr De Klerk's concessions are fine as far they go, they don't go far enough.

It wants the ANC-inspired Harare Declaration to be met in full, which means the state of emergency must be lifted; all political prisoners released, not just those who have committed no criminal offence (there is talk of an exchange of prisoners); troops must be removed from the townships, and all legislation, like the Internal Security Act, that circumscribes political activity must be repealed.

The ANC has announced its intention of continuing the armed struggle "for the time being", which, it seems, means until a mutual ceasefire between itself and the government is arranged.

Whether it will offer any concessions in return for Mr De Klerk's is doubtful.

The ANC — and the release of Nelson Mandela will heighten this feeling — is now regarded overseas as the chief, some think the only, Black player in the negotiations.

The government will bring in Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and other moderate Black leaders, but it is the ANC which is being boosted to the skies.

This will make it less inclined to negotiate on anything but its own terms.

It will also have an unfettered opportunity now to mobilise the masses.

The United Democratic Front, which is an ally of the ANC, has announced it intends to dictate the pace of change from the townships and to rebuild a host of organisations damaged by the state of emergency.

Both the ANC and SA Communist Party, now unbanned, are going to bring their underground organisations into the open.

In the battle for the townships, the ANC and its allies are bound to win hands down — and they know that this time the government has neither the will, nor the desire, nor the opportunity, in the face of international pressure, to suppress them again.

The government has set the stage for dramatic change. The chief point now is whether it will be able to control the pace of events, and the events themselves, and ensure the ultimate outcome will be a new system acceptable to what Mr De Klerk calls "reasonable men".

In this he deserves the support of the international community and "reasonable men" everywhere. The question is: Will he get it?

Sitar

5 Febr. 1990



Archbishop Desmond Tutu and United Democratic Front secretary Mr Patrick Lekota are greeted by Ms Zenani Mandela-Dlamini upon their arrival in Boston on Saturday.

It's still too early for celebrations, says Tutu

BOSTON — Jubilation over the pending release of Nelson Mandela must be tempered with the realisation that apartheid is far from ended, Archbishop Desmond Tutu said at the weekend.

The archbishop, who is visiting Boston, urged continued political and economic pressure on South Africa.

"We have not yet the complete dismantling of apartheid and this is the pinpoint of the sanctions programme. We want apartheid totally dismantled," he said.

Referring to Mr de Klerk's promise to free Mr Mandela in the near future, Archbishop Tutu said his initial reaction was joy, but that soon-faded.

"Of course, you see apartheid is still in place," he said.

The archbishop said he was looking forward to relinquishing his position as

South Africa's pre-eminent opponent of apartheid now that Mr Mandela was to be released from prison.

"I said long ago that I was just an interim leader until he comes out," he said. "He's been making us work too hard."

THINK-TANK

Archbishop Tutu was accompanied by UDF publicity secretary Patrick Lekota. They were met at Logan International Airport by Mr Themba Vilakazi, head of the Boston-based Fund for a Free South Africa. Mr Vilakazi had just returned from Zambia.

The group was met by Ms Zenani Mandela Dlamini (30), eldest daughter of Nelson and Winnie Mandela and a political science student at Boston University.

Archbishop Tutu, a member of Harvard University's board of overseers, was in Boston to attend a meeting at the school.

Mr Lekota said he planned to attend a meeting of the Albert Einstein Institute, a Cambridge think-tank which advocates the use of non-violent sanctions to solve political unrest.

Mr Mandela's daughter, greeted fondly by the archbishop, told reporters she was sceptical of the recent changes in South Africa, despite the news that her father would be released soon.

"This has been going on for 300 years," she said. "What happened on Friday, I'm not overly excited about it. Release some political prisoners? To me, that's nothing. We want total majority voting in South Africa. Until that happens, I will not be satisfied." — Associated Press.

To Pg 2

PG 2

Fight will continue — ANC

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

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

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

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

EXILED MEMBERS

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

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

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

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

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

5 Feb 1990

'Premature to lift sanctions'

F W's reforms are too limited



Mr Joe Slovo . . . says
Mr de Klerk will have to
go further.

for talks, says Slovo

STOCKHOLM — President de Klerk's reforms have made South Africa's political scene "more volatile" and are too limited to bring exiled opponents home to negotiate an end to the country's racial conflict, the secretary-general of the South African Communist Party, Mr Joe Slovo, said here yesterday.

"If he doesn't go further, he will be in a worse situation than before," Mr Slovo said. To truly normalise political life, he said, Mr de Klerk must lift the state of emergency completely, end army occupation of the black townships and free all political prisoners, including those jailed for violent crimes.

Mr Slovo, formally chief of staff of the armed wing of the African National Congress, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), left South Africa in 1963. His wife, Ruth First, was assassinated in Mozambique by a letter bomb in 1982. Mr Slovo said that if he returned to South Africa now he and other exiles could still be detained for up to six months under existing security legislation.

He was in Stockholm this weekend to meet with senior anti-apartheid leaders, including the ailing ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo, to prepare for the new political era, what he calls "new space", opened by Mr de Klerk's speech to Parliament last Friday, which included the lifting of bans on the ANC and the SACP.

Caught off guard

Mr Slovo credited internal resistance and international sanctions for forcing Mr de Klerk's hand. It would be inaccurate and ungenerous to say that he has not shown "a degree of freshness and courage," Mr Slovo said. But he argued that it was premature for Western nations to consider lifting economic sanctions against Pretoria.

Mr Slovo and other anti-apartheid leaders appeared to have been caught off guard by the scope of Mr de Klerk's concessions. "We have been in the wilderness for 40 years and don't yet see the promised land," he said. "We need a little more than 40 hours to work things out."

Even if Pretoria meets the opposition's demands in full, Mr Slovo said, negotiations will go nowhere if the Government continues to insist on minority rights, which the ANC regards as a euphemism for white domination. "If they are not prepared to talk about democracy as it is understood in the whole of the civilised world, there would be very little to talk about," he said. — The Independent News Service.

Armed struggle to continue 'for the time being'

Negotiations a long way off, says ANC

5 FEB 1990 NATAL WITNESS

STOCKHOLM — Negotiations with the Government are a long way off, says the ANC, which pledged at the weekend to continue the armed struggle "for the time being".

Joe Slovo, secretary-general of the South African Communist Party and member of the ANC's executive council, said it was going to take a "a long time to evaluate what De Klerk has offered".

Most veteran ANC members welcomed President de Klerk's announcement with cautious optimism, but saw it as only the start of the reform process.

"It seems this announcement is a change of heart; we must not believe it," ANC member Govan Mbeki (79) told a rally of Swedish anti-apartheid campaigners in Stockholm.

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



A crowd of some 5 000 demonstrators marched from the city hall to the Jan Smuts Stadium on Saturday to protest against the cricket match between Mike Gatting's English XI and a South African Invitation team.

Picture by ELAINE ANDERSON

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

President de Klerk, speaking on SATV last night, said that if organisations such as the ANC continued to advocate violence, the world would turn against them.

He said the initiatives announced in his speech at the opening of Parliament had removed these organisations' grounds for using violence. The Government would not allow the negotiation process to be undermined by violence.

He said he had "great understanding for fears" that might arise as a result of his speech, "because renewal always brings uncertainty".

Mr de Klerk said he wished to give the assurance that any changes in the direction of a new constitutional dispensation would be put to the vote first. — Sapa.

Banned for almost 40 years

NATAL MERCURY 5 FEB 1990



Mr Rowley Arenstein
— relieved of the restrictions of the longest banning in South Africa.

AFTER nearly 40 years of banning, Durban's Mr Rowley Arenstein is now free to speak out — and be quoted.

Mr Arenstein, a lawyer before being disbarred in 1967, was initially banned for two years in 1953 and from 1960 was served with continuous banning orders until March 1986 when his restrictions were lifted but he remained a listed person. In terms of this restriction he could speak freely but could not be quoted.

A listed communist since 1951, Mr Arenstein has the dubious title of being the longest banned person ever in the history of South Africa and it was only after President de Klerk's speech that his 28 muzzled years were ended.

In the first interview given in South Africa in which his comments may be published, Mr Arenstein said he foresaw South African blacks being led by Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. 'The real difference between Inkatha and the ANC was the question of the armed struggle,' he said.

'If you want to know who's the revolutionary number one — it's Mister Economy! I believed at all times that by getting greater pressure internally, non-violently — through the power of the economy — that reform could be brought about.

'What President de Klerk has done is recognise that South Africa can only develop by getting rid of apartheid systems which are obstacles to the development of the South African economy,' he said.



By **FIONA McDONALD**

'As a communist, I believe that later on, in 30 or 100 years, we will get socialism — but any socialism or communism we get must be based on democracy.'

Through the actions of various Prime Ministers, from Mr B J Vorster who checked the progress of apartheid slightly to Mr P W Botha who scrapped the pass laws and influx control and saw the growth of the black trade union movement Mr Arenstein said 'the foundations of apartheid were being eroded, step by step. It's like white ants — you can't see them biting away but eventually the house collapses. This is why I was optimistic that change would come in my time.'

Mr Arenstein is now 71, or, as he described it, 'Nelson Mandela's senior by 9 days'.

On his future he said he was still considering returning to the law. 'I was disbarred for two reasons — I was a listed communist until Saturday, and I was convicted of furthering the aims of communism. Now that both of these have fallen away there is no reason that I should not be allowed to practise again.

'It's a good time to start a new career!'

The Natal Witness

5 Feb 1990
Rhetoric

President de Klerk's speech on Friday was a political event akin to the breaking of the Berlin Wall last year. The responses which it has elicited so far have ranged from the ecstatic to the churlish, though with most at the positive end of the spectrum. Certainly the surge on the JSE was clear indication of what the business and investing community worldwide thought of it. The State President himself is rightly encouraged.

But what really matters most, perhaps, is the reaction of the ANC. Clearly the boldness of the presidential initiative initially took the wind out of their sails just as much as those of Dr Treurnicht. Having got over the shock, the movement is now pooh-poohing the lifting of restrictions as "half-measures", claiming that they have been brought about as a result of pressure and do not represent a change of heart. The struggle must be intensified, not relaxed. The armed campaign must continue.

Such utterances, we suggest, look like a rhetorical smokescreen. In any negotiations, the ANC has not many cards to play. It has no army at the gates of Pretoria. It has had no success in making the country ungovernable. Its trump has been the moral justness of its cause and the injustice of indefinite white minority rule. The South African Government, conversely, has been the moral leper. Suddenly, FW has turned the tables in spectacular fashion and seized the high ground. There is now nothing to stop the ANC opening an office in the Carlton Centre in Johannesburg. And if not, why not? the world will want to know.

Here is the hard fact which the movement must face. After Mr de Klerk's walk of the extra mile, the West will be putting enormous pressure on the ANC to come to meet him at the negotiating table. This is a time for cool heads and clear judgments. For the common good, let us hope that the ANC leadership does not become intoxicated by its "armed struggle" rhetoric in the way the leaders of the National Party so long were with their "total onslaught".

TABLE MOUNTAIN CHIEF FLEES TO TRANSKEI

by FRED KOCKOTT 5-2-90

The president of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of Southern Africa (Contralesa), Chief Mhlabunzima Maphumulo of Maqongqo, Table Mountain, has fled to the Transkei.

This follows the outbreak of violence in his area last week and an attack on his home on Friday morning. It was reported that Chief Maphumulo arrived at the K.D. Matanzima Airport in Umtata on Saturday. He blamed Inkatha and

S.A.P. special constables for the attack on his home and told reporters that he was to seek "political asylum" in the Transkei.

A spokesman for Contralesa in Umtata, Mr Patkile Holomisa, confirmed that Chief Maphumulo was in the city last night, but said he had not yet spoken to him. He said he did not know the whereabouts of Chief Maphumulo's family, who had narrowly escaped death in Friday's attack on his home.

Chief Maphumulo has attributed last week's violence in Table Mountain to a dispute between himself and a neighbouring chief, Mr Bangubukhosi Mdluli, over a piece of land ceded to him.

On Friday, Chief Maphumulo won an interim order in the Supreme Court restraining the S.A.P. and people under the control of Chief Mdluli from taking part in attacks on people in his area. Chief Maphumulo is expected to meet with Transkeian authorities today.

Probing the death squads

5 FEBRUARY 1990

NATAL WITNESS



PRESIDENT de Klerk deftly pre-empted his critics on the eve of the opening of Parliament last week in appointing a judicial commission to investigate the so-called death squads. This bold reversal of his refusal last year to appoint a judicial commission of inquiry into the political assassinations is a shrewd stroke, disarming commentators who saw this refusal as his first major blunder.

The appointment of such an inquiry, in which the SAP and other security arms of the state, we may presume, will be subjected to searching investigation, suggests that the president is determined to establish the facts — and to re-assert the right of Parliament to control the doings of the security establishment. President de Klerk, we may hope, senses that the urgent issue in South Africa is the restoration of parliamentary government, accountable to the people, after a decade and more in which President Botha's security establishment, deploying huge secret funds beyond the control of Parliament, did pretty well what they liked.

The activities of the death squads, or whoever the commission finds were responsible for the long series of mystery assassinations, coincided with the growth of a pervasive culture of clandestine operations in the security forces. To anyone who tried to keep track of the tally of unsolved murders of liberal and radical opponents of the government from the death of Richard Turner onwards it was evident that

"President de Klerk, we may hope, senses that the urgent issue in South Africa is the restoration of parliamentary government, accountable to the people, after a decade and more in which President Botha's security establishment, deploying huge secret funds beyond the control of Parliament, did pretty well what they liked."

something singularly unwholesome had taken root in the country.

The South African CID, with a world-wide reputation as first-class murder investigators, so consistently and inexplicably failed to solve these murders that there were growing suspicions that death squads, South African style, were operating with official approval, sponsorships or condonation.

Now that Lieutenant Coetzee is again going public in detail on the alleged operations

of one such squad, President de Klerk's appointment of a judicial inquiry, as urged in this column last week, was well-timed indeed. If it is all going to come out in the wash, President de Klerk can say that his hands are clean. But will it all come out? The striking lack of success in police investigations up until now does not inspire confidence. It is essential in the national interest that Mr Justice Harms's inquiry should command credibility at home and abroad. So the Minister of Justice would do well to equip this commission adequately with top legal talent from inside and outside his department to assist in seeking out, marshalling, and presenting the evidence.

Here is an opportunity for the bar and the side-bar to do their bit in restoring respect for the law, and parliamentary government under the law, which was so badly undermined in the cult of secrecy that became entrenched in the Botha era. The profession should offer the commission the services of first class senior counsel, and of the best younger barristers and attorneys — to ferret out the mass of documentary evidence which could throw light on the growth of a clandestine culture in the security forces — and investigate the ministerial responsibility, if any, for such a culture. In the parliamentary systems, ministers are responsible for the doings of their departments rather than the permanent heads of departments and functionaries down the line who do what they are told.

There will be a mass of evidence to identify, seize and analyse. Even when state funds are administered in secret, away from the scrutiny of Parliament, it remains necessary to keep records of a sort and maintain some system of authorisation for expenditure. Such evidence almost certainly exists in the voluminous records of the State Security Council and its committees, unless the shredding machines have already been at work.

Using the powers vested in it under the Commissions Act the Harms Commission could impound such records and then cross-examine all concerned to establish what took place, on whose instructions it took place, and to what extent what happened can be laid at the door of the state. Ideally, the Minister of Justice should place the commission's legal team under the leadership of a leading barrister, briefed to perform a function similar to that of a special prosecutor in the United States. How far the government really means to go should be clearer when the terms of reference are announced and the staffing of the commission is established.

Yet President de Klerk, in appointing the commission has already scored a notable success in his diplomatic and propaganda contest with the African National Congress. He has siezed the moral high ground. Will he be able to hold it against all comers?

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

6 S Rebs. 1990

The Daily News

FOUNDED IN 1878

Rising optimism

BASED upon a rumour that the ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, had been released, the value of the financial rand rose sharply on January 10 from R3,663 to R3,545 to the US dollar as would-be overseas investors scrambled for a stake in the new South Africa. Again on January 24 a similar rumour touched off a scramble for financial rands and sent gold shares soaring on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange.

With these two major dress rehearsals signalling the rising optimism that international investors have lately been feeling with regard to South Africa, nobody should have been surprised when President FW de Klerk's opening of Parliament speech set off a landslide of JSE buying.

Whether they be international bankers, large industrial corporations or simply individuals looking for the best return on their money, investors are usually cautious, tending to adopt a wait-and-see attitude when political change is in the air. In this case the majority have concluded that the political risks involved are far outweighed by the massive unrealised potential of the South African economy, by what might be achieved by a new deal between black and white. They have recognised that such is the pent-up potential, that freed of the fear of revolution and with trade and investment sanctions reversed, the country could well be facing a decade of unparalleled growth and burgeoning optimism.

Chief Maphumulo flees after attack

5/2/90
Daily News
Reporter

STAFF at the Pietermaritzburg offices of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of Southern Africa were desperately searching for their president, Chief Mhlabanzima Maphumulo, today after reports that he had fled to Transkei over the weekend.

The chief's tribal home in the Maqongqo area of Table Mountain near Pietermaritzburg was attacked and one of his

houses burned down. Several other houses as well as the tribal court were damaged.

Reports over the weekend suggested that the chief had sought refuge in the Transkei, but the Contralesa office said this morning that he was not believed to be there.

"We know that he was

scheduled to go to Johannesburg this morning," said Mr Alfred Ndlovu of Contralesa, "but we cannot confirm that he is there. Our contacts in the Transkei say that he is definitely not there either".

Telephone lines to the chief's tribal home were not working today and it is believed that his wife, Gaye, and other members of his family, have moved to a safer area.

18 14 June 1990

The Daily News

FOUNDED IN 1878

The police role

THE new deal for police, announced this week by Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok, is a long overdue move to bring the force back from the brink of crisis. Resignations have been running at an alarming 20 a day, largely because of dissatisfaction over salaries. Now that is to be pulled right with sweeping increases involving R241 million, with a further R113 million set aside for expected expansion during this financial year. There is provision for a new rank, overtime pay and a recruitment drive. There will also be benefits for former members who want to rejoin — a sensible measure, since trained men are particularly valuable.

The Government's package is a material expression of the growing public awareness of the vital role of police today. Unfortunately however police unhappiness is not only finan-

cial. For too long they have been regarded as enforcers of an unpopular system that is now disappearing, leaving young policemen worried about their position in a new order. Insecurity has also been heightened by a spate of attacks on police.

The new dispensation will help turn the tide of resignations, but upgrading the police also means giving them the recognition and co-operation they deserve. In particular, attacks on them should be condemned by all community leaders to dispel suggestions of a politically motivated campaign against the police. Their life in the firing line is hard and dangerous enough without added complications. All sectors of our society benefit by making it easier for them to carry out their basic job: preventing crime.

Sisulu due to arrive in South Africa tonight with response

Pretoria waits for ANC's reply

Daily News 5/2/90

Daily News Correspondent

CAPE TOWN: The Government was waiting today to hear the ANC's official response to President de Klerk's initiatives on Friday.

The response will determine whether the government and ANC begin their first official contact to begin talks about setting up negotiations.

Veteran ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu is reported to be flying to South Africa tonight to deliver the ANC's official response to President de Klerk's initiative in unbanning the militant organisations and inviting all parties to enter into negotiations.

Government sources were unable to confirm today whether Mr Sisulu would see Mr de Klerk to deliver the response. Some said they believed it was more likely that Mr Sisulu would see Mr Mandela and communicate the response to him.

They said they believed that the "talks about talks" would begin with Mr Mandela once he was freed.

However it appears that the talks about talks could be delayed by political problems — not only administrative ones — which still appear to be holding up Mr Mandela's release.

Released

His wife Winnie saw him at the weekend and said it was out of the question that the ANC leader would want to be released under a state of emergency.

It seems that the Government is prepared to discuss these problems but may regard them as subjects for the agenda of pre-negotiations.

Mr de Klerk said on television last night that the Government was prepared to discuss all reasonable problems.

However he said the door was open for negotiations and the ANC was not disadvantaged by the state of emergency as it applied to all parties.

The ball was in the ANC's court and they were in the limelight. If they continued to call for sanctions and planned violence they would have no moral ground and would be seen as enemies of peace.

■ Several extra-parliamentary organisations are considering disbanding and merging with the African National Congress in the wake of its unbanning last week.

Extra-parliamentary sources said yesterday the issue of dissolution to officially join ANC ranks was being hotly discussed at grass-roots and leadership levels.

Merge

Many organisations which have sprung up to take the place of others which have been restricted, would either amalgamate with their predecessors or disband completely to merge with the ANC.

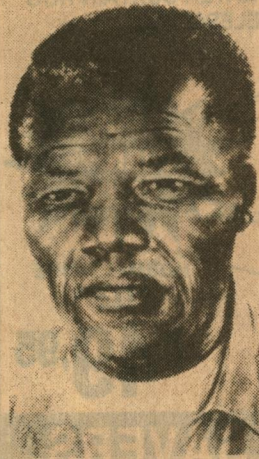
Others subscribing to the Freedom Charter would, however, not dissolve because of their specific constitutions. These included women's organisations, trade unions and youth organisations.

Two of the oldest and most prominent organisations in the liberation movement considering disbanding are the Transvaal and Natal Indian Congresses.

Other organisations who are debating the issue are the United Democratic Front, an umbrella organisation formed in 1983, and the South African Youth Congress.

The Pan-Africanist Movement, which has claimed it is not a shadow organisation for the Pan-African Congress (also unbanned on Friday), would probably also disappear.

See Pages 2 and 4



Mr Mandela

SPOTLIGHT ON WORLD'S MOST FAMOUS PRISONER

NELSON MANDELA could be released any day now.

President de Klerk has told parliament and the nation that "the Government has taken a firm decision to release Mr Mandela unconditionally" and that it will decide soon on the date.

TOMORROW The Daily News starts an exclusive four-part series Mandela ... The Road to Freedom.

Months were spent researching and preparing this story on the dramatic events surrounding Nelson Mandela, the world's most famous prisoner.

Drawn from interviews with those close to Nelson Mandela, and from other sources, Mandela ... The Road to Freedom, sets out to reconstruct an overview of 25 years and more of political and personal drama, passion and poignancy.

It starts in The Daily News tomorrow — don't miss it!

Daily News
S 121 90

My role
changes,
says Tutu

**Daily News
Correspondent**

JOHANNESBURG: Archbishop Desmond Tutu will downgrade his high-profile political role as a result of the dramatic changes ushered in by President F.W. de Klerk on Friday.

Reacting to Mr de Klerk's speech at the opening of Parliament, Archbishop Tutu said the unbanning of political organisations, the release of jailed leaders and the return of political exiles changed his role in South Africa.

"I have said I am really an interim leader," he said on Friday.

"Now there is not going to be as much need for people such as me to be speaking out and saying things which others could not say because they were restricted, in jail or in exile.

"In the past I've had to step into a kind of vacuum because our political leaders were either in jail or in exile."

Spectators put off by cricket protest

DAILY NEWS 5 FEBR. 1990

(1)

Iqbal Khan

SATURDAY'S demonstration outside the Jan Smuts Stadium in Pietermaritzburg may have been responsible for the poor spectator turnout for the SA Invitation XI-English XI game.

Only 1 500 saw the opening day's play but yesterday just over 4 000 saw the match according to Dave Edmondson, president of the Maritzburg Cricket Union.

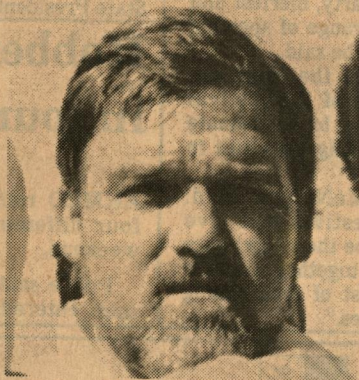
Mr Edmondson said: "It was obvious the ardent cricket fan stayed away for fear of being abused or hassled at the stadium.

"But yesterday it was a carnival atmosphere as just over 4 000 fans saw the second day's play.

"I believe if there was no demonstration we could have had a far bigger crowd on Saturday.

"Very few big games are played at our headquarters and when they do take place we get an excellent turnout."

Meanwhile, after Saturday's demonstration, Ali Bacher, managing director of the SA Cricket Union, and David Graveney, manager of the team, hailed Mike Gat-



Mike Gatting

ting as a hero.

Gatting met the leaders of the anti-tour committee and was handed a memorandum.

He went right up to the platform amid chants of "Gatting go home" to receive the memorandum and returned unflustered.

He said afterwards: "It had to be done. Someone had to talk to them and I did the right thing."

Gatting was accompanied to the

platform by Bacher, Graveney and team vice-captain John Emburey.

And it was made clear later that the delegation will continue to meet anti-tour committees.

Of Gatting's decision to meet the anti-tour committee Bacher said: "It was the most courageous sporting act I've seen. He is certainly a hero."

And Graveney, who said he was not nervous when he strode out with the other three, said: "I've had the greatest admiration for Mike and it has substantially increased."

However Graveney said later he was a little disturbed and wanted to correct statements about the stoning when Gatting's party were returning to the stadium.

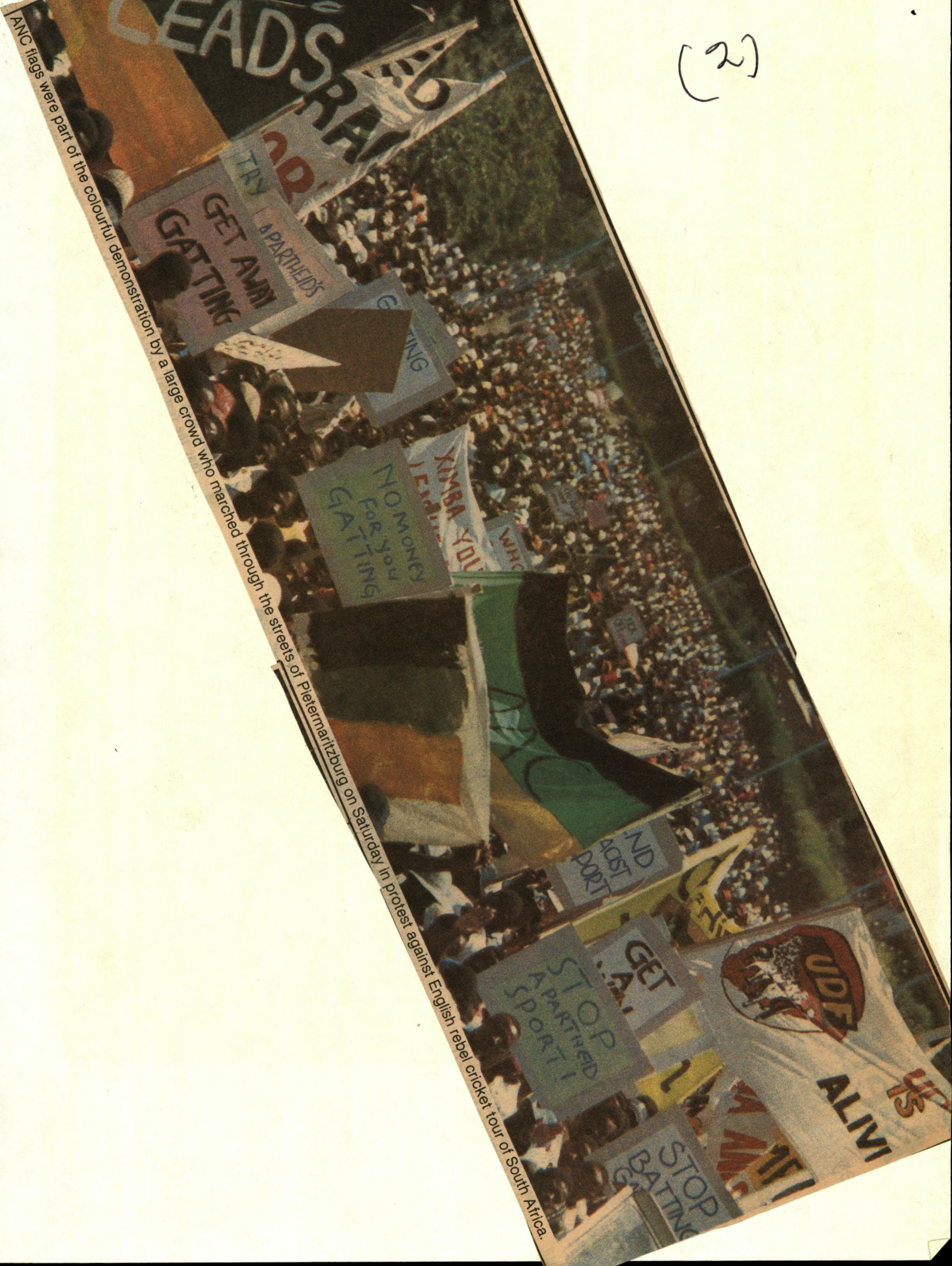
He said: "I was hit by a can and looked back in the direction of Mike and saw the manner in which they were being thrown.

"There are different ways of throwing: you can throw as fast as you can or just lob it just over the top. And certainly they were not being thrown with any force."

Graveney praised the demonstrators for their behaviour and marshalling.

5 Febr 1990

(2)



ANC flags were part of the colourful demonstration by a large crowd who marched through the streets of Pietermaritzburg on Saturday in protest against English rebel cricket tour of South Africa.

Some major stumbling blocks still to be removed

Halfway to lifting of

American sanctions

BREATH-TAKING as they were, President de Klerk's globally applauded package of changes fell short of annulling US economic sanctions against South Africa.

But Mr de Klerk was clearly not out to roll back economic penalties other countries had imposed on the Republic for its apartheid policies — his mission was an internal one aimed chiefly at normalising South African political life.

Members of his cabinet said so, as did Mr de Klerk's subtle yet striking lack of emphasis on this particular issue in his historic speech.

The plea was oblique, and buried in the fourth-last paragraph of a closely-typed, 14-page speech:

"I call on the international community to re-evaluate its position and to adopt a positive attitude towards the dynamic evolution which is taking place in South Africa," he said.

The steps he announced went a considerable way, however, to meeting requirements set by the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986, the American law imposing sanctions.

Five condition

Section 311 of the Act, entitled "Termination of Certain Provisions", stipulates five conditions, one of them optional, before the US President can repeal part or all of the restrictions which have reduced US-South African trade to a trickle.

Clause one is non-negotiable: The US President can do so if the government "releases all persons persecuted for their political beliefs or detained unduly without trial and Nelson Mandela from prison".

Mr de Klerk said on Friday he would soon set a date for Mr Mandela's release.

On political prisoners, he said those guilty of common crimes — murder, arson, terrorism and so on — could not go free. But those jailed merely because they were members of or promoted banned organisations, would enjoy impunity.

THE dramatic peace measures announced by President FW de Klerk on Friday have gone a long way towards meeting American requirements for the lifting of economic sanctions against South Africa. Political Correspondent **ALAN DUNN** reports on the remaining steps that need to be taken to satisfy the demands of the US Congress.



President de Klerk
Prisoner problems

Mr de Klerk's negotiating team sees problems ahead too on the question of prisoners the African National Congress and others will call freedom fighters who perpetrated violent acts in a righteous war against injustice.

The ANC will argue they are political prisoners. The Govern-

ment will call them common criminals.

Section 311 goes on to list four targets for possible rescinding of the sanctions, making only three of them obligatory to qualify for a change of heart:

□ The Government must "repeal the state of emergency in effect on the date of enactment of this Act and release all detainees held under such state of emergency."

□ It must "unban democratic political parties and permit the free exercise by South Africans of all races of the right to form political parties, express political opinions, and otherwise participate in the political process".

□ "Repeal the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act and institute no other measures with the same purpose."

□ "Agree to enter into good faith negotiations with truly representative members of the black majority without preconditions."

Another general point the US President must satisfy himself on is that the Government has "made substantial progress toward dismantling the system of

apartheid and establishing a nonracial democracy".

On the state of emergency, Mr de Klerk scrapped emergency regulations on education and on most of the news media. He left the ban on cameras and the security aspects in place, limiting detention without trial to six months.

"It is my intention to terminate the state of emergency completely as soon as circumstances justify it and I request the co-operation of everybody towards this end," he said.

On unbanning parties and allowing all to practice politics, Mr de Klerk said "the unconditional lifting of the prohibition on the said organisations places everybody in a position to pursue politics freely".

On the Group Areas and Population Registration Acts, Mr de Klerk said socio-economic strategies were being entirely revised. He did not mention these laws by name.

Open agenda

On good faith negotiations without preconditions, Mr de Klerk said: "The agenda is open... the time for negotiation has arrived... the time for talking has arrived and whoever still makes excuses does not really wish to talk."

Arguably, then, Mr de Klerk will fulfil the Anti-Apartheid Act's compulsory demand on freeing Mr Mandela and political prisoners.

5/2/90

Halfway to lifting

But he has not fully ended the state of emergency.

He has unbanned all groups, technically making it possible for all to express themselves and participate in the political process.

He has not touched the Group Areas Act or Population Registration Act.

And he is ostensibly reaching out to negotiate with all leaders in and outside Parliament.

That would suggest Mr de Klerk's landmark address at the opening of Parliament satisfied about 50 percent of the US Congress' demands for a turnabout on sanctions.

As US Assistant Secretary of State Herman Cohen put it: "When Mandela is released and the state of emergency lifted, more will be taken care of."

The letter of US law requires 80 percent, however, pointing to some while, more reforms and a lot more anti-apartheid politicking on Capitol Hill before the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act becomes void.

State to revamp Labour Act provisions

Daily News

5 Feb. 1990

THE labour movement has garnered the first fruits of its Labour Relations Act campaign, with the disclosure that the Government is to drop some of the Act's controversial provisions.

The amending Bill is based on last year's National Manpower Commission inquiry, which was clearly influenced by the "Saccola talks" between employers and Cosatu/Nactu on the LRA and 18 months of massive worker protest.

Unions saw the controversial 1988 amendments to the LRA as an attempt to weaken them and undermine industrial action.

Two general strikes, a consumer boycott and a national overtime ban were the result.

The Cabinet still has to consider aspects of the Bill and further changes are possible, says manpower director-general Mr Joel Fourie. But the aim is to enact it during this session of Parliament.

The key proposed change is the effective

scrapping of section 79 (2) of the LRA, which shifts the onus of proof on to unions facing damages actions arising out of illegal strikes.

The section has never been used, but unions feared it could expose them to crippling damages claims.

In what is seen as a sop to conservative white unions who wanted 79 (2) retained, Government drafters have left the rump of the clause, which creates a statutory liability for damages.

Lawyers say this is largely symbolic, as employers have a common law right to sue for strike damages.

The Bill also relaxes the time limits in statutory dispute-settling procedures.

Labour lawyers believe time limits should be altogether scrapped as a technical obstacle to dispute settlement, but view the change as a positive step.

A final revision extends the "cooling off" period between the re-

MEASURED against trade union demands, impending changes to the Labour Relations Act which have been revealed are small beer. Rapid progress in union-employer talks on the Act seems the only way further mass unrest over the legislation can be averted, reports **DREW FORREST**

ferral of a dispute to an industrial council and a lawful strike ballot.

In terms of the labour movement's overall complaints about the LRA, the changes are minor.

In the Saccola talks, unions have demanded sweeping changes to the legislation.

These include the granting of union rights to public sector, domestic and farm workers; one labour law for South Africa and the homelands; immunity of legal strikes from interdicts and the reframing of the unfair labour practice definition to exclude sympathy strikes and intermittent strikes on the same issue.

The National Manpower Commission last year called for representations on a planned re-

vamp of the entire LRA, and the unions aim to influence the reshaping of the law through the powerful employer lobby.

To the extent that the current Bill reflects employer-union consensus in the Saccola talks on both 79 (2) and the issue of time limits, the strategy has paid dividends.

But agreement on the central union demands will be more problematic if and when the talks, which are currently stalled, resume.

Employers are known to believe that the interdicting of strikes is sometimes necessary, although they concede that the industrial and supreme courts often grant orders in non-urgent circumstances.

Sources say they favour a tightening of court rules for the grant-

ing of urgent relief.

On the unfair labour practice issue, employers agree the current definition is too rigid, but favour a partial codification which would take account of such concepts as irreparable damage through strike action.

Although Saccola has said it favours union rights for all, it has qualified this by saying they "should reflect the economic and structural circumstances of the sector concerned".

And while agreeing that labour law in South Africa and the homelands should "reflect common principles", it has said that employers must operate within existing law.

Some observers are pessimistic about the unique Saccola process, saying conflicting employer and union interests preclude consensus on key issues.

They believe the current Bill essentially addresses the concerns of employers, who had

come to see 79 (2) and the time limits as counterproductive.

But the talks may be the only way further mass worker action around the LRA, threatened by the unions late last year, can be averted.

ILANGA 5-7 FEBR. 1990

UDr Conco we-ANC ubungaziwe oLundi

ETHEKWINI: Ilungu lika-African National Congress (ANC) elidala, uDr. Zamindlela Conco, ubuyele kuleli emuva kokuzidingisa eBritain iminyaka eminingi.

Emcimbini wokumemukela obuhlelwe uDr. Buthelezi obuwenzelwe Olundi ngeidlule uthe uDr. Conco kufanele ahlelwe irally enkulu kwezinye zezinkundla

ezimumatha isibalo esikhulu sabantu eThekwini ukuze izinkulungwane nezinkulungwane zabantu zikwazi ukumbona.

UDr. Conco ubehamba nowakwakhe ngesikhathi enzelwe umncimbi Olundi. Ngaphezu kwalokhu uDr. Conco wayesebenzisana kakhulu noMongameli we-ANC, Inkosi Albert

Luthuli ongasekho emhlabeni nowaba ngumuntu wokuqala ukuthola indondo eyaziwa ngokuthi yi-Noble Peace Prize.

Izingqapheli kwezombusazwe ziveze ukuthi uDr. Conco ufike ngesikhathi esifanele eSouth Africa lapho iqopha khona umlando omusha ngokwenzekayo kulelizwe kwezombangazwe.



UMNUZ. S. Bhengu kwesokudla uxhawula uDr. Z. Conco olilunga likaKhongolose elazidingisa kuleli osebuyele ekhaya manje kanti uMnuz. Bhengu yena babenaye kulenhlangano selokhu bagcinana ngaphambi kokuba aboshwe iminyaka engu 25 naye ekuphumeni kwakhe ejele wabuyela Olundi umNtwana wamemukela ngezandla ezimhlophe. Ohlekayo ngemuva uMnuz. J.S. Kheswa onguMhloli omkhulu esiyingini saseBergville obephelezele uDr. Conco.

ILANGA LITHI . . .

ILANGA - 5-7 FEBR. 1990

Inqophamlando eSouth Africa

KUTHE ilanga liyoshona ngomhlaka February 2, 1990, lasithela nesahluko esiqophamlando eSouth Africa. Kasingabazi nakancane ukuthi amagalelo ezinyathelo zikaMongameli F. W. de Klerk amenyezelwe ePhalamende ngolwesiHlanu, ayogqoshwa phansi njengomunye wemilando yakulelizwe. ISouth Africa isiyoba yizwe elehlukile elingasafani nakuqala.

Ukukhululwa kwezinhlangano zombusazwe ezingu-33 kanye ne-ANC, nokuswa kwemithetho eminingi yesimo esibucayi, nokukhululwa kwabantu abaningi ebebeboshiwe, nokuqedwa kwemithetho ebiyenza uHulumeni ababhozomele abaholi abagqume ejele, kusidilizile isithixo sobandlululo esakhiwa ngababusi bamaBhunu nabamaNgisi besikhathi esedlule. Kwenze kwavela ithuba elisha lokuba kuboniswa ngomthetho-sisekelo omusha.

Lithe seliyosithela ngomutsha wendoda eSouth Africa endala ebikhungethwe wuvalo, izinxushunxushu nentukuthelo kwabaningi. Isinyathelo esithathwe nguMongameli De Klerk sikhombisa ithemba ngekusasa kubobonke abantu.

Kodwa, masingazikhohlisi, kusekhona ifu elimnyama ngaphambili okuzodingeka sedlule kulona. Sizobhekana nezikhathi ezinzima. Ukuntwela ezansi esikubona kuza kancane, ngeke kubelula nakancane. UMongameli De Klerk uthathe isinyathelo esikhombisa isibindi nobuholi obuqotho. Ngakho, sekudingeka aboMdabu kanye nabaholi babo bathathe igxathu elincane nje bamhlangabeze uMnuz De Klerk kuboniswa ngekusasa elingcono kithi sonke.

Sekufanele sedlule manje kwezombusazwe ophelile yisikhathi wokulibala wukukhononda nokulwa sibulalana sodwa. Sekufanele abaholi be-ANC abasekudingisweni kanye nababambisene nababangaphakathi i-UDF ne MDM nabanye, banqume manje ukuthi bayangena ezingxoxweni. Uma bengalibambi leithuba, lizobakhukhula igagasi lezomlando.

UMongameli weNkatha uDr M. G. Buthelezi uselibeke ngembaba elokuthi yena uzongena ezingxoxweni zokubonisa ngekusasa noHulumeni kanye nabanye.

INkatha kanye noMongameli wayo uDr M. G. Buthelezi sebenesikhathi eside bebenzela iSouth Africa entsha. Inqubo yabo yomgudu ohamba ngokuthula iyaziwa futhi ibonakele isikhathi eside. Ngakho, isihlalo sabo etafuleni lokubonisa sibalindele. Nabanye bayadingeka ukuze angabikho osala ngemuva.

Imibono yabaholi eyehlukene ngokuvulwa kwe-ANC eSA

ZWELAKHE MKHIZE

ETHEKWINI. -Kuqopheke umlando ngesikhathi uMongameli walelizwe, uMnu. F. W. de Klerk, ememezela ephalamende eKapa ngeledlule ngolwesiHlanu, ukuxoxisa kokuvalwa kwezinhlangano ezisekudingisweni ezavalwa imilomo i-African National Congress (ANC) ne-Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) kanye nezinhlangano ezingu-33 ezingaphansi kwe-United Democratic Front (UDF) no-Cosatu kanye nokuqeda kokuhengwa kwabantu ngamacala ezombusazwe.

Kuzwakale lombiko maqede, kwahlökoma abantu abaningi benanela inkulomo kaMnu. de Klerk. Phakathi kwabo kukhona uNdunankulu waKwaZulu, nonguMongameli weNkatha, uDr. Mangosuthu Buthelezi othe nxa kusekhona labo abanokubungabaza ubuqotho bobuholi buka Mnu. de Klerk, wathi kufanele kulesisikhathi samanje bakubone ubuwula babo kwezombusazwe.

Kanti umholi weBandla laseSheshi kulelizwe, u-Archbishop Desmond Tutu, ekhuluma nabezinhlelo zokusakaza izindaba eKapa, uthe isenzo siMnu. de Klerk simkhulule umphefumulo wathi ubengakulindle lokhu, wamesekele ngokuthi uhamba endleleni yempela.

Umholi waseLindelani, uMnu. Mandla Shabalala othe kuyamthokozisa ukukhululwa kwalezinhlango imilomo wathi umhlaba wonke ulindele ngabomvu

amhlo ukuzihlanganisa ekuxazululweni kwezinkinga zokuletha ukuthula ezweni. Uqhube wathi kuletha ithemba elisha kwezombusazwe odungekile lapho abaMnyama bebulalana bodwa.

Ilungu lesiShayamthetho KwaZulu, eliseMlazi, uMnu. Winnington Sabela, uthe bona njengeNkatha bebevele bekulindele ukudedelwa kwabaholi emajele nokubuyiswa ekudingisweni kwezinhlangano zombangazwe. Uqhube wathi lokhu okwenzekile yilokho obekuvele kulwelwa nguMongameli weNkatha nongundunankulu waKwaZulu esekelwa ngumKhandlu oShayamthetho kanye nezingqungquthela zombutho wayoyonke iminyaka ngokunjalo nemihlangano yemigwamanda yeNkatha.

UMnu. Sabela uthe uMnu. de Klerk uqede zonke izaba namaqhinga ukuthi udlame olukhungethe KwaZulu naseNatal lubangelwa ngokuthi kukhona izinhlangano ezivalwe imilomo nababoshelwe ezombusazwe. Uthe unxusa lezizinhlangano nabaholi bazo ukuba basondele kuhlanguaniso yonke imihlamlala kwenziwe izinguquko zomthethosisekelo se-South Africa entsha.

UMnu. Sabelo uncome ukuzimelela eqinisweni elwela phezu kwesisekele sokubonisana ngaphandle kwendluzula. Uthe ezombusazwe wokuxoxisana yiwona ozoletsha izinguquko zempela futhi ezinokuthula kulelizwe zingafaki itwetwe kubeLungu. Uphethe wathi masingazihlekanisi nezinye izizwe ngokugqolozelana abaMnyama bebulalana bodwa. Uthe yena njengelungu lesiShayamthetho KwaZulu, uyabahalliselisa labo asebethole ukukhululeka kwempela. Uthe ufisa zonke izinhlangano zikhokhele intsha yazo ngendlela ezofinyelelisa ezinguqukweni okuyizona zalelizwe elisha.

Owayengunobhala woMnyango wezeMpilo KwaZulu, osewathatha umhlalaphansi, uDr. M. V. Gumede, uzwakalise intokozo enkulu ngesimemezelo sikaHulumene walelizwe esishiye umhlaba wonke ukhaxe

imilomo, wathi ubona ngamhlo engqondo umholi kaKhongolose wokugcina ngaphambi kokuba lenhlangano ivalwe kulelizwe, uMongameli Inkosi Albert Luthuli, kunyakaza amathambo akhe enziwa yinjabulo ethuneni.

UMongameli weBandla lamaWeseli eSouthern Africa, uBishop, Dr. Stanly Mogoba, ukhulume amazwi ayinselelo naqinisa idolu kuHulumeni kaMnu. de Klerk, wathi uMdali useyiphendulile imithandazo wavundulula amagqubu abethuntubeza umzabalazo wenkululeko yomuntu oMnyama nokulungana phambi kukaNkulunkulu.

Omunye wezakhamizi ezihlonishwayo e"Ngunjini" kwa-P eMlazi, uMnu. Steven Mkhize, naye uphawule wathi, sekuvuleka ikhasi elisha kwezombusazwe nakwezonotho obekukade kungahlelekile ngendlela kwenziwa wubandlululo, wathi umethulela isigqoko uMnu. de Klerk ngesibindi nangobuqhawe abutshengise umhlaba wonke ukukhulula abaholi abanohlono nokuvumela izinhlangano zikhululeke, wathi sekuzokuba kuzona-ke ukuthi zithatha luphi unyawo.

Khona manjalo futhi omunye osike elijikayo owa-ke waboshelwa ukugqugquzela uKhongolose ezimbomini, usaziwayo khona e"Ngunjini" kwa-P, uMnu. Theo Khuzwayo, uncle wezwa isimemezelo sikaMongameli wezwe, wathi uHulumeni ugwalise izifiso zoquqaba ezweni, wathi bekuzodaleka izinkinga ezisabekayo ukuba iziphathimandla zezwe zibe madolonzima ukuthatha leligalelo.

Unobhala we-South African Council of Churches (Sacc), uMfu. Frank Chikane, usincome kakhulu isimemezelo sikaMnu. de Klerk maqondana nokukhulula i-ANC, PAC, SACP, i-Azapo kanye nokuvulwa imilomo kwezinhlangano ezingu-33 ezingaphansi kwe-United Democratic Front (UDF), okungo Cosatu ne National Education Crisis Committee (NECC).

ILANCA - 5-7 FEBR. 1990



UMNTWANA waKwaPhindangene uDr. M.G. Buthelezi uxhawulana noMnuz. J.S. Kheswa ongumhloli omkhulu wezikole eseketheni yaseBergville obehambisana noDokotela Conco ovele ngemuva emahhovisi omNtwana oLundi.



UMNUZ. F. W. de Klerk owenze izithembi so zokwakha iS-Africa entsha.



UMNUZ. Nelson Mandela, umholi we-ANC obadle ejele.

Siletha ithemba ILANGA - 5-7 FEBR. 1990 isimemezelo nge-ANC

WILMOT MBATHA.
ETHEKWINI. -Izime-
mezelo zikaMonga-
meli F. W. de Klerk
zokwenza ngcono isi-
mo sezombusazwe
eSouth Africa zingase
zivulele iSouth Africa
iminyango eminingi
emazweni aseNtsho-
nalanga futhi emuva
kweminyaka eminingi
bonke abantu base-
South Africa kufanele
balindele isimo esi-
ngcono kwezomnotho
lapho kuzovuleka kho-
nba izikhala eziningi
zemisebenzi.

UNdunankulu wase-
Brithani, uNk. Marga-
ret Thatcher, kanye no-
Mongameli George Bush
waseMelika, sebelibeke
ngesihloko elokuthi ba-
zomkhuthaza uMonga-
meli de Klerk ezinyathe-
lweni zakhe zokudala
ukuthula eSouth Africa.
Sekukhona nezimpawu
ezikhomba ukuthi kunga-
se kuhoxiswe ukunswi-
nywa kweSouth Africa.

*Ushiselwe
umuzi
wayobhaca*

ETHEKWINI: -Inkosi
uMhlabanzima maphu-
mulo waseMaqonqo use-
cele indawo yokubhaca
eTranskei emuva kokuba
kushiswe umuzi wakhe,
ngokusho kombiko okhi-
shwe yiphephandaba lesi-
lungu eliphuma kanye
ngempelasonto.

Lombiko uthe umka-
khe, uGaye, uthe umuzi
wabo uhlaselwe ngaba-
ntu abangaziwa.

Kwenzeka lokhu nje
uMaphumulo uphumele-
le esicelweni abesifake
enkantolo sokuvimbela
inkosi uBangubukhosi
Mdluli namaphoyisa
ukumhlukumeza.

Esitatimendeni esifu-
ngelwe esethulwe enka-
ntolo uMaphumulo uthe
ngomhla kaJanuary 29
endaweni yakhe kwafa
abantu ababili kwabuye
kwashiswa nemizi eli-
shumi.

ILANGA - 5-7 FEBR. 1990

IKHASI 6



UDOKOTELA Z. Conco olilunga likaKhongolose usebuyele ekhaya manje, indawo yokuqala ayihambele ekubuyeni kwakhe Ulundi lapho emukelwe khona ngezandla ezifudumele uNduna-nkulu waKwaZulu uDr. M.G. Buthelezi uMongameli weNkatha emahhovisini akhe ngaphambi kokuba bayombungaza edilini noNgqongqoshe nezinye izikhulu kuHulumeni waKwaZulu.

Ileli, ILANGA, 128 uMgeni Road, Durban, 4001

Uthakasela inkulumo kamNtwana uButhelezi yokuphela kwanyakenye

MHLELI, - 'Waze waphela unyaka omubi'. Uqinisele umNtwana uDr M G Buthelezi ngalamazwi awasho kwelikaDecember 28. Yiqiniseleli. Mina ngiwashayela izandla. Kukhona iningi elingahambisani noDr Buthelezi. Kodwa mina ngiyavumelana nobuholi bakhe ngenhliziyo yami yonke. Selokhu asuka phansi mina ngimthatha

njengomholi woqobo.

Into efike ibulale abaholi laba babantu bafike baquphuluzane nomLungu kuphela, awusoze uke uzwe bekhomba ububi obukubantu ngaphandle kobubi bomLungu.

UDr Buthelezi mina ngimthatha njengomholi woqobo onenkolo yoqobo yokuthi umuntu oMnyama nguye ovimbe endleleni ngoba awuzange ukubone ukulwa

nokubulalana okunjeya. Nginamahloni impela. UmfokaButhelezi yena ubona ububi bomuntu oMnyama komunye. Lawa ngamaqiniso angasoze aphikwa muntu, ulimisa ngokuthi mubi umuntu komunye.

Impela uma sekukhulunywa iqiniso asiboni ukuthi lesisizwe esiMnyama siyoye senzenjani. Ukubulalana okungaka! Bona abeLungu baye bathini uma bebona izinto zinje?

Umuntu owayeshabashela ngalobubi kwaku

nguMafukuzela. Naye angamangala uma engase avuke afumanise abantu abaNyama bekulesisimo.

Noma yena esho ethi waze waphela unyaka omubi kepha ngibona ukuthi okukhulu okuzayo. Angikaze ngiyibone into embi efana nalokhu. Izimpi ezingaka? Ukubulalana lokhu kungathi kuya phambili. Kodwa kwakhala nyonini?

- E Z Yeni,

EDEND'ALE.

Ngiyamesekela mina umNtwana uMcwayizeni

MHLELI, - Ngivumele kengiphefumule ngodaba lomNtwana oMkhulu uMcwayizeni Israel kaSolomon osekubhalwe ngaye kabanzi emaphepheni, ikakhulu kulo ileli ILANGA.

Owami-ke umbono uthi naye umNtwana oMkhulu uyacabanga uyindoda efuna ukuzimela ngokucabanga. Okwenza ngimhloniphe kakhulu ukuthi wabanesibindi wasitshela isiShayamthetho ekhaleni ukuthi kunezinhlangothi ezimeshelayo nokuthi ngenxa yemali ayitholayo kuHulumeni waKwaZulu, encane kakhulu, uzithola elingeka ukujoyina lezinhlangothi.

Nangempela wabanesibindi wesula kuHulumeni waKwaZulu nanokuba ngomele iNgonyama waphumela obala. Okunye-ke futhi usehambe izindawo eziningi oKaNdaba. Usebuya eLondon useke wabonana namadoda akhaliphile njengo-Oliver Tambo. Ube yisimenywa esiqavile ngenkathi kwemukelwa abaholi be-ANC eSoweto muva-nje.

Ngesikhathi kusha umuzi wakhe sizwa kuthiwa wabe eseholland. Mkhulu lomuntu kuyakhombisa ngenpela ukuthi uyindoda yakhona ebukhosini bukaZulu, washiyelana ibele noBusha Nayifi.

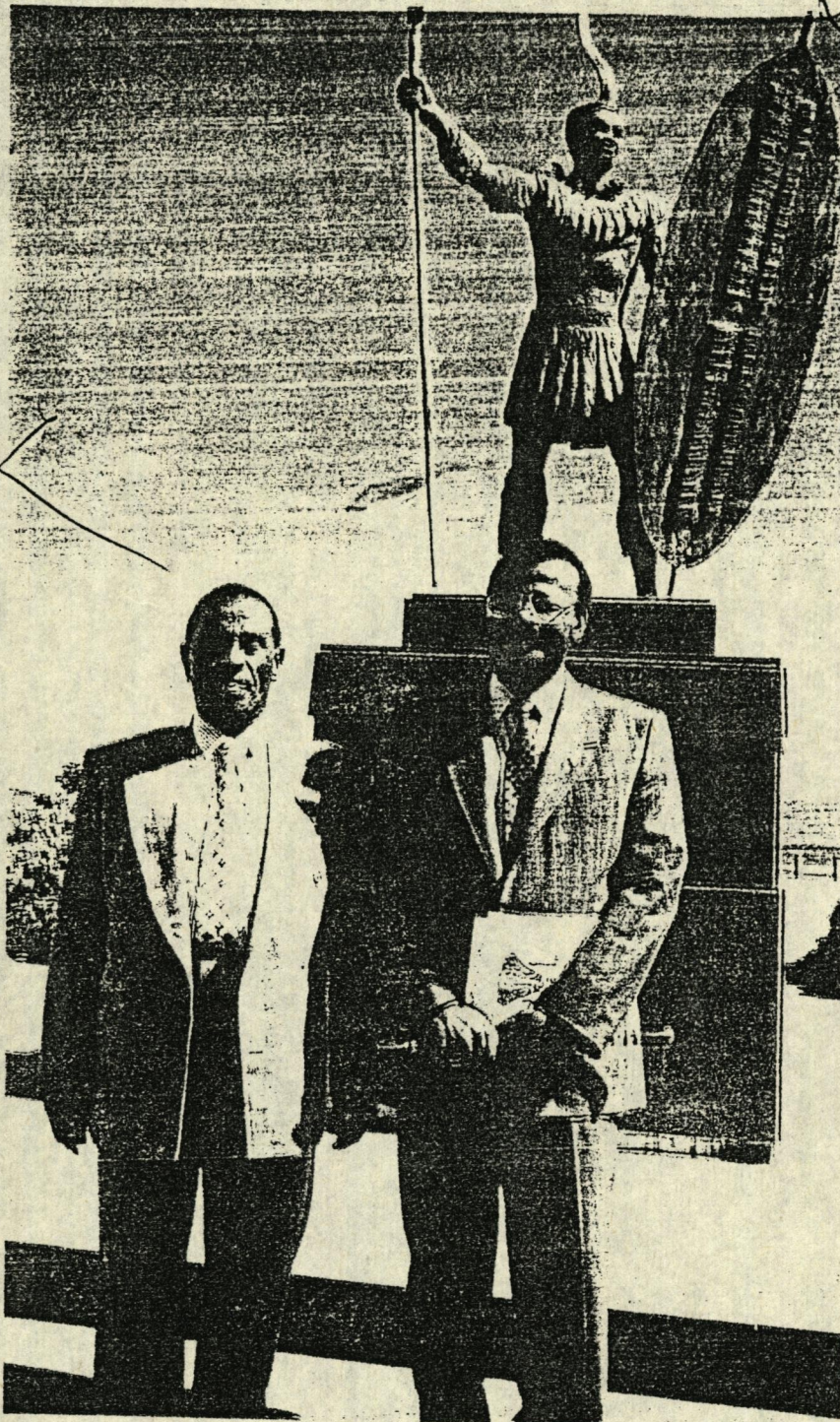
Ngimfisela inhlanhla lomnumzane, kwangathi angathola ukwesekwa ngabathize eNdunkulu njengoba elandela iNgonyama. Kwangathi namaZulu amaningi angamseka umNtwana oMkhulu njengoba engumxhumanisi phakathi kwe-ANC, Cosatu, UDF noZulu wonkana.

Ngithi-ke mina phambili umNtwana u-Israel. Phambili Contralesa, phambili Mhlabunzima Maphumulo.

VRYHEID.

- Vivian Sikhosana,

Babonane oLundi



UDR Z. CONCO osebuyele ekhaya, indawo yokuqala ayihambele yisoLundi lapho emukelwe khona ngumNtwana uDr M.G. Buthelezi, uMongameli weNkatha. Lesisithombe sithathwe emagcekeni ekoMkhulu laKwaZulu kanti ngemuva kwabo ngumfanekiso wom-bumbi wesizwe samaZulu, Inkosi uShaka. Bheka naseKhasini 8.

EZEZWE
NAMUHLA



Kuboshwe owesifazane ngokwebiwa kwengane

ELONDON. - Amaphoyisa ngesonto eledlule abophe owesifazane oneminyaka engu 33 ubudala emuva kokuba kutholwe ingane ebintshontshiwe ifihlwe ekotishini ahlala kulo.

Amaphoyisa athe lowesifazane uboshwe

emuva kokwebiwa kuka-Alexandra Griffiths ewadini yasesibhedlela emasontweni amabili edlule. Lentombazanyana itholwe iphila kahle edolobheni laseBurford.

Amaphoyisa abike ukuthi lowesifazane unele wabona amaphoyisa waphuza amaphilisi amaningi alalisayo.

Amaphoyisa aqhubeke athi u-Alexandra webiwa kunina esibhedlela ngowesifazane ngomhlaka January 11 owaqamba amanga wathi ungumhlo-li wezempilo.

Amaphoyisa abophe lowesifazane emuva kokuthola umbiko kubantu bendawo abesebebone umfanekiso wakhe odwetshiwe.

ILANGA - 5-7 FEBR. 1970

A Better South Africa ^{5/2/90}

Now for Dialogue

President F. W. de Klerk appears to have decided that he can better ensure a fruitful future for South Africa's white minority by ending the apartheid system of white domination and ceasing to deny a political place to the black majority. On moral grounds, this decision is of course right and staggeringly overdue. Politically, it is courageous because, while it creates possibilities for peace and civility inside the country and for acceptance outside, it also carries with it considerable risks for Mr. de Klerk. For all its uncertainties and the distance left to go, it seems to merit the judgment of one formerly jailed black church leader that Mr. de Klerk has "set in motion a process of peaceful revolution that will undo 40 years of doctrinaire National Party policies that have spelt misery for millions."

People outside South Africa do not yet have a very reliable understanding of either Mr. de Klerk or his antagonist turned potential partner, the leader of the African National Congress, Nelson Mandela. Mr. de Klerk has something to him of Mikhail Gorbachev: an uncommon figure who breaks out of the restraints of orthodoxy and compels his constituents to move, to think, to reconsider. Mr. Mandela is surrounded by a legend born of his earned martyr's status, his commitment and his repute as the principal leader of a people whom the state has tried to deprive of a leader. These men represent their racial groups, and their relationship defines the emerging national politics of South Africa. Literally, Mr. Mandela has been Mr. de Klerk's prisoner. Politically, Mr. de Klerk is

a prisoner of Mr. Mandela. Each man's — and group's — true liberation depends upon the other. They are now invited to become true South Africans — fellow citizens rather than racial spokesmen.

Ahead lies a long contest in which each party to the negotiation will be constantly pressed to prove its good faith to the other. In that regard, Mr. de Klerk took on an extra burden right at the start; he promised a new deal, but hesitated — by not releasing Mr. Mandela instantly, for instance — to create the basic conditions for starting a political negotiation. It can be expected that at each step along the way the parties will seek foreign support for their internal negotiating positions. Scarcely had Mr. de Klerk finished his speech than the United States was being called on to end and, alternately, to prolong if not to deepen its economic sanctions against Pretoria.

Something immensely exciting and promising, however, is under way. Institutionalized racism in South Africa has not been ended by white decree, but the preconditions are now in place for ending it by negotiation among the races. Blacks are still excluded from power, but they are being admitted to politics. A gap yawns between the black demand for freedom and equality and the white insistence on protection for a minority community, but there is a common awareness that these goals can be pursued only in tandem, not one before the other. Nelson Mandela had asked to "reconcile" black and white purposes. Frederick de Klerk replies that the time is here for "reconstruction and reconciliation." Finally, a dialogue has begun.

— THE WASHINGTON POST.

Only a Beginning

South Africa took a giant step Friday toward joining the community of civilized nations. Offering to replace repression with politics, President F. W. de Klerk announced an astonishing series of moves that could mark the beginning of the end of his country's odious apartheid system and of South Africa's status as an international pariah. Impressive as they are, however, Friday's steps are only a start. South Africa has far to go toward the goal of nonracial democracy.

Mr. de Klerk told Parliament that the "season of violence is over" and "the time for reconstruction and reconciliation" has arrived. He lifted the 30-year-old ban on the African National Congress, the main anti-apartheid group, and similar restrictions on 60 other groups. He announced the freeing of people imprisoned for belonging to those groups, a moratorium on executions and a new policy of reserving execution for "extreme cases." And he ended many restrictions imposed during the three-and-a-half-year state of emergency.

Mr. de Klerk announced that the white minority government had decided to release unconditionally Nelson Mandela, the 71-year-old black leader who has been imprisoned since 1962, after a "further short passage of time." He did not explain the reason for the delay, except to say that "personal circumstances and safety" were involved.

Despite that delay, there was jubilation among South Africa's black majority and their supporters elsewhere — for good reason. As the Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu put it, "We are almost on the verge of being euphoric because political life has been normalized in our country."

Mr. de Klerk's moves mean that blacks, who have been excluded from any political role in South Africa, can now press for negotiations on a new constitution that could give them power commensurate with their numbers. Whites, who have had a monopoly on political power, can seek guarantees against black domination in a new constitution. And all this can be done through political activity, instead of by riot and repression.

President George Bush welcomed Mr. de Klerk's moves and tentatively invited him and Mr. Mandela to the White House to discuss how the United States can foster progress toward a new political order. For the moment, the best way is to let the various parties find their way to the negotiating table. Race is only one of the gaps to be bridged in South Africa; politics is surely the only way to bridge them.

Meanwhile, talk of lifting sanctions and normalizing relations, as Margaret Thatcher of Britain seems overeager to do, is premature. South Africa has finally found the right road. Now it needs to walk it.

— THE NEW YORK TIMES.

13/2/90

A Moment of Promise

Even though his release had long been heralded and was actually announced a day in advance, the sight of Nelson Mandela exiting Sunday from 27 years' imprisonment in South Africa was an astonishment. This was an event that for decades few thought could ever happen. But thanks to Mr. Mandela's unswerving commitment, pressure from his constituency in South Africa and abroad, and the imagination and audacity of the man who finally had the wit to free him — Frederik de Klerk — it did.

The moment conveyed most stirringly a sense of new possibilities. Mr. Mandela himself conveyed an impression of eagerness to start trying to translate his own personal liberty into political liberty for his people and South Africa as a whole. It had been suggested that his long isolation might have put him out of touch with contemporary requirements, but his manner and much of what he said to a huge welcoming crowd in Cape Town indicated quite the contrary.

His first task was to acknowledge those whose efforts had been bent toward producing this moment and the larger change that is occurring in his country. On this list Mr. Mandela included the leading elements of the African National Congress, the small and heretofore banned South African Communist Party, and a couple of legal white anti-apartheid groups including the Black Sash. He said he would not expect simply to be anointed the leader of the ANC on the basis of any personal legend, but would expect the organization to hold a confer-

ence and choose its leadership and future strategy democratically. Presumably then but only then would it be in a position to try working out the deep internal strains within the ANC and to review some of its more controversial policies, like nationalization of key industries. His personal vision of a nonracial society — something of particular interest to the anxious white community — came through clearly.

Mr. Mandela had hoped to settle with President de Klerk before his release the terms on which South Africans would enter negotiations on a future constitutional disposition. This effort failed, and as a result further preparatory talks will be necessary in which the ANC will seek an end to the state of emergency and the release of all political prisoners (there will be a problem here of defining "political prisoner") while the government seeks an ANC renunciation of armed struggle. Mr. Mandela's reiteration that the ANC moved to arms only when it was barred from politics suggests anyway that this issue could be resolved as soon as the government fully opens the political door. That Mr. Mandela now calls his erstwhile jailer "a man of integrity" gives hope this will be done.

There is still danger that the bitter, unrec-
onciled parts of the South African popula-
tion will come to terrible grief. At best what
is going on in that country is bound to be
difficult, painful and uncertain. But this is
a moment of tremendous promise.

— THE WASHINGTON POST.

Int. Herald
 Tribune
 12/2/90

Sunrise in South Africa

The jail that opened Sunday for Nelson Mandela began to free a nation even as it freed a man. After 27 years, and with the whole world watching, South Africa saw a half-mythical prisoner recalled to political life. Mr. Mandela rose impressively to a remarkable occasion. Calmly and without bitterness, he displayed the measured dignity the old Romans described as gravitas.

Mr. Mandela praised his radical followers for their steadfastness, but reminded them that democratic principles had to be respected. He excoriated the hateful system of apartheid, but praised President F.W. de Klerk as a man of integrity. He defended the "armed struggle" but hoped that a new climate would soon end the need for a "defensive" response to racial repression.

And while urging the West not to lift economic sanctions until apartheid is buried, he called for open negotiations to shape a new South Africa rooted in universal suffrage.

That won't happen quickly, or easily. But a corner was turned when South African television dared show the outlawed flag of the African National Congress as Mr. Mandela walked free through the vineyards of Cape Town. "The sun is not just for the growing of grapes," a commentator said. "The sun is shining on South Africa."

By heeding those too long denied a place in the sun, the rest of the world can help speed the transition. Global sanctions have plainly helped pry open prison doors, hasten the legalization of the African National Congress and other proscribed groups and bring about a partial end to the emergency. These steps are a vindication of sanctions, not an argument for repealing them.

President Bush has taken the right first step by inviting both Mr. de Klerk and Mr. Mandela to Washington. For the moment, as Mr. Bush suggested, that seems ample reward for Mr. de Klerk's courage. Meantime,

however, Congress needs soon to review its conditions for ending sanctions against South Africa. It may make sense to ease some penalties as Pretoria moves forward, thereby providing incentives for further change while keeping the legislation in force.

Under the 1986 sanctions law, the president can waive or modify sanctions if Pretoria frees all political prisoners and meets three of four remaining conditions. Mr. Mandela has been freed, but other political prisoners languish in jail. And only one of the other four stipulations — legalizing opposition political groups — has been met. The other three require Pretoria to end emergency rule, to repeal the laws imposing racial segregation and to begin good-faith negotiations between dominant whites and the huge black majority.

What those talks can achieve is far from clear. President de Klerk has repeatedly declared that any new constitution must provide guarantees against the domination of any group by another. For his part, Mr. Mandela offers this definition of his goals: "Universal suffrage on a common voters roll in a united democratic and non-racial South Africa." Finding ways to mesh these principles, possibly in a federal system incorporating a bill of rights, won't be easy. But it's not impossible.

In any case, the first perilous steps have been taken on freedom's road. Enlightened South Africans are at last talking rather than shouting across racial barricades. Leaders are breaking the chains of dogma. In Cape Town as elsewhere in these amazing times, the unthinkable has become imaginable, and a struggle for human rights begun by nameless ordinary people has found champions in leaders like Mikhail Gorbachev, Lech Walesa, Vaclav Havel, F.W. de Klerk and, now, Nelson Mandela.

— THE NEW YORK TIMES.