

REPORT

THE MISSION OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

TO THE FAR EAST AND AUSTRALIA

HEADED BY

COMRADE NELSON MANDELA, DEPUTY-PRESIDENT OF THE ANC

13th OCTOBER 1990 - 8th NOVEMBER 1990.

COMPOSITION OF THE DELEGATION.

COMRADE NELSON MANDELA - DEPUTY PRES OF THE ANC, AND HEAD OF THE DELEGATION.

COMRADE THOMAS NIKOBI - TREASURER - GENERAL

COMRADE STANLEY MABIZELA - DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS.

COMRADE BARBARA MASIKELA - DIRECTOR OF DEPT. OF ARTS + CULTURE; HEAD OF FUNDRAISING COMMITTEE

COMRADE ISMAIL MEER - ANC MEMBER / SPEECH WRITER / PERSONAL ADVISER.

COMRADE ISU CHIBA - ANC MEMBER

DR. FAISEL RANDERA. - PERSONAL PHYSICIAN TO COM. MANDELA.

COM. LUCAS MAKHUBELA - PERSONAL AIDE / SECURITY / PROTOCOL

COM. JABU TSHABALALA - PERSONAL AIDE / SECURITY

COM. NOMSA NKWANCA. - PERSONAL SECRETARY TO COM. MANDELA.

COM. PUMLA QAWA - OFFICIAL PHOTOGRAPHER

COM. STANLEY NDLOVU - OFFICIAL VIDEO TEAM

COM. TINY ZONDI - OFFICIAL VIDEO TEAM.

COM. M. MPEPHELE - ANC CHIEF REPRESENTATIVE IN NEW DELHI and
ROVING AMBASSADOR TO SEVERAL ASIAN STATES.
COM. MPEPHELE ACCOMPANIED THE THE DELEGATION TO
INDIA, INDONESIA, MALAYSIA AND BRUNEI

DEPARTURE FROM JOHANNESBURG TO NAIROBI. Saturday 13th October 1990.

A brief press conference was held at Jan Smuts Airport. The media was present in large numbers, and the media was given an opportunity to ask questions.

The media enquired about the purpose of the tour.

Com. Mandela said that there were basically two reasons for the undertaking the mission to the Far East countries, which included India, Indonesia, Malaysia, Brunei, Japan, and Australia. These were:

- a) It afforded the ANC the opportunity to personally thank the various countries for their support and assistance to the ANC;
- b) that the ANC would solicit further aid and financial assistance from these countries for the effective prosecution of the struggle in South Africa.

Press conference in Nairobi:

Upon arrival in Nairobi, the delegation was met by the Foreign Ministry's Chief of Protocol, and was immediately whisked away for a press conference at Jomo Kenyatta Airport.

Com. M was asked several questions pertaining to the following issues:-

- a) The internal situation in Kenya: Com. M pointed out that it was improper for the ANC or for him to comment on the internal situation of a country.
- b) "Black-on-Black Violence": Com M explained the nature and character of the recent violence. He said that the ANC-Inkatha conflict in the recent wave of violence was minimal, and that Inkatha did not have the resources to sustain such a well-orchestrated campaign. Nor was it an inter-tribal conflict between the Xhosas and the Zulus, as was widely alleged in the media. He said that a "third force" had exploited the original conflict between the ANC and Inkatha, and that there was growing evidence of the involvement of the State Security forces such as the NIS, Military Intelligence, the CCB, and other agencies such as Koevoet and the Askaris. He explained that since the move towards negotiations had been initiated, the prime motive behind the campaign of violence was to disorganize and de-stabilize the ANC, so that as and when negotiations do take place, the Government would be in a position to negotiate with a weakened ANC.
- c) Gatsha Buthelezi: Com M said that Gatsha was blaming the ANC for the violence,

at violence had continued for several years before the unbanning of the ANC. He added that on more than one occasion the ANC had taken the initiative to invite Cratsha for talks, but that Cratsha had insisted that Com M should first meet with him individually. He said that Cratsha had also been invited to the meeting with homeland leaders, but that Cratsha had declined the invitation on the grounds that he was not a homeland leader. Com M said that the ANC found this attitude rather strange, because when Pres. de Klerk had invited homeland leaders for talks with the Government, Cratsha had accepted the invitation, and had not protested against being regarded as a homeland leader.

a) Kenya's position on Sanctions: Com M was asked whether he had heard about Kenya Airlines flying directly to Johannesburg. Com M replied that although the issue was an internal matter, the ANC would have preferred Kenya to have maintained sanctions against SA; and that Kenya was not in the same position as the Frontline States, whose economies were heavily dependent on S. Africa.

SUNDAY, 14th OCTOBER 1990. Day 2 in Kenya.

) A 6-person delegation was flown to NAKURU, the private residence of Pres. Moi. Comrades M and TG had an hour-long private discussion with him. Com M later reported that on the previous occasion, Pres. Moi had pre-empted the question of a large sum by donating US\$ 1 million. On this occasion, the President had raised difficulties about funds on the ground that the Gulf crisis had resulted in the escalation of oil prices, thereby imposing a heavy burden on Kenya.

) The delegation had lunch with the Pres. and his cabinet Ministers. He used the opportunity to informally brief the Ministers.

) A visit to the Daniel Arap Moi Secondary School was organised. The school had been built on land donated by Pres. Moi. It appears that almost 90% of the students who graduated from the school ended up at university. There was a brief meeting with the students, in which Com M stressed the role of students in the future, the importance of Kenya's support for the struggle, and the role of today's students as the leaders of tomorrow.

) Returned to Nairobi from where the delegation boarded AIR INDIA for an overnight flight to New Delhi.

(B) MISSION TO INDIA

MONDAY: 15th OCTOBER 1990: Day 1 in India.

- 1) Upon arrival at the airport, the delegation was welcomed by the Chief of Protocol, Mr Dalip Mehta. The route from the airport to the State House, where the delegation stayed, was decorated huge ANC flags, and WELCOME NELSON MANDELA posters. About one hundred and fifty thousand flag-waving school-children had lined the streets for several kilometers leading to the State House.
- 2) At the State House, the delegation was welcomed by the Prime Minister, Mr P. V. SINGH, who is also the chairperson of the Nelson Mandela National Reception Committee, which had been formed immediately upon Com M's release. Com M inspected the Guard of Honour.
- 3) It was part of protocol for Com M to pay a courtesy call on the President of India, Mr R. VENKATARAMA, with whom the usual exchange of courtesies took place - honoured by the visit etc. The Vice-President of India called on Com M. He stressed the historic links between India and SA. Com M briefed on the situation in SA. He added that South Africans of Indian descent in SA have problems peculiar to them, just as Africans had issues peculiar to them. Hence, the question of the Indian Congresses should be considered very carefully, as nobody should be seen to be crossing over to the other side.
- 4) The Minister of External Affairs also called on Com M. Apart from the historic links between the two countries, he made mention of the role which Gandhi had played in SA, the visit by Drs. Dadoo & Naicker, India's role at the United Nations in relation to SA, and that India had been the first country to sever diplomatic relations with, and apply trade sanctions against SA. India would continue to play a supportive and give aid.
- 5) Com M had discussions with the Leader of the Opposition, Rajiv Gandhi. He emphasized the great need for funds. Mr. Gandhi said that he would be prepared to raise a large sum of money for the ANC, and that he would be able to do so very quickly. The only problem was that the funds would be collected in rupees, and it would be necessary to look for mechanisms whereby the rupees would be converted into US dollars.
- 6) The delegation met the members of the Nelson Mandela National Reception Committee. They were introduced to us by our Chief Rep in India, Com. M. Mpehle.
- 7) A state banquet was held in honour of Com M. In his speech, the President said that several state banquets had been held in the past in honour of Kings,

perors and heads of state. But India was proud to welcome one who reigned, not over land and territories, but over the hearts of millions of people, black + white, young and old, rich and poor. He added that the people of India regarded Com M as an emblem of the world's struggle for human dignity; as the symbol of Africa's revolt against colonialism and racism; as the foremost freedom-fighter of the African continent; and as the pre-eminent representative of SA's determination to end the tyranny of apartheid. He recalled the visit to India by Dr Abdulla Abdur Rahman in 1925, of Chief Lutuli in 1938, of Drs Dadoo and Naicker in 1947, and most especially, the visit by Com. C.R. Tambu in 1988.

They regarded post-apartheid SA as a future partner in economic, social, technological and cultural development. He added that they believed that until apartheid was dismantled, and majority rule established in SA, it was the duty of the international community to exert pressure on the minority Govt. In that context they fully supported ANC's position on sanctions against SA, and would continue to maintain that position.

He then proposed a toast on behalf of the Govt and the people of India to the victory of people of SA over apartheid, to the friendship and solidarity between the peoples of India and South Africa, and to the health and long life of Com. M.

Com M returned the toast — see text of his speech.

FRIDAY: 16th OCTOBER 1990: Day 2 in India:

The delegation visited Gandhi Smriti where Gandhi had lived.

There was a wreath-laying ceremony, where Comrades M and Stanley laid a wreath at Rajghat, where Com M also planted a sapling.

The Investiture Ceremony took place at State House, where the Medal of the Bharat Ratna was bestowed on Com M — India's highest civilian award.

Com M also met with the representatives of the following anti-apartheid organisations in India: World Youth Action Against Apartheid (Anand Sharma); the All India Peace and Solidarity Organisation; the All India Freedom Fighters Organisation; and the Parliamentarians Action for the Removal of Apartheid. This was basically a meeting where the representatives introduced themselves, and where the usual exchange of pleasantries took place.

- i) The vice-President hosted a luncheon for the delegation. - the usual speeches.
- i) Com M was then taken for a TV interview where he was interviewed by Raj Mohan Gandhi, grand-son of Mahatma Gandhi. The TV interview was broadcast nation-wide the same evening. There were the usual questions concerning violence, the peace processes etc, which Com M dealt with adequately.
- ii) At the press conference held immediately thereafter, Com M was asked to comment on the Mundell Commission, investigation the immolation of children, because the govt had decided to reserve a greater number of jobs for the under privileged. He replied that it was a matter for the national leadership to resolve. The second important question raised concerned Gatscha Buthelezi and "black-on-black violence", both of which Com M dealt with adequately.
- ii) The delegation visited the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library Auditorium, which is primarily a pictorial biography of Nehru. Com M delivered the Nehru Memorial lecture (refer to speech).
- i) In the evening, a reception for the delegation was hosted by the Prime Minister at Hyderabad House. The reception was held in the gardens, where in his speech the P.M bid the delegation farewell from New Delhi. At the end of his speech he then made the following announcements: that the government and the people of India were donating the sum of 20 million Rupees in aid, and in addition, the sum of US\$ 5,8 million. The cheque was then handed over to Com M, who thanked the PM, the government and the people of India for such a generous donation.
- i) Two further meetings took place after the reception:
 - (a) Meeting with the Minister of Foreign Affairs - MR GUJARAL.
A 3-person delegation headed by Com. Stan and accompanied by Comrades Mpehle (chief rep) and Isu saw the Minister. Com. Stan briefed him on the situation at home, and went into great length regarding the recent wave of violence. The Minister expressed concern about the army in a post-apartheid SA, and touched upon the question of a "political army" and a "professional army", and the dangers of the former. The reply was that the white minority was heavily armed, and that the possibilities of a counter-revolution by the right-wing could not be ignored. Only a political or a people's army could handle that situation.
The Minister said that the government would be quite willing to train ANC

military personnel in preparation for the transition to a People's Army. He also repeated the offer of the Vice-President to Com M, viz, that India was prepared to train S African Blacks in the technological, engineering and business fields in preparation for a post-apartheid S. Africa.

(b) Comrades Mpehle and I saw Anand Sharma (Rajiv Gandhi's chief lieutenant). He repeated what Rajiv Gandhi had told Com M earlier - quite and capable of raising large sums for the ANC in a short period of time. He also requested to be kept up to date of the situation in S. Africa in general, and about S. Africans of Indian descent in particular. He was told to keep in contact with Com Mpehle, who in turn would be kept up to date. He also wanted direct + regular contact with the ANC and the Indian Congresses.

NB: Omitted one important item from the previous day. This was the People's Reception for Com M, organised by the Nelson Mandela National Reception Committee, followed by a fascinating cultural programme. This was held at the Indira Gandhi Stadium in New Delhi. See text of Nadiba's speech. After that there was a cultural programme in which about 10 cultural groups from different parts of India presented colourful items.

WEDNESDAY: 17th OCTOBER, 1990: Day 3 in India:

- (i) Delegation met the Ambedkar Centenary Committee. Ambedkar was the man who was concerned with the plight of underprivileged of India - the so-called "untouchables", later renamed the "HARUANS". He had also played a leading role in re-writing/drafting the Indian Constitution.
- (ii) The departure ceremony from New Delhi took place in the morning. There was the inspection of the Guard of Honour by Com M, the President took leave of the delegation, and flown to ~~arrived~~ Agra where the delegation visited the Taj Mahal.
- (iii) Flown to Benares (now VARANASSI) by special aircraft, where the delegation was taken ~~on~~ for a boat ride on the river Ganges.
- (iv) The Benaras Hindu University conferred a doctorate degree (honorary) on Com M. A brief biographical sketch of Com M was presented. Among things that were said was that for nearly three decades, Com M had been revered as a symbol of freedom, and a martyr. The point was made that it was the responsibility of the intellectual

community at the global level to build an educational campaign for protecting the ideals of liberty, equality, fraternity and the dignity of the individual; that India had always fought against injustices, oppression and exploitation, and that India would continue to fight with renewed vigour and force against the racial segregation and political exploitation perpetrated by SA, until apartheid had been liquidated.

The University had a sense of great satisfaction, and was filled with joy to honour one of the outstanding minds of the times. And finally, that the educational community would continue to cherish Com M's words of wisdom, and would endeavour to follow the path shown by him.

(v) The day ended with a private dinner by the Governor, at the Taj Benares.

THURSDAY: 18th OCTOBER 1990: Day 4 in India.

- (i) Delegation left by special aircraft for Calcutta.
- (ii) The scene that confronted the delegation left a lasting impression on every person in the delegation, and none had ever witnessed ~~the~~ such a welcome that Com M's tour anywhere. The 24-kilometer route ^{from} to the airport to the city centre had been entirely lined by welcoming spectators — at times 7 to 8 deep in the urban centre along the route. ANC and CP flags and banner abounded all over the show. "VIVA ANC", "LONG LIVE MANDELA" and "RED SALUTE TO COMRADE MANDELA" were being chanted along the entire route by ~~hate~~ loud-hailers. There was a festive atmosphere in the air.
- (iii) Com M addressed a large rally at Calcutta's Ranji Stadium. The stadium was packed to capacity with 80000 people, and another 80000 people could not gain entry into the stadium. [See text of Com M's speech].
- (iv) The day ended with a reception by the Governor of West Bengal, which has a Communist government.

Two other events which took place during the course of the day

- (a) The Jamno Lal Bajaj Award was conferred on Com M, who once again accepted the award on behalf of the people of South Africa. Bajaj was an important industrialist, but who had worked closely with Mahatma Gandhi.*
- (b) Com M also addressed a meeting of Indian businessmen. He briefed them on the situation in SA, outlined the need and reasons for financial assistance, and made an appeal for that assistance. They replied that they would go into the matter.

The High Commissioner of India, Mr. S.J. Singh, ~~he~~ (based in Lusaka) had accompanied the delegation to Agra, Benares and Calcutta, during the course of which discussions with Com. Meer & Isu. Among issues touched upon were: upliftment of the Tolstoy farm and Phoenix Settlement camp; India was willing to assist; what was being done in SA to assist the process of Indians fully backing the ANC; ways in which India could assist in bringing home to Indians the importance of backing ANC; periodic statements by India, increased bursaries for African scholars; aid programmes; increasing international pressure.); the issue of cultural contacts; → only with the express permission of the ANC; their general views and fears and concerns; their role in a post-apartheid SA; also expressed his views on Tutu's initiative to bring Com M and Gubbins together. His view was that it was important that the ANC was not seen to be refusing; but it was more important to ensure that the ANC was not seen to be over-anxious to see him.

19/10/1990: Days in India.

Return from India. The original plan had been to proceed to Malaysia, but Malaysia was holding on the very same day as the delegation's arrival in Malaysia. Hence, India then agreed to take the delegation to Bangkok, from where Indonesia would fly the delegation to Jakarta. The delegation would therefore go to Malaysia, after completing the Australian + Japanese missions. The warmth with which the delegation was received in India, and the generosity and eagerness to support our cause, exceeded expectations. It was an extremely successful mission.

(C) MISSION TO INDONESIA.

19th OCTOBER, 1990: Day 1 in Indonesia.

The delegation arrived in Jakarta in the evening. Com M was officially welcomed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Ali Alatas, the Governor of Jakarta Mr Woyogo Atmodarminto, and other government officials.

On arrival at the Presidential Palace, Com M was welcomed by Pres. Soeharto, and Vice-President B.J. Habibie.

A dinner was held in the evening in honour of Com M. Pres. Soeharto made his welcome speech, Com M responded. [See text of Com M's speech].

After dinner, the delegation was entertained with a fascinating cultural performance.

Tuesday: 20th October 1990: Day 2 in Indonesia.

In the evening morning, Pres. Soeharto invited Com M for talks lasting two hours. The discussions were on a one-to-one basis.

Com M briefed Pres. Soeharto on the situation in SA, and made an appeal for a generous donation to the ANC, for which he presented an adequate motivation. The Pres. said that the government had already earmarked the sum of US\$ 750 000 for the Africa Fund. Com M replied that he was referring to the necessity of the Indonesian govt making a separate donation to the ANC as such, and set the amount at US\$ 10 million. Pres. Soeharto said that he would refer the matter to his Cabinet, Com M said that the procedures involved would take far too long. The matter would have to be decided upon immediately, as he would like to take back the money with him.

While Com M was briefing Pres. Soeharto, parallel talks were being held between the rest of the delegation (led by Com TG), and senior Indonesian government officials, (led by Mr Alatas). Com TG presented an excellent overview of the general situation in SA, and the ANC peace initiatives leading up to the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes. He also outlined the various problems which confronted the ANC, and its inability to effectively tackle the issues - primarily because of the lack of funds. Among the issues he stressed were:

- the necessity for the ANC to own its own building, housing its headquarters - as rentals and allied expenses were enormous;
- the necessity for transport, the lack of which reduced effective organisation;
- the return of the 20 000 or more exiles, for whom accommodation and jobs would have to be found;
- the release of political prisoners, for whom the above was also applicable;
- the necessity of ensuring the participation of the population in the democratic process - which meant their mobilisation etc involving media, literature, manpower etc. He then appealed for funds.

Com. Stan then briefed the government delegation on "black-on-black violence". The point which really hammered home was the government seemed to have a double agenda - the peace process on the one hand, appearing reasonable and hoping for the lessening of international pressure; and on the other, Govt agencies attempting to derail the peace initiative.

The Foreign Minister said that the Indonesian Govt had not been deceived by the actions of the SA government. Their own struggle for independence had taught them that the central strategy of colonists was to "divide and rule", entice smaller groups against the main group movement, and to create puppet states. Even after the achievement of freedom and independence, the unresolved issues would serve as

me bombs". He added that Indonesia's approach was the necessity of unity, but within the context of diversity. As an example, he cited their approach to resolving the issue of which of the various languages would be the official/national language - they had chosen the least-spoken of the 7 or so main languages.

As for the future, he said that Indonesia was prepared to support and assist the ANC as they had done in the past. But currently this could be done in two ways:

- a) Offer the ANC training facilities in the fields of agriculture, administration, technology, family planning, ⁺satellite communications, in the terms of their Technical Co-operation Programme for Africa and Asia;
- b) Provide aid in terms of hard cash for the ANC.

General comments by members of the delegation were that we were so encouraged by what the Foreign Minister had said. (amongst ourselves); that he was a polished, well-informed, articulate and sophisticated person with an alert mind.

Accompanied by the Foreign Minister, the delegation was taken to the Foreign Policy Forum, where Com M delivered a speech [see text of his speech]. Before this a poem was read which was dedicated to Comrades M and Winnie, and which Com Barbara read the English translation. Thereafter, there was a question-and-answer session.

The first person to say anything was a young lady who said that she was not there to pose any questions but to make a presentation of a book. Addressing Com M as a "freedom fighter", she presented him with a book written by "The freedom-fighter of the Republic of Indonesia". She turned out to be SUKMAWATI SOEKARNO PUTRI, the youngest daughter of Indonesia's first President, the late Pres. Soekarno. At the end, Com M announced that the President, the govt and people had donated US\$10 million to the ANC.

SUNDAY: 21 ST OCTOBER 1990: Day 3 in Indonesia.

- (i) Accompanied by the Foreign Minister, the delegation was flown to Bandung, where the delegation visited the museum, and saw a documentary on the Bandung Conference.
- (ii) There was a press conference after returning from Bandung. Questions answered by Com M related to the following issues: the impact of the lifting of the State of Emergency; possible consequences of opening the National Party to all for membership; sanctions; nationalisation; the future of the White minority in SA; Indonesia's political prisoners (internal matter); how ANC proposed to spend the US\$10 million.

On the question of the absence of an ANC presence in Indonesia, Com M said that there was no particular reason except that the ANC was terribly short of man power. However, the ANC did have its representative in New Delhi, Com Mpehle, who was our roving ambassador for the area, and who also accompanied the delegation to Indonesia. The ANC would give the matter priority.

MONDAY: 22ND OCTOBER 1990: Day 4 in Indonesia.

- (i) At the farewell ceremony by Pres. Soeharto, Com. M was handed over a cheque of US\$ 10 million with several cabinet members in attendance. Com M signed documents receiving the draft. Com M inspected the Guard of Honour, again demonstrating that he was treated as a Head of State.
- (ii) Boarded Indonesian Airlines for the Darwin.

CONCLUSION: The mission to Indonesia was highly successful, although there was the absence of mass participation in the event. The Indonesian officials were extremely warm and efficient. What was particularly important was that they displayed great concern for Com M and ensured that he was not over-taxed. Sufficient rest-periods were built into their schedules. The general feeling in the delegation was that the warmth and efficiency and generosity displayed in India and Indonesia would be extremely difficult to match during the remaining part of the tour.

(D) MISSION TO AUSTRALIA

MONDAY: 22ND OCTOBER 1990: Day 1 in Australia. CANBERRA

- i) The delegation arrived in Darwin from Jakarta after a 5-hour flight. It was then flown to the capital Canberra in two Royal Australian Air Force planes, and landed in Canberra after a 4-hour flight.

TUESDAY: 23RD OCTOBER 1990: Day 2 in Australia.

- i) Com M had a private discussion with the Prime Minister, Mr. Bob Hawke, whom he fully briefed about the situation in SA.
- ii) The full delegation went ~~the~~ to the Cabinet Room where the entire Cabinet had assembled. Hawke extended a cordial welcome saying the visit was one of Australia's happiest and proudest moments, and that 1983 Australia had given its unqualified support to the struggle. Com M said that the delegation was honoured to visit the country, and be able to

express the deep appreciation for the solid moral, political and financial support which he, his government, and the people of Australia had shown. Com M also thanked them for the US\$ 15 million granted over a period of 3 years. He then briefed the Cabinet concerning the following:

- (i) the peace process leading to the two summits; (ii) "black-on-black violence"; (iii) the future economy and nationalisation; (iv) the way forward; (v) the reasons for greater material aid and financial assistance.

ii) The delegation attended a luncheon hosted by Mr & Mrs Hawke. The introduction was by the Minister of Foreign Affairs Gareth Evans, who accompanied the delegation throughout the Australian tour. Mr Hawke made an impressive speech - the best thus far on the tour - in which he stressed the maintenance of sanctions and the promise of further assistance. [see text of Com M's response].

i) Com. M held a press conference and press/tv interviews. Two controversial issues cropped up: (a) the Gratsha ambush: while Com M was talking, Gratsha was suddenly connected to the press conference. Com M said that he should have been informed about Gratsha being brought on, and walked out of the conference. The reporter later told listeners that there had been no intention of setting up a conversation between the two, although some personnel at ABC had hoped that the two would talk. (b) The Aborigine issue: Some Aborigines were disappointed at the fact that Com M had not come out fully in favour of land and other rights for the Aborigine people. Among those who publicly criticized Com M was an activist for Aborigine rights, a Michael Mansell.

WEDNESDAY: 24/10/90 : Day 3 in Australia: SYDNEY

i) The delegation was flown from Canberra to Sydney in the two RAAF planes.

ii) Com M met a delegation of the Aborigine people. Among the 4 representatives who spoke ~~among~~ was Terry O'Shane, and Paul Cole. Both outlined the history of discrimination and injustice against their people, and explained that as a minority, they were trapped by the forces of history. Com M had made it clear that the ANC had to be very careful not to express views which could easily ^{be} misconstrued as interference in the internal affairs of a friendly country. He nevertheless emphasized that the ANC fully sympathised with their struggles, hopes and aspirations. They presented Com M with their flag, and some books and reports. They also requested that Com M visit their local community to see the conditions in which they lived.

After the meeting, a spokesperson for the delegation, a Marcia Langton, disassociated

themselves from the public criticisms mentioned earlier, and from the "disgraceful behaviour of one or two individuals". She also criticized the media for blowing up the issue in the press and on TV. At the same time, a prominent personality in one of the Aboriginal groupings said that Langton did not represent the vast majority of Aborigines, and that the majority of the Aborigines in the Melbourne area were unanimous in condemning the ANC for having remained silent on the issue, and for not getting involved in their cause.

(iii) The Sydney Rally was held in the forecourt of the Sydney Opera House, where about 20 000 - 25 000 people were present. It was an impressive and lively rally. Among those who had helped in organising the rally were the Building Workers' Industrial Union, the Committee to Defend Black Rights, and ANC Support Groups in Australia. An all-white choir group sang the ^{ANTHEM} Freedom Charter, and the American singer Michael Edward-Stevens sang the Freedom Charter. A photograph of Paul Robeson was presented to Com M, and who had sung ~~the~~ to the building workers of Australia at the very same venue 30 years previously. The mayor Sydney presented Com M with the key to the City.

iv) The delegation met with a group of about 30 ANC members living in Sydney, and with whom the delegation had lunch. Com M addressed them briefly stressing the important they had played in piling on the pressure on the government, and that they, like other comrades around the world, were a source of inspiration and encouragement to everyone back home. Among those present was Com. NZ's son.

i) The delegation attended an ecumenical church service at St. Mary's Cathedral. The service was dedicated to the people of South Africa in general, and to Com M in particular. St. Mary's Cathedral is massive and easily accommodated the crowd of about 4 000. The screaming and whistling which erupted as Com M entered the Cathedral reminded one of a rally or a concert back home, rather than a church service. The ANC Support Committee Choir rendered several numbers of the movement. It was a very moving service, and Com M responded beautifully in his speech, stressing the important role which the church had and continued to play in the struggle for liberation.

(vi) Thereafter the delegation was welcomed by the Sydney ANC Support Committee. As only SA citizens can be members of the ANC, there are ANC Support Committees all over the show. The meeting, attended by about two to two-and-a-half thousand people, was lively. (There was very extensive coverage of the tour in Australia, and the impact ~~was~~ appeared to be tremendous). After the chair-person's opening remarks

concerning the solidarity and support for the cause, Com M responded with the valuable work of support committees, a briefing on the situation in SA, and the way forward. It was a lively, productive and inspiring meeting.

(vii) The day ended with a fund-raising dinner in honour of Com M, and which was hosted by the Australian National Reception Committee. It was an impressive function attended by about 400-450 people who had paid A\$ 200 each to attend the function. Union representation was very strong, especially by the Seamen's Union of Australia. The function was addressed by the Foreign Minister and Com M who spoke off the cuff - and this is when he is at his best. In passing the vote of thanks, the hope was expressed that the democratic SA of the future would be realized soon, and that when that happens, the ANC's Chief Representative for Australia and the Pacific, Com. Eddie Funde, would be SA's first Ambassador to Australia. He appears to have done a magnificent piece of work in the area, and is very popular.

THURSDAY: 25th OCTOBER, 1990: Day 4 in Australia.

- (i) The delegation was flown to Melbourne, the capital of Victoria, by the RAAF, and was welcomed by the Premier of Victoria, JOAN KIRNER.
- (ii) The Governor of Victoria, Dr. Davis McCaughey, called on Com M. The usual exchange of preliminaries took place; but it is important to note here that protocol had been reversed. A Governor/President etc calling on a visiting dignitary is almost rare, and was the reflection of the great honour paid by Australia to Com M.
- (iii) Com M had a brief meeting with Malcolm Fraser - the usual briefing etc.
- (iv) The delegation met the members of the ANC, living in Melbourne. Com M addressed them briefly. - the usual.
- (v) The delegation was invited to a Luncheon, hosted by representatives of Australian businessmen. About 60-65 businessmen were present - paying A\$ 1000 per person. Com M outlined the ANC's economic policy. Comments: they were amazed at the facts and figures presented. Questions from the floor related to the issue of sanctions which Com M dealt with adequately, and at the same time dealt with the issue of nationalisation, and also appealed for assistance. Because of the excellence of the paper, it was decided beforehand to make photostat copies available to each businessman for further study.
- (vi) The delegation attended a joint meeting of the ANC Support Committee (Melbourne)

and Australian Trade Unions. The crowd of about 2500 (carrying placards stating "UNIONS WELCOME NELSON MANDELA", "FREE SOUTH AFRICA", + "DOWN WITH APARTHEID") gave Com M a tumultuous welcome. Com M was welcomed by RICHARD WYNNIE (the Lord Mayor of Melbourne), MARTIN FERGUSON (President of the Australian Council of Trade Unions), and JOHN HALFPENNY (Victoria Trades Hall Council). About 700 people were forced to stay outside the Melbourne Town Hall, as they were unable to get in. The National Anthem was sung. Ferguson stated that sanctions would be maintained by Australian Trade Unions until the ANC notified them that sanctions had been lifted. Halfpenny said that Com M was due to receive the Freedom of the City of Melbourne later that day, and it was the fervent hope of the workers of Australia that he would be receiving the Freedom of South Africa in the near future. The workers of Australia handed over a cheque for A\$ 20 000 to Com M for the ANC.

In an off-the-cuff speech, Com M traced the history of the trade union movement in SA — starting from 1924 with the Laundry Workers' Union, the Non-European Council of Trade Unions, the 1946 Mine Strike and the role of JB Marks, the formation of SACTU, and then COSATU.

(vii) In a ceremony lasting more than half an hour, the Mayor bestowed the Freedom of the City on Com M in terms of the Council resolution adopted on the 19th October, 1990. The Resolution: "That this Council, in recognition of his outstanding leadership in the struggle to abolish apartheid and achieve democracy in South Africa, and as a manifestation of the regard he has thereby earned from the community at large and the citizens of the City of Melbourne in particular... hereby admits the distinguished personage of MR NELSON ROHINIHLAHLA MANDELA to the distinction of HONORARY FREEMAN OF THE CITY OF MELBOURNE"

(viii) The Premier of the State of Victoria hosted a State Reception in honour of Com M, who outlined ANC policy, negotiations, violence and the tasks ahead.

(ix) The delegation attended a fund-raising concert at the Melbourne Sports and Entertainment Centre, organised by the Nelson Mandela Reception Committee. Since this was Com M's last public appearance in Australia, he used the opportunity to thank all the organisations, the Government and the people of Australia for the assistance given, and the interest and warmth displayed throughout the visit.

FRIDAY: 26th OCTOBER 1990: Day 5 in Australia.

The delegation was flown to Sydney on a chartered plane. Com M and part of the delegation stayed at Hawke's private residence. The delegation was taken on a boat ride on Sydney Harbour, whereafter the rest of the day was free.

SATURDAY, 27th OCTOBER 1990: Day 6 in Australia.

The delegation was flown to Tokyo via Brisbane by QUANTAS Airlines. It was a 9-hour flight covering 8000 kms.

CONCLUSION: The efficiency and organisation of the protocol and diplomatic divisions of the Australian govt, coupled with warmth and generosity of the people themselves exceeded expectations. On the whole, a very productive and successful tour.

(E) MISSION TO JAPAN.

SATURDAY: 27th OCTOBER 1990: Day 1 in Japan:

- (i) The delegation arrived at NARITA airport in Tokyo in the evening, and was welcomed by Japan's Consul General to SA, and by about 20 Ambassadors from African states to Japan.
- (ii) In a brief interview with the press at the airport, Com M expressed the hope that the government and the people of Japan would become involved in the political processes taking place in SA. He also called for support, and for assistance for development in a post-apartheid SA. Commenting on the statement which Japan's Minister of Justice had made about Blacks in America (where he compared prostitutes in Tokyo to Blacks moving into the suburbs), Com M said that he was confident that Japan had the leadership to solve that problem.
- (iii) In the late evening, the African ambassadors in Japan paid Com M a courtesy call.

SUNDAY: 28th OCTOBER 1990: Day 2 in Japan.

- (i) The delegation was flown from Tokyo to Osaka, where it was welcomed by members of the AMANDLA ART ENSEMBLE and had lunch with them. Comrades TG and M responded to the input made by an AMANDLA representative. Comrades TG and M will fill in the details verbally.

- (ii) The delegation attended a 2-hour rally in Osaka, hosted by the Nelson Mandela Reception Committee of Japan. The AMANDLA group presented several cultural items to an enthusiastic and receptive crowd of about 10 000 people.
- (iii) In his introductory remarks, Com M said the usual things. He then strongly emphasized the need for support and financial assistance by Japan. Here he spelt out the details of the assistance already granted India, Indonesia and Australia. He said that he was mentioning ~~those~~ those figures because the countries concerned had already made the figures public themselves. He added that the delegation had reached the richest country in Asia, and that the ANC would ask the government and big business for substantial assistance. He said that the ANC was confident that Japan would respond in the same way as the other countries had done.
- (iv) The delegation returned to Tokyo by the Bullet Train, which did the journey in $2\frac{3}{4}$ hours in comparison to the flying time of one hour. On the way back, Comrades TG and Isu disembarked at Kyoto to address a meeting, jointly hosted by the Human Rights Group and the religious sector in Kyoto. Both addressed the meeting held on the temple grounds. Com TG made an impassioned plea for support and financial assistance, after he had outlined the tasks which faced the ANC. There were one or two Japanese ceremonies, including the Tea Ceremony, and a traditional Japanese dinner. 90% of Japan's population adhere to the Buddhist faith. According to our Chief Representative in Japan, Com. JERRY MATSILA, the meeting was an important breakthrough - to draw Kyoto's religious sector into the struggle.
- (v) On the return journey from Osaka to Tokyo, Com M gave an interview to ASAHI SHIMBUN, Japan's largest newspaper with a daily circulation of 8 million. He responded to the usual questions posed.
- (vi) The delegation attended a dinner hosted by the Tokyo section of the Nelson Mandela Reception Committee at the Faculty of the Humanities and Sciences of NIHON UNIVERSITY. It was informal and friendly, and Com M made the thank-you speech. This was followed by a concert organised by the same Committee, at which some of Japan's top artists and musicians performed free. The concert was meant to be a fund-raising event for the Committee, and Com M re-inforced his speech with the appropriate message. The crowd of about 3 000 was enthusiastic, and was composed mainly of students.

MONDAY: 29th OCTOBER 1990: Day 3 in Japan.

- (i) Com M was informed that "EBONY", a prestigious Black magazine in the U.S., had decided to bestow the "EBONY AWARD" on him. This would be done on Sunday, the 4th November, in absentia. The Ebony-appointed TV crew taped Com M's "Acceptance Speech" of about two minutes, and which will be replayed in the U.S. at the time when the Award is bestowed on Com M.
- (ii) Com M, accompanied by Comrades Nkobi, Jerry, Stan, Barbara + Ismail, met the Sec-General of the Liberal Democratic Party (MR. OZAWA), the Chairman of the General Council, the Chairman of the Policy Research Council, and the Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee. Com M outlined the current political situation, the ANC's role in initiating negotiations and the road ahead. He said that the ANC required substantial aid, why the funds were required, and gave details of the aid already received.
In reply, the delegation was told that the question of aid would be referred to the relevant agencies of the government dealing with such matters. Com M stressed that he would take up the matter with the Prime Minister.
- (iii) In his meeting with the Minister of International Trade and Industry (MR. MUTO), Com M explained the usual, and said that the ANC expected financial assistance of US\$ 25m from Japan.
- (iv) In his meeting with the President of the Export-Import Bank of Japan (MR. YAMAGUCHI), Com M stated that arising from his visit to the US, there had been discussions in the ANC of a suggested "development bank" for a post-apartheid SA, and that the matter was being considered by the NEC. Mr Yamaguchi raised the question of the type of economy the ANC envisaged for the future. Com M briefly outlined the policy, and said that a full statement of the ANC's economic policy would be made available the following day.
- (v) The delegation attended a reception hosted by the Parliamentarians' Anti-Apartheid League, representing all political parties in Japan. About 85 parliament members were present. Com. M re-emphasized the fact, that in spite of many countries having legislation which prevented their governments from making donations to political organisations, they had found ways and means of overcoming those difficulties. He added that the ANC should not be viewed as an ordinary political organisation, but rather as an agent of peace in SA.
- (vi) In his discussions with the Prime Minister, MR. TOSHIKI KAIFU, Com M made the usual input, and said that it was regrettable that the government had made no immediate

financial pledge to the ANC. The Prime Minister said that Com M's request of US\$ 25 million was difficult, because Japan had never provided such financial assistance to specific political organisations in other countries; that Japan would consider how it could co-operate through UN and other international agencies concerning assistance; that the sum of US\$ 1.4 million had already been earmarked by Japan during the current fiscal year to help blacks in SA through UN and other non-governmental organisations in SA; and finally, that beginning from this year, the government had already decided to receive an unspecified number of Blacks annually for the purpose of training them with the Japan International Co-operation Agency. Com M's repeated request for assistance was refused.

TUESDAY : 30TH OCTOBER 1990 : Day 4 in Japan.

- (i) A 6-person delegation met the business community. In an off-the-cuff input, Com M presented an over-all picture of the situation in SA, and the ANC economic policy. He expressed the hope that the ANC's programme would be completed with the help of business community in and outside Japan.
- (ii) The delegation went to Parliament House where Com M addressed the Diet. He said that Japan could easily provide assistance in the areas of non-governmental welfare, education, infrastructure and technological know-how; and their achievements would be of tremendous value to SA and Southern African region as a whole. He expressed confidence that Japan would strengthen its call for the abolition of Apartheid through a concrete programme of assistance to the people of SA.
- (iii) Com M addressed a press conference at the Japan National Press Club, where about 250 journalists were present. Questions related to the time-frame for the establishment of the new SA; the amounts thus far raised; the refusal of the government to assist the ANC; violence; and negotiations. Com M stressed that Japan's assistance had been absolutely insignificant when compared to that rendered by Africa and other Asian countries.
- (iv) A meeting took place between Com M and Miss TAKAKO DOI, chairperson of the Japan Socialist Party - which has a membership of 130 000, 139 members in the House of Representatives (Lower House), and 72 in the House of Councillors (Upper House). The Party regards apartheid as a crime against humanity, and believes that sanctions be maintained. She said that her party's view was that the reform process had not reached an irreversible point, and hence her party would pressurise the govt to maintain sanctions. She added that her party would persuade the government to initiate large-scale aid for the ANC.

She made two proposals: (a) that her party send a delegation to SA to

explore its own role in facilitating the reform process'. Com M replied that the issue was a delicate matter in view of the ANC's policy of isolating SA; (b) that her Party would be willing to invite the an official delegation to Japan. Here Com M said that the NEC would discuss the matter.

(v) A 7-person delegation saw the Minister of Foreign Affairs, MR NAKAYAMA. Com M briefly summarized the discussions with the Prime Minister, and in view of the reply regarding assistance, he would not go into the matter. He said that in his meeting with the businessmen, they had acknowledged that the government assistance was insignificant. The Minister asked what the next step was regarding negotiations. He was told that the question of identifying the persons to draw up the new constitution was crucial, but that there were differing views on the matter. Whereas the ANC wanted the persons concerned to be elected, the government wanted them appointed. This was the issue which needed to be resolved urgently.

WEDNESDAY: 31st OCTOBER 1990: Day 5 in Japan.

(i) The day started with a series of 5 meetings with the leaders of opposition parties.

(a) The chairperson of the Clean Government Party (MR ISHIDA) said that his party had been founded on the principles of peace, human rights, and the environment; and that as a party, it was striving for the promotion of assistance, and would like to break through the barriers.

(b) The chairperson of the Democratic Socialist Party (MR OHUCHI) said that although no assistance had been given to the ANC, he was convinced that in the near future the request would be met. He intended discussing the matter with the Prime Minister, and would do his utmost to see what could be done.

(c) The representative of the United Democratic Socialist Party said that its basic aim was to unite all the parties; that they were friends of the ANC advocating human rights; and that the Japanese system was too rigid to make assistance easily available.

(d) The Chairperson of the Japanese Communist Party (MR FUWA) said that the Party had contributed much to the establishment of the Tokyo Office of the ANC; that the government had invited the ANC to Japan but was reluctant to give assistance; that behind the situation the real intention was to side with the régime. He concluded by saying that his Party's duty was to reverse the trend, and would take up the issue of apartheid in the Foreign Affairs Committee. He presented Com M with a small camera.

(e) The Chairperson of the Rengo Upper House Group (MR YAMADA), said there was also discrimination in a Japan, especially against the BURAKO villagers. See (iv) below.

In the above cases, Com M gave short briefings, and stressed the need for

assistance. To most of them, Com M said that the Chief Rep had briefed him about the support and assistance they had rendered to the office, urged them to continue the support, without which the Rep would be able to discharge the functions assigned to him.

(ii) The delegation was invited to the head office of SOKA GAKKAI, and met the President MR IKEDA. SOKA GAKKAI INTERNATIONAL is one of the most powerful religious movements in Japan. He said that he felt honoured that the invitation had been accepted in spite of a very tight schedule. He described Com M as one of the great men of our times, and the leader of an important and noble movement; that during his 10000 days of imprisonment, he had transformed the prison into the Mandela College. He had written a poem specially for the occasion, and presented Com M with the Award of Highest Honour.

Com M thanked him, and said the Mr Ikeda was well-known in SA also for the development of those human values which united all people. He added that he accepted the honour without hesitation, and would do nothing to disappoint his movement.

Mr Ikeda invited a cultural group to Japan on an exchange programme basis to introduce our culture to theirs. He added that Com M should nominate students from SA to study at Tokyo University, and he would be personally responsible for them. He said that he admired Com. Winnie, and to convey to her that Japan's women were behind her. He mentioned that there was discrimination in Japan, and that his party and movement were doing their best to address the question. He concluded with the request that Com M address the people of Japan.

Com M said that he was encouraged that people so many miles away from SA had such a great interest in our struggle, for assistance. He appealed for assistance because the ANC was also fighting against discrimination, especially women, and that the message he had was that those who were discriminated against should stand up and fight, and called on the people of Japan and the international community to support that fight. This was the ANC was doing in SA.

(By all accounts, this was certainly the most moving event thus far of the tour).

(iii) In a meeting with the Japanese Trade Union Confederation — (RENGO whose President is a MR YAMAGISHI, and has a membership of 8 million), the links between the workers' struggles in Japan and SA were stressed. The meeting was attended by the entire executive of the confederation. They donated ¥ 20 million (approx US\$ 390000).

iv) A meeting had been addressed on Sunday in Kyoto. Representatives of the anti-apartheid movement, the religious sector, and the Boruto Liberation Movement handed

over US\$ 10 000 for the ANC.

- (v) There was a brief meeting with representatives of the Japan Anti-Apartheid Committee — an umbrella body of 14 independent anti-apartheid organisations in Japan. It is committed to economic sanctions, and promotes projects in SA and Namibia. It is actively involved in Operation Masakhane for the Homeless in and around Johannesburg.
- (vi) There was a brief meeting with representatives of the Japanese Committee of the World Conference on Religion and Peace (WCRP). As a demonstration of their support and solidarity, the Peace Development Fund of the WCRP (Japan) donated ¥10 m. to the ANC.
- (vii) The delegation attended a public rally organised by the Nelson Mandela Reception Committee in Japan. Thousands of students and workers attended the lively rally. Com M said that no political organisation which enjoyed the support of such large numbers of people in Japan could fail in its objective of ushering in the new SA. He added that despite the government's refusal to assist the ANC, the visit was a success — for the delegation was returning SA in the knowledge that Japan's people stood solidly behind the struggle. Their warmth and their solidarity worth more than the aid turned down. He then called on Com TG to briefly address the meeting. This turned out to be a rebel-rousing speech which was punctuated by applause after applause. At the conclusion of the rally, representatives of the Committee handed Com M a donation of ¥43 million for the ANC.
- (viii) The day ended with a reception held in honour of Com M, and which had been organised by the African ambassadors to Japan. The Chairperson, the Nigerian Ambassador, made the welcome speech and Com M responded as usual.

THURSDAY: 1st NOVEMBER 1990: Day 6 in Japan.

The delegation left the New Tokyo International Airport for the 7-hour flight to Malaysia, bringing to an end the mission to Japan.

COMMENTS ON THE GOVT'S REFUSAL TO GRANT AID:

(a) Deputy Sec-General of the Reception Committee, and an assistant professor at MEIJI GAKUIN UNIVERSITY, MR MAKOTO KATSUMATA, said that the government's response to the visit was weak and expected. He urged the government to change its policy toward the struggle against apartheid, because the struggle had reached a new phase, and the ANC needed money over which it exercised direct control. He added

that he could not understand how the government could have refused the ANC financial support, when it had already expanded its interpretation of the Constitution in order to give US\$ 4 Billion to the multi-national forces in the Gulf.

(b) The Chairperson of RENGO (the trade union Confederation) said that he could not help feeling anger over the government's negative attitude toward financial aid to the ANC. He said that Renko would continue pushing the government to expand its aid to the ANC.

(c) Executive member of the Reception Committee, the REV. ICHIRO KITAGAWA, said that although the request had been turned down, he was still hopeful. He said that the people of Japan and the government had gained a clearer understanding of the future of SA, and expressed the hope that the government would pay greater attention to the issue of human rights in South Africa.

— END OF MISSION TO JAPAN —

(F) MISSION TO MALAYSIA.

THURSDAY: 1st NOVEMBER 1990 : Day 1 in Malaysia.

(i) The delegation arrived in Kuala Lumpur by Japanese Air Lines. Com M and the delegation was welcomed at the airport by Prime Minister DR MAHATHIR MOHAMED, the Minister of Foreign Affairs MRU ABU HASSAN BIN HAJI OMAR, and other dignitaries.

(ii) This was followed by several interviews with the media. Com M said that Malaysia had an impressive record of opposing White supremacy in SA. This opposition had dated back to 1961 when Malaysia had been in the forefront to call for the expulsion of SA from the Commonwealth. Furthermore, Malaysia had imposed comprehensive sanctions against SA, and had remained consistent with her policy of not having any relationships with SA. Finally, Com M expressed confidence that the people and the government of Malaysia would continue with supporting the struggle in SA. ~~Dr Mahathir told Com M that he would discuss the amount and how to provide assistance with his Cabinet.~~

FRIDAY: 2nd NOVEMBER 1990 : Day 2 in Malaysia.

(i) A 4-person delegation saw the Prime Minister at his office. Com M briefed the PM and appealed for aid. He promised financial aid, and the provision of housing and technical training. In respect of housing, the PM said that Malaysia had assisted other states, and had exported such items as doors and other building components even to

Western countries. He promised to send trained personnel to SA, who could speedily erect homes to meet the needs of the returning exiles. The offer was readily accepted, and it was suggested that the delegation inspect their housing schemes. The PM also said that the government would finance the ANC Office in Kuala Lumpur, and requested the appointment of a chief representative for Malaysia. In response to the appeal for financial aid, Dr Mahathir said that he would discuss the amount, and how to provide the assistance, with his Cabinet.

(ii) The above delegation was also granted an audience with His Majesty, the Yang di-PERTUAN AGONG, SULTAN AZLAN SHAH. At the meeting the King, who is elected from among the 9 traditional rulers of Malaysia for 5 years, extensively questioned Com M on various aspects of the situation in SA. The King is a qualified barrister from London, and was the Chief Justice of Malaysia before being elected King. Aspects questioned upon in particular were negotiations, violence and the future Constitution.

(iii) A 3-person delegation, headed by Com TG, and accompanied by the Deputy Foreign Minister, visited the Perusahaan Otomobil Nasional car plant. The objectives of the National Car Project was to rationalize the local automotive industry, spearhead the development of the local components industries, and to encourage the upgrading of technology. Plant capacity is 80 000 units annually, of which 15 000 are exported, mainly to the UK.

iv) A 4-person delegation had an audience with the Minister of Foreign Affairs. In connection with housing. He said that the ANC should send two representatives to Malaysia to inspect its housing scheme. Com. Stan enquired whether the government would be willing to train diplomatic personnel, to which there was a favourable response.

v) The delegation attended a public rally held at an indoor stadium. The Prime Minister addressed the rally. He said that Malaysia had no diplomatic or commercial ties with SA, and therefore Malaysia had lost a lot of money, but he stressed that they had no regrets, and that it was a worthwhile sacrifice. He said that Malaysia would continue to press for continued sanctions against SA. He also said that the world today had awakened to the oppressive government of SA, and as a result, it had decided to abandon racial discrimination; but he sounded the warning that that was not enough. He said that Malaysia awaited the day when free SA would join the Commonwealth of Nations, and that Malaysia would be willing to propose her admission at that time. Com M responded [see text of his speech]

SATURDAY: 3RD NOVEMBER 1990: Day 3 in Malaysia.

- (i) The delegation attended the conferment of the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws on Com M by the Chancellor of the Universiti Malaya. The citation on Com M, delivered by Professor BAHRI, was an excellent thumb-nail portrait about Com M, [see Com M's speech].
- (ii) After the conferment of the degree, the delegation paid a visit to one of the mosques in Kuala Lumpur - which is a State mosque.
- (iii) The delegation was taken by helicopter to the ~~to~~ ^{the} ~~Felda~~ ^{Felda} Scheme, which has been in existence since 1956. The scheme was started with the explicit of raising the standard of living and the earning potential of rural Malaysians, who constitute 40% of the population - i.e. about 6 million people. The idea centred around the concept of clearing virgin forest, and providing land for families on which to live and to work. At the project of the Felda Scheme, each family was provided with 4 hectares of land, on which either rubber trees or palm nut oil trees had been planted. In addition, every family was provided with a very basic two-bedroom wooden cottage. Schooling and health are also provided. The rural people were also provided with technical and agricultural assistance, for as long as they required it. Felda Scheme also encouraged the development of secondary industry so that, both rubber and oil, as the two basic products, were produced in factories built in the vicinity of these family communities. The bulk of the capital for the farming aspect of the service is, and has been provided by the government, but secondary industry has often been a joint venture between the government and foreign capital, primarily Japanese capital. Families who have the scheme have to repay the capital for the land and the house at a nominal fee over a period of 20 years. Thus far the Felda Scheme has shown to be economically profitable for the government and socially acceptable to the rural people. Since its inception, the Scheme has re-allocated 750 000 people.
- (iv) In the evening the Barisan Nasional hosted the delegation to a dinner, where Dr. Mahathir made an excellent speech. Com M responded adequately, and in concluding his speech, he announced that the government had donated US \$5 million to the ANU. This event was concluded with the presentation of a gift by Dr. Mahathir, and by the presentation of several cultural items.

~~CONCLUSION:~~ SUNDAY 4TH NOVEMBER 1990: Day 4 in Malaysia.

The delegation left Kuala Lumpur for a 2 1/2 flight to BRUNEI.

Circursion (i) Malaysia was the only country where the delegation had been welcomed, and bid farewell, by the Prime Minister personally.

(ii) The warmth, generosity and the efficiency with which the delegation was treated was the highlight of the entire tour. The tour was highly successful.

- END MISSION TO MALAYSIA -

- MISSION TO BRUNEI -

SUNDAY: 21st NOVEMBER: Day 1 in Brunei.

(i) Upon arrival in BRUNEI, the delegation was welcomed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Prince Mohammed Bolkiah, who is the brother of the Sultan of Brunei.

(ii) The only activity that took place in Brunei was the delegation's visit to the Brunei Museum.

(iii) This is the first time the delegation had a decent break.

(NB: Brunei has a population of only a quarter of a million people, and is a very rich oil-producing country. The Sultan of Brunei is reputed to be the wealthiest person in the world, with a personal wealth of US\$ 25 BILLION. His palace is the largest in the world with 1788 rooms. After Kuwait, Brunei has the 2nd largest per capita income in the world.)

MONDAY: 5th NOVEMBER 1990: Day 2 in Brunei.

(i) The delegation was invited for lunch by the Prince Mohammed Bolkiah.

(ii) Before lunch, a 3-person delegation (Com M, TCr, and Stanley) had discussions with the Foreign Minister.

(iii) There was the usual briefing outlining the purpose of the visit. Com M asked whether it would be proper to make a request for assistance from his brother, the Sultan, and sought the Prince's advice on the matter. Com M was encouraged to do so.

(iv) After lunch the delegation was taken to the Sultan's palace, where Comrades M, Stanley, Barbara and Ismail met the King, and warmly welcomed by him. After the usual exchange of pleasantries and briefing, Com M asked the comrades to leave, as he would like to take up some matter alone with the King.

- (v) In this discussion, Com M request assistance, without naming any figure. The King's response was that he would have to consult his Cabinet first. As this would involve delays, Com M said that as the delegation would be leaving for London the very same evening, it would be appreciated if the King would grant the assistance immediately, so that he could take it back with him to SA. The King said the assistance would be brought to the airport by his brother, the Foreign Minister.
- (vi) There was a press conference at the delegation's place of residence. Among the questions were: (a) the outcome of the visit to Brunei (it would be improper to discuss that with the media); (b) the assistance received in Asia; (c) whether sanctions would help; (d) the possibilities of resuming the armed struggle; (e) the question of violence; (f) how soon SA would become free etc; (g) whether the case against Com Ninnie was a plot by the State (summed up her role in her own right and name, and that the matter was before the courts).
- (vii) The Foreign Minister did not pitch up at the airport. Instead, the Minister of Justice was there to bid the delegation farewell. He apologised for the Foreign Minister's absence; the latter was unable to come as he had been injured while playing polo. The expected/promised assistance was not there.
- (viii) The delegation then left for Brunei for Kuala Lumpur, from where it took the 12-hour flight to London. This was at 3:30 a.m.

— END OF THE MISSION TO BRUNEI —

LONDON

TUESDAY: 6TH NOVEMBER, 1990. Day 1 in London.

- (i) The delegation was met at the airport by comrades from the ANC office in London.
- (ii) Comrades M, TG and Stanley visited Com. O.R., where it was decided that Com N should go to Paris to see Pres. Mitterand. This would take place at 4pm on Day 2 in London.
- (iii) As a result, the expected departure of the delegation was postponed until 7pm on Thursday, the 8th November.
- (iv) The delegation is now expected to arrive at Jan Smuts at about 8:30/9:00 am on Friday, the 9th November.

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