

LETTERS

Dear Sir,

D.R. DOBB (Letters, July 12) summarises the essential elements of free enterprise. Sabta has no quarrel with the theory. But we live in a real world — one where whites have had every possible advantage over blacks. It is simplistic to argue on economic grounds alone, without taking into account the social and political scene.

And to argue that Sabta is "well and truly in bed with the apartheid government" is too ludicrously untrue as to be laughable — if it were not so serious.

The history of Sabta since the early Eighties has been one of consistent struggle against government policies.

I wonder if Mr Dobb — writing from the safe haven of his leafy suburb of Bracken-hurst — realises that his remarks can actually endanger the lives of those who are struggling to improve the capabilities of this particular group of black entrepreneurs.

(In this connection, I would also criticise

Protect Sabta

BUSINESS DAY

for short period

your headline "Sabta gangs up with government" as being both inflammatory and misleading; it does not reflect the contents of the major portion of the letter).

I can merely repeat that Sabta seeks a defined period of transition from regulation to deregulation, during which period there

would be limited and decreasing protection against white competition.

The much more important feature of the transition period must be the development of the black taxi operator so that he can become the black transport businessman of the 1990s. Sabta will be making an important announcement on this aspect in the second week of August.

T J NGCOYA
President, Sabta

LETTERS

PO Box 1138
Jo'burg 2000

HERE IS a conundrum: if the National Party cannot repeal the Group Areas Act for fear of losing its power base, how can it negotiate with the ANC for a transition to democracy without losing that base?

Put differently, how can the National Party under Mr FW de Klerk possibly meet the soaring expectations raised, here and abroad, by the historic meeting in Tuynhuys of President Botha and Nelson Mandela?

The obvious answer is by leadership of a very high degree; the more likely answer, concealed in the labyrinthine deviousness of Nationalist political style, is that the party's words and actions don't mean what they seem to mean.

There is a need to be clear on the party's intentions, for two reasons.

Firstly, the elevation of Mandela to the status of negotiating partner, and the election rhetoric of people like Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee, or Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok ("apartheid is an albatross") have raised expectations so high that, if nothing much ensues, we risk another disillusion, here and abroad, as severe as Rubicon.

Secondly, the opinion poll conducted for Rapport by Mark en Mening — a poll which has a track record of reasonable reliability — shows a marked weakening of the party's traditional base, from 48,7% of the electorate in April to 41,1% in June. This means that raised expectations coincide with a narrowing of room to manoeuvre.

The defections are especially worrying, not only because they are running high but because, once again, English and Afrikaans voters are acting in fundamentally different ways — Afrikaners mainly go right to the CP, English go left to the DP. The hopes that Afrikaners could be attracted into a genuinely reformist party are not being met.

In spite of all the efforts made by the DP to accommodate Wynand Malan's NDM and Wimpie de Klerk's

Mandela's coming! BUSINESS DAY 17 JULY 1989 Is the National Party prepared?

KEN OWEN

"Fourth Force," despite the appointment of a majority of Afrikaners to the party's governing board, and despite the nomination of high-profile Afrikaans advisers like Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, the DP can muster no more than 7,8% of the Afrikaans voters.

The implication is inescapable that, so far at least, the National Party is falling between two stools: it is doing too little in the way of fundamental reform to hold its English voters (and a small number of mainly young intellectual Afrikaners), but too much to hold its own right wing. Its own base is shrinking from both ends.

Some points are clear: the NP has sensibly abandoned the illusion that it can win back the racists who have already defected to the Conservatives (barring, perhaps, a minority driven to defection by a decline in their economic fortunes or by the endemic corruption of government). The NP is competing robustly with the DP for what might be called the "moderate reformist" vote. That vote, it turns out, is overwhelmingly English.

At the same time, there are encouraging signs of enlightened leadership emerging in the campaign. At

one time, it was only Pik Botha who dared speak of the inevitability of change (remember his 1975 announcement, somewhat premature, of the death of apartheid? Or his talk, on the day before Slabbert's self-immolation, of a black president?) and he risked repudiation by his own party whenever he did so.

Now the party itself speaks of universal "participation" in government, and Coetsee, following the Law Commission, talks of defending "group values" by entrenching the rights of the individual. Setting out his vision of a democratic SA he told the recent National Party congress: "The system must not violate the principle of universal franchise, or it will be self-destructive." That brings him close to one man, one vote.

Thirdly, the National Party has plainly abandoned the "Albanian Option" — the belief, especially prevalent in the security establishment and among less educated whites, that the country might dig itself into a bunker of angry defiance of the rest of the world.

Previously strained relations with

African states have — thanks again to the ever-resourceful Pik! — been turned into an instrument to break the deadlocks in both foreign policy and local politics. A complex web of relationships has been woven to bind local, regional and distant parties into a single, multi-faceted political process, and the Botha-Mandela meeting has given that process almost unstoppable momentum.

Nevertheless, severe contradictions remain. Most obviously, negotiation cannot proceed very far unless Mandela is released. Nor can it proceed very far unless the ban on the ANC and other political organisations (including the SA Communist Party of which Govan Mbeki is a self-confessed member, and of which half the ANC leaders are members?) is lifted.

Nor, indeed, could negotiation proceed unless the emergency were ended, opening the way for vigorous political protest against not only the Group Areas Act, but against all surviving vestiges of Verwoerdian apartheid. In short, the process creates its own imperatives.

The Law Commission, much more sensible than government, has suggested a systematic purge of the statute book to eliminate all laws

that might conflict with the provisions of a fully-fledged Western-style bill of rights. That process would do more than anything else imaginable to "create a climate for peaceful negotiation," but it might take years. It would be slow and technocratic, gradually widening the space for political activity.

Now, however, the pace has been stepped up dramatically. Unless Mandela is released soon after the election, a new Rubicon will threaten, and if Mandela is released, the pace will again pick up. A very high degree of leadership will be required to cope with the rush of events, and to bring a nervous white electorate along.

All this makes the election campaign a test of Nationalist leadership. If the party faces up to the implications of its own actions — of bringing Mandela to Tuynhuys to open historic discussions with the head of state — it must prepare the electorate for rapid change in the coming period.

In particular, it must begin to tell its followers that the Group Areas Act cannot survive; nor can the restricted franchise; nor can the Separate Amenities Act; nor can differential expenditure on education for whites and other races; nor can special subsidies for farmers; nor can the privileged status of the white public servants; nor can heavy court sentences for blacks and light sentences for whites; and so forth.

The danger, however, is that the National Party will revert instead to its usual style of semantic deceit: "separate development," "the extension of university education," "dispensation," "participation," "own affairs," and such verbal trickery has established a habit of dishonesty in the party.

The question in this campaign is whether the Nationalists will educate voters to look to Nelson Mandela as a leader of a democracy struggling to be born, or whether they will, once again, try to lie their way out of trouble.

By Mike Siluma,
Labour Reporter

South Africa's employers and the State face a week of worker action at the beginning of September in protest against the country's labour laws and the general election, the Congress of SA Trade Unions warned in Johannesburg yesterday.

Speaking after a three-day congress of the country's biggest labour federation, general secretary Mr Jay Naidoo said Cosatu had decided to recommend to next month's Workers' Summit that workers should take

Cosatu warns of 'week of action' during polls

"sustained" action if their demands regarding the Labour Relations Amendment Act were not met by September 1.

This action would coincide with the "racist elections on September 6", which Cosatu believed would not contribute to peace. Mr Naidoo would not specify the kind of action that was envisaged.

In related resolutions, Cosatu decided to initiate discussions

on a future democratic constitution for South Africa, revolving around the African National Congress's constitutional guidelines. This would be coupled with the "urgent" drafting of a "Workers' Charter", reflecting workers' specific interests.

Cosatu committed itself to participating in building an anti-apartheid coalition, including most organisations supporting a political democracy, and free-

dom of the press and of association in a unitary SA.

Regarding a negotiated political settlement, Cosatu rejected "reformist solutions" as these failed to address "our fundamental social and economic needs".

It said it was imperative for Government to create a suitable climate for negotiations, by, among other things, lifting restrictions on banned organisa-

tions, freeing all detainees and political prisoners and confining the police and army to barracks.

The international community, including the Organisation of African Unity and the Frontline states, will be urged to increase pressure to force the Government to create the right conditions for negotiations.

Other resolutions adopted by

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the more than 1800 delegates included:

- The death penalty be abolished and that armed anti-apartheid cadres be accorded prisoner-of-war status.
- A campaign be launched against violence against and among workers.
- Each Cosatu member to contribute R1 to a support fund for Swapo and Namibian unions.

The congress expressed support for present efforts to end fighting between supporters of the Cosatu/United Democratic Front alliance and Inkatha.

South Africa

NATAL WITNESS 17 JULY 1989

by Gerald Shaw

Opting for negotiation

IN spite of scepticism in some quarters, the Botha-Mandela meeting was indeed a breakthrough, indicating that the Afrikaner nationalist establishment is turning away from reliance on force and opting for negotiation to secure the country's future. The favourable initial impression was clearly warranted, rather than the more paranoid interpretations of this momentous event.

Whatever led up to it and whatever the motives of those who made it possible, the Tuynhuys meeting has changed the political rules of the game, ushering in a new phase of pre-negotiation politics or talks about talks. President Botha gets his place in the history books after all, although I would guess that it was the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, who has been the driving force for peace.

Even if nothing very much seems to happen now for some time, the whole tone and style of South African politics will change for the better in all kinds of ways. Even the election campaign, we may hope, will be conducted on rather more rational lines, in part at least. In the new circumstances the NP can hardly seek to repeat its hugely successful scare campaign of 1987 when

the PFP, advocating talks with the ANC, was denounced as soft on security! Is President Botha soft on security?

National reliance on the total strategy and strong-arm tactics are fading fast, we gather, as also the policy of destabilisation of our neighbour states, although the habit dies hard in some of the murkier recesses of the intelligence community, judging by reports that support continues for the Renamo killers in Mozambique. Even here better days are on the way, it seems, with Messrs F.W. de Klerk and Pik Botha in talks in Maputo with President Chissano.

The speed at which the decade of violence and destabilisation is giving way to an era of negotiation is bewildering. In Lusaka the African National Congress is having to adjust to the new circumstances. The organisation suddenly finds itself having to work out negotiating positions and to think in terms of rather more concrete constitutional models than the Freedom Charter and the broad policy guidelines which have been in circulation for the past year or so.

Pretoria has scored something of a diplomatic coup, suddenly projecting itself in convincing fashion as

"Now there is a decisive shift into political-negotiating mode. As long as there is not too much backsliding, the country will begin to reap the benefits, and not a moment too soon.

Nearly R30 billion in lost investment capital has left South Africa in the years since President Botha's disastrous Rubicon speech, telling the world to go to hell and promising to wipe the ANC off the face of the earth."

reasonable and ready for negotiation, and recognising the ANC as a potential partner. As a result the ANC will come under increasing pressure in London, Washington, Moscow and elsewhere to talk. Out in the cold in Lusaka, the ANC still seems inclined to doubt the genuineness of Pretoria's commitment to negotiation. The ANC leaders fear

an easing of Western pressures on Pretoria, weakening the ANC bargaining position. In some circumstances they fear a split might open up between internal and external factions.

It is a mystery why Pretoria has waited so long before deploying diplomatic and political weapons in this deft and effective fashion. The continuing reliance on repressive force played right into the ANC's hands, enabling it to seize the diplomatic high ground in the last five years and attain almost the status of a government-in-exile.

Meanwhile its political standing among the black masses at home has been likewise enhanced, with recent estimates of its support ranging from 60 percent to 75 percent of the black population.

Now there is a decisive shift into political/negotiating mode. As long as there is not too much backsliding, the country will begin to reap the benefits, and not a moment too soon. Nearly R30 billion in lost investment capital has left South Africa in the years since President Botha's disastrous Rubicon speech, telling the world to go to hell and promising to wipe the ANC off the face of the earth.

OPTING FOR NEGOTIATION FROM Pg. 1

The sooner this outflow of South Africa's economic lifeblood can be staunched the better. Dr Gerhard de Kock, the retiring Governor of the Reserve Bank, has stressed that there will need to be a dramatic improvement in perceptions of SA abroad. This, at bottom, is why Pretoria took the initiative in setting up the Botha-Mandela meeting. Economically, reliance on force was bleeding the country to death.

Much now depends on Mr Nelson Mandela — and on his skill and statesmanship as a facilitator who can bring a united African nationalism to the table to negotiate a settlement with the Afrikaner Nationalist rulers of South Africa. But first the country needs to get through the election campaign and to emerge on September 7 with a government strongly committed to negotiation with the ANC. Then there will need to be a campaign of re-education of white public opinion so that a more balanced view of the ANC as prospective negotiating partners can begin to take hold.

It is time for the ANC to come in from the cold.

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

Trade union federation resolves to regroup

Cosatu plans to 'force Govt to negotiate'

NATAL WITNESS

- 17 JULY 1989

A great
cry for
peace —
Buthelezi

JOHANNESBURG — Cosatu announced after its annual congress yesterday that it plans to force the Government into negotiations and will call for a week of protests to coincide with the September general election.

The country's largest labour federation also made a decision to resuscitate "alternative structures" outlawed under the state of emergency.

A resolution passed yesterday urged affiliates and community-based bodies to reassess such structures with the view to "rebuilding and strengthening them".

The federation said although the emergency had severely crippled local organisation, the "spirit of defiance and mood to resist remains strong".

Announcing a week-long protest against the forthcoming elections, Cosatu general secretary Mr Jay Naidoo said the protest would start on September 1, but he did not outline the exact nature of the action. At the same time, a huge anti-apartheid conference would be held to map out "a strategy to force the Government into negotiations".

"The elections will not contribute to a climate of peace and will once again ensure that the Indian and coloured people are junior partners in the apartheid process.

"We say the elections are nothing but a bid by the Government to maintain apartheid while making reform noises," Mr Naidoo said.

Any future democratic constitutional model should centre on the constitutional guidelines proposed by the ANC, Cosatu said.

Therefore frank discussions and debate should be held on the guidelines.

"There can be no genuine negotiations unless a climate conducive to negotiations is unilaterally created by the South African Government," said Cosatu.

The Sunday Tribune reported yesterday there was speculation that the internal wing of the ANC may be allowed to operate in the country legally after the release of Mandela but that the military wing of the ANC — Umkhonto we Sizwe — would remain banned.

Cosatu also announced that the formation of an anti-apartheid coalition consisting of a wide range of groups within the "mass democratic movement" would be discussed at a special conference.

The federation also reaffirmed its commitment to end the political violence in Natal.

"We must all conduct ourselves to create a public climate for peace and end hostile propaganda that incites violence.

"Cosatu and its allies must also ensure that a re-emergence of such violence does not take place in future."

This resolution came after an arson attack on the home in Newcastle of a delegate from the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa, which left many Natal delegates fearful for their homes.

The attack on July 13 resulted in the burning down of the Numsa shop steward's house and a mother and child being burned and subsequently hospitalised.

"This latest incident is a source of uneasiness in the minds and hearts of delegates from Natal," Cosatu said.

The union called on the state to act against the perpetrators.

The incident, Cosatu said, was reminiscent of the attack on Ms Jabu Ndlovu's home in Pietermaritzburg in June. She too was a Numsa shop steward. — Sapa.
(News by N. Lewis, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg).

INKATHA president Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday urged black people in Pietermaritzburg to work tirelessly for peace.

Addressing a mass prayer rally in Imbali, the KwaZulu Chief Minister said Inkatha would strive for peace "because it was determined to uphold the time-honoured ideals of the black struggle for liberation."

Again he read the letter written to him by Nelson Mandela, and said: "We will not disappoint our heroes and our martyrs who went before us."

He added: "There is a great cry for peace rising up from the people, and it is a cry we must hear. Otherwise, not only will we die but our deaths will be pointless because in dying now we

will destroy the black struggle for liberation."

Mr Buthelezi said he looked forward to all black organisations working together.

He said Inkatha had held more than 100 prayer rallies for peace. — Sapa.

Cosatu to propose pre-election action

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17 JULY 1989

ALAN FINE

COSATU has resolved to propose a programme of "co-ordinated and sustained industrial action" in the week before the September 6 general election.

The proposal will be put to the Workers' Summit in Johannesburg next month. The action, to start on September 1, is seen by Cosatu as part of a general mass democratic movement protest against the Labour Relations Act, the "white racist elections" and other "apartheid oppression".

The summit, which also involves Nactu and several independent unions, has been called to assess progress in the unions' talks with employer federation Saccola and others.

Cosatu's decision was made at the organisation's congress which ended in Johannesburg on Saturday. The resolution said it was necessary "to link Cosatu's immediate central LRA campaign to other struggles waged by the mass democratic movement against apartheid repression and exploitation".

The Cosatu secretariat's report delivered to the congress on Wednesday called for a boycott of the September 6 election.

The 1984 elections for the Houses of Delegates and Representatives were the subject of a strong boycott, as was last year's municipal election in many black

townships.

In his address to the congress on Thursday, UDF acting general secretary Mohammed Valli Moosa said mass action against the "elections, the LRA and all other forms of repression" was a correct political step.

General secretary Jay Naidoo said the action against the LRA would go ahead unless union demands for changes were met by the time of the summit on August 5. But he declined to specify what forms this would take.

Junior partners

The National Manpower Commission is involved in a lengthy process of revising the entire LRA and has invited input from black unions.

Naidoo also told Sapa: "The elections will not contribute to a climate of peace and will once again ensure the Indian and coloured people are junior partners in the apartheid process."

"We say the elections are nothing but a bid by government to maintain apartheid while making reform noises."

Cosatu speaks out on negotiation procedure

COSATU was taking seriously the fact that political negotiations in SA were on the agenda, but the form and content of such negotiations was crucial, Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo said yesterday.

Speaking after Cosatu's third biennial congress in Johannesburg, Naidoo said government's present approach was "fraught with empty sounds."

But, he added: "We recognise there are pressures on them and us to enter into negotiations."

The congress resolved that the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) should initiate discussions to develop a common position to avoid the imposition of a settlement unacceptable to the majority.

It resolved that before genuine negotiations could begin, government had to unban organisations; release political prisoners and detainees; allow the return of exiles; confine the SADF and SAP to barracks; lift the emergency; repeal all security legislation and put an end to political trials and executions.

The resolution also stated only a sovereign, mandated and account-

ALAN FINE

able body would have the authority to develop a new constitution.

Naidoo said Cosatu had no misgivings about Nelson Mandela's recent meeting with State President P W Botha. Cosatu has applied to meet Mandela.

He said: "We are confident he is able to express the views and aspirations of the majority, and the regime should take these seriously".

The congress also resolved to initiate discussions, centred on the ANC's constitutional guidelines, aimed at shaping a democratic constitutional model for SA.

Alliance

It decided to develop a clear understanding of how the SA economy works, and how it should be restructured to meet the needs of all.

It reaffirmed Cosatu's commitment to a strategic anti-apartheid alliance, but stressed this must exclude big business and those who participate in apartheid structures.

The congress further resolved to reconvene an anti-apartheid confer-

ence — the previous one scheduled for last September was banned — by October, and to formulate a Workers' Charter which should eventually guarantee workers' basic rights in SA's future constitution.

It also set out a programme and a timetable for the three factions of the split Cosatu affiliate Ccawusa to follow to reunify the union.

A resolution proposed by the SA Railways and Harbours Workers Union committed Cosatu and the entire MDM to fight privatisation and initiate a campaign to educate people about its harsh effects.

The congress formalised conditions for "acceptable disinvestment". These included one year's notice, separation pay, wage guarantees, receipt by unions of full information on the terms of the sale, advance company pension contributions, and that disinvestment proceeds, including future royalties etc, be paid into a trust fund nominated by the relevant union.

The congress urged Cosatu to work towards financial self-sufficiency, reducing its dependence on outside funding by 10% a year.

Worrall reports doubts overseas

MIKE ROBERTSON

THERE was profound scepticism about the NP and its ability to deliver peace to SA among European leaders and businessmen, DP co-leader Denis Worrall said yesterday.

Worrall, speaking after returning from a tour of Britain, Portugal, West Germany and Italy, said that at the same time the politicians, bankers and businessmen he had met had shared the view there existed a tremendous opportunity for SA to "turn things around and take its place in the international community".

This stemmed from the Namibia settlement and subsequent peace initiatives in Angola and Mozambique.

"This election must be the election to end apartheid. There is profound scepticism in the European foreign ministries about the NP's ability to escape its past. What we need is a change of regime in SA. We have to go for a hung Assembly which opens the way for political realignment."

"We must contest every seat where we have the organisation and turn this election into a referendum on apartheid. White South Africans have got to be given the opportunity to demonstrate their opposition to apartheid," he said.

Improvement

Bankers and businessmen he had met had given him the clear impression that they regarded SA and southern Africa as "distinctly rescuable. But they look to us to provide political justification for them to come back".

Worrall said he had been widely questioned about new NP leader F W de Klerk. His view was De Klerk, on his recent visit to Europe, had given the impression he was a definite improvement on President P W Botha.

"But the question is whether he can escape the NP's legacy, the NP's intellectual baggage."

De Klerk's discussions in Europe, he said, had been interpreted in the light of the NP pre-election congress and its five-year-plan.

"These people are experienced SA observers. They look at the NP five-year-plan and the kind of mandate the NP is seeking and there is a deep scepticism."

ANC ready to meet all parties — DP told

CITIZEN 17 JULY 1989

THE ANC told a Democratic Party delegation that it was ready to meet all parties and confirmed that it was working on new initiatives for talks, according to a statement released in Johannesburg after a meeting between the DP delegation and the ANC in Lusaka.

The delegation was led on Saturday by the co-

leader of the DP, Mr Wyndan Malan, while the ANC delegation was led by its Secretary-General, Mr Alfred Nzo.

The DP told the ANC that talks should be initiated among all parties as a way of removing the obstacles to serious negotiations. The ANC replied that it was willing to meet all parties if approached, and was working on new initiatives.

The statement said

each party presented its analysis of the current situation in South Africa and views were exchanged on the interpretation of recent events, including the meeting between the State President, Mr P W Botha, and Nelson Mandela.

"The DP argued that an opportunity existed to break the deadlock in South Africa by opening

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ANC on talks

FROM PAGE 1

up the negotiation process. As long as the ANC and the SA Government set preconditions for negotiations which cannot be met, the deadlock would continue."

The DP had therefore urged the ANC to express its willingness to meet the SA Government without preconditions, and argued that such a meeting could be used by both sides as an opportunity to talk about the removal of obstacles currently pre-

venting serious negotiations.

The ANC had responded by arguing that its demands should not be seen as preconditions. New initiatives were needed to pave the way for a political resolution of the South African situation. However, it insisted that a climate conducive to negotiation must first be created.

"As long as the ANC is banned, it cannot organise and therefore cannot get mandates. The ANC is not prepared to enter serious negotiations without its leaders and without a mandate," the statement said.

While recognising that the ANC saw the armed struggle and the isolation strategy as being means to bring about a non-racial democracy, the DP viewed these strategies as obstacles to serious negotiation.

The ANC had also stated that it would soon be responding publicly to the SA Law Commission's report on human rights. While it supported many of the recommendations, it had major reservations in some areas.

At the end of the talks, both parties committed themselves to further discussions when the general election was over.

Sapa.
(News by Ken Daniels; 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg)

Masire is optimistic

CITIZEN 17 JULY 1989
ZWENSHAMBE. — Botswana was now facing a much brighter future with exciting prospects and is doing so with a growing economy and a united nation, the president, Dr Quett Masire, said.

The president was addressing the 23rd congress of the ruling Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) at Zwenshambe yesterday.

Dr Masire said the country's future was promising despite the ever present dangers of surprise attacks by South Africa, adding: "We also look forward with cautious optimism to prospects for lasting peace in the region."

He said an additional bonus to renewed confidence in a harmonious and peaceful world had been the thaw in East-West relations which had led the superpowers to

co-operate in search for peaceful resolution to conflicts.

Those at the congress also heard that with the achievement of peace, prospects for regional co-operation would be greatly enhanced.

"Like the Angolans, who are now set on a course of reconciliation, most South Africans are beginning to realise that it is futile to continue fighting among themselves and that apartheid is inimical to peace and justice," President Masire pointed out.

He said nothing stood in the way to peace and security in South Africa except the lack of goodwill among men and women in that country and that it must be embarrassing to South Africans to acknowledge that what they represent was

all that was anathema to the peoples of Southern Africa and was harmful to their economies.

Said the president: "Much depends on the leadership in South Africa, both Black and White, but more so on the White

leadership because it has arrogated all political powers and economic privileges to their section of the community, to come to terms and provide all South Africans with a secure and happy future." — Sapa.

Monday 17 July 1989

OAU to call ^{CITIZEN}for stricter sanctions

ADDIS ABABA. — African Ministers meeting here before the annual summit of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) are expected to seek stricter global action this week to force South Africa to scrap apartheid.

Despite peace moves in South West Africa, Angola and Mozambique, and an unprecedented meeting this month between the State President, Mr P W Botha, and jailed ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, Africa remains wary of South Africa's intentions.

"The situation in South

Africa itself and in the Frontline states is particularly serious," said an OAU source, echoing wide concern about what is seen as a South African threat of destabilisation.

Sources close to the secretariat of the 49-member body said a five-day meeting of Foreign Ministers starting today could also renew a four-year-old call for an international conference on Africa's 230 billion dollar (about R650-b) foreign debt.

The meeting will be followed by a three-day summit, starting next Monday.

OAU members will again face discord within their own ranks, with ten-

sions remaining between Mauritania and Senegal after riots in April sparked by a border shooting over disputed grazing rights.

An answer has still to be found to the conflict over the Western Sahara, which prompted Morocco to quit the OAU in 1984 when the organisation admitted the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic, which controls part of the former Spanish colony.

The chief focus of attention, however, will be South Africa and the transition to independence for SWA after 74 years of South African rule.

The OAU plans to send an observer force to monitor UN-supervised elections in SWA in November, but its Liberation Committee appears deadlocked over who should go.

The 22 Foreign Ministers on the committee nevertheless urged the UN on Wednesday to boost its peacekeeping force of 4 650 troops in SWA to ensure free elections.

The sources close to the secretariat said the Ministers would appeal this week for more effective international sanctions on oil supplies to South Africa, and consider possible action by their own governments against multinational oil companies supplying the country.

They will call for international pressure against countries, such as Japan and the Republic of China, which they believe are taking advantage of trading opportunities resulting from the decision of some American and European companies to pull out of South Africa.

The conference is also expected to consider a proposal for Southern African states to sever all economic ties with South Africa, but countries like Zambia and Zimbabwe, which rely heavily on such links, find this difficult. — Sapa-Reuter.

PAC man found guilty on six charges to be sentenced on Thursday

PAC man found with arms

PIETERSBURG - A former Pan Africanist Congress commander was on Friday found guilty on six counts of terrorism in the Pietersburg Magistrate's Court.

Abraham Magagula (31) was found guilty on

six counts of terrorism by magistrate Mr G J J van Deventer but was acquitted on two counts of escaping from hospital and of pointing a gun at a policeman. Sentence will be passed this Thursday.

Defence council, Mr B M Ngoepe, said in mitigation of sentence that the

court should bear in mind that when Magagula left South Africa in 1985 he intended studying.

He further submitted that sentence for the five lesser counts should run concurrently with sentence on the main count.

The court heard that the accused left the country via Lesotho. He travelled to Tanzania and then to Tripoli in Libya where he underwent military training for six months.

On his return to Tanzania he was appointed

commander of the PAC's Roof camp.

Magagula, the State alleged, received instructions from Zimbabwe to carry out a mission inside South Africa.

He and two others allegedly infiltrated South Africa through Zimbabwe.

babwe.

The three insurgents were arrested in Nancefield, the black township adjoining Messina. They were allegedly found to be in possession of three Scorpion semi-automatic pistols, six magazines and six handgrenades. - Sapa.

SOWETAN JULY 17 1989

Mandela keeps himself fit

• From Page 6

No one is certain of how a free Mandela would react, which is presumably one reason why Botha invited him to tea. Cachalia stressed that Mandela is kept well informed.

"He has a short-wave radio and the South African newspapers. I didn't see any from overseas, but he can have them if he wants them."

But Victor Verster is no open prison. I asked Cachalia if Mandela was able to communicate advice and opinion to key people outside.

"That is too difficult to answer," said Cachalia cautiously.

Although Mandela has not said or done anything in the past 26 years to suggest he would deviate from his principles, he

has made gestures that show he sees himself as a bridge-building national leader rather than the spokesman for one party.

Earlier this year he wrote to Buthelezi about the intercommunal battles in Natal and urged unity as if trying to play a mediating role. While the United Democratic Front and Cosatu, the trade union congress, denounced Thatcher and banned contact with British officials, he wrote a note to the British Ambassador in Pretoria conveying his best wishes to her.

The tea party has added confusion.

The Government announced that he and Botha agreed to support peaceful development. Mandela's supporters denounced it as a propa-

ganda ploy.

Mandela said the Government version was accurate and he wanted to contribute to a climate of peace. The only way to do that, he said, was through dialogue with the MDM and in particular the ANC.

Cachalia thinks that if he were released he would go to Soweto. He would not leave. He would not go to Lusaka. He would demand that the exiles be allowed back.

"It is not clear whether he would live in his wife's palatial house in Soweto or how he would cope with her entanglement in the case of the boy allegedly killed by members of her "football team" bodyguard.

Perhaps his return would remove her from

the political front line.

Recent impressions are that he would side with the pragmatists rather than the hardliners within the ANC, but his prime concern would be to maintain the unity of the movement and unite all the opponents of apartheid.

Although he has refused to repudiate armed force he probably would not call for its escalation. He is more likely to try to be the man who can talk to anybody, offer the whites a future and deliver black liberation.

That may prove an impossible equation, but at the moment of his release, Mandela would hold the future of Southern Africa in his hands. — *The Independent, London.*

Mandela hosts party

ANC nods

SOWETAN
Correspondent

● THE African National Congress has given its nod of approval to Mr Nelson Mandela's meeting with President P W Botha.

This is the impression of a Democratic Party delegation after all-day talks with the ANC in Lusaka at the weekend.

The P W Botha - Mandela meeting was discussed at length during the talks.



Party host Nelson Mandela.

THE world's most extraordinary prisoner plans to spend his 71st birthday on Tuesday with about 50 relatives, friends and community leaders, in the most unprisonlike surroundings, discussing the future of South Africa.

Although the Prisons Service has declined to comment on the unprecedented "birthday party" on the grounds that to do so would be to "intrude on Mr Mandela's privacy," a source close to Nelson Mandela's family confirmed yesterday that the function was going ahead.

The ANC leader was planning to receive his family and a large group of prominent community leaders at his luxury "home" in the grounds of the Victor Verster Prison and to exchange views with them, the source said.

However, the occasion should not be seen as a party, the source said. "Mr Mandela still has the status of a prisoner and we will continue

SOWETAN REPORTER

to treat him as such."

The source explained that "the family is not in the habit of throwing parties" and such a function would be out of context considering Mandela's imprisonment.

The occasion - to which 50 special guests had been invited to celebrate Mandela's birthday and his gaining a law degree - should rather be seen as "a get-together of family members and old friends of Madhiba" (Mandela's clan name).

"The list submitted to Prisons (Department) is not of people Mr Mandela wants to boogie with. The names are those of prominent community leaders and it is clear that he wants to exchange views with these people," the source said.

But by yesterday, none of the guests, except members of his family in Soweto and Transkei, had received a formal invitation.

The family source confirmed that relatives, who were informed of the occasion by the Prisons Service, would be attending although there was uncertainty whether his eldest daughter Zenani, who is in the United States, and her husband Prince Thumbumzi and their children would be there.

Early this year, after Mandela passed his final examination for admission to the bar as an advocate, Unisa approached the Prisons Service to make arrangements for his graduation.

The letter was passed on to Mandela who agreed to have the degree conferred in Paarl on condition he drew up his guest list.

The list included fellow Rivonia trialists, Ahmed Kathrada, Walter Sisulu, Elias Motsoaledi, Andrew Mlangeni and Raymond Mhlaba. Mrs Albertina Sisulu and Mrs June Mlangeni are also believed to have been on the list.

Anti-apartheid groups want issue on Commonwealth agenda

Plan to squeeze SA on foreign debt

The Star Bureau

LONDON — The African National Congress and representatives of other anti-apartheid groups met in London at the weekend to mount an international campaign opposing efforts by South Africa to reschedule £7,5 billion (about R32,25 billion) owed to foreign banks.

The London meeting, the first of its kind, is expected to draw up proposals ranging from threatening consumer boycotts of banks which agree to reschedule, to lobbying the US Congress and putting the issue on the agenda at the Commonwealth conference next October.

Delegates believe that without such a campaign, a rescheduling agreement could be in place by the end of the year. They argue that the recent visit to Europe by Mr F W de Klerk, South Africa's president-in-waiting, and increased speculation about the release of Mr Nelson Mandela, are part of Pretoria's efforts to raise its standing abroad and improve the prospects for a favourable rescheduling.

Debt crisis

The ANC campaign is expected to urge banks to call for repayment as it falls due and to refuse new loans to South Africa. This action, say the delegates, would precipitate a debt crisis for South Africa and add to pressure for change in the country.

South Africa's external debt difficulties go back to mid-1985 when the country's political crisis prompted foreign banks to call in £14 billion (about R56 billion) outstanding loans. An estimated 260 banks were affected, with 30 banks accounting for 70 percent of the debt.

South Africa negotiated two interim rescheduling agreements in 1986 and 1987. The latter expires in June 1990, and South Africa has been stepping up efforts to renegotiate its debts on terms as favourable as possible.

Exit clause

An important feature of the second interim agreement was the "exit clause", under which short-term debt covered by the standstill can be converted into 10-year loans, which become due for repayment between 1993 and 1997.

Banks have so far exchanged some £3,5 billion (about R14 billion) of loans for special exit securities, almost 25 percent of the debt falling within the interim arrangements.

But at least £7,5 billion (about R30 billion) of South African debt has to be renegotiated by mid-1990. The ANC apparently hopes to persuade banks to make no further use of the "exit clause" provision.

Privately, delegates to the London meeting acknowledge that radical action from the banks is improbable. But they plan to make them targets for consumer action.

African Ministers meeting in Ethiopia for the annual summit of the Organisation of African Unity, which starts today, are expected to seek tougher global action to force South Africa to scrap its policies.

Tuynhuys meeting approved: DP perceives new flexibility

STAR - 17 July 1989

ANC 'readiness for talks'

Political Staff

Cape Town

The African National Congress has given its nod of approval to Mr Nelson Mandela's meeting with President Botha.

This is the impression of members of a Democratic Party delegation led by co-leader Mr Wynand Malan after all-day talks with the ANC in Lusaka on Saturday.

The P W Botha-Mandela meeting was discussed at length during the talks with an ANC delegation led by secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo and including Mr Thabo Mbeki.

The DP's Mr Jannie Momberg said, in a telephone interview from Lusaka, his impression was that the ANC was intensely interested in the meeting.

ANC delegates seemed to regard the Tuynhuys talks as an encouraging sign the Government was moving towards a position where talks about negotiations could begin.

No deviation

Mr Momberg said his impression was also that the ANC approved of the statement issued by Mr Mandela after his meeting with President Botha. The statement was regarded as not deviating from ANC principles.

Mr Momberg said his impression was that the ANC was showing signs of flexibility on certain issues.

During the talks Mr Wynand Malan emphasised the need for peaceful negotiations.

He urged the ANC and the Government to meet and talk without preconditions, with a view to opening full negotiations about ending apartheid.

Mr Malan said that was the only way to break the deadlock over negotiating a peaceful end to the apartheid system.

Sapa reports that the ANC told the DP it was ready to meet all parties if approached, and confirmed it was working on new initiatives for talks.

No preconditions

The DP therefore urged the ANC to express its willingness to meet the SA Government without preconditions, and argued that such a meeting could be used by both sides as an opportunity to talk about the removal of obstacles currently preventing serious negotiations.

The ANC had responded by arguing that their demands should not be seen as preconditions. New initiatives were needed to pave the way for a political resolution. However they insisted that a climate conducive to negotiation must first be created.

While recognising that the ANC saw the armed struggle and the isolation strategy as

being means to bring about a non-racial democracy, the DP viewed these strategies as obstacles to serious negotiation.

The ANC had also said it would soon be responding publicly to the SA Law Commission Report on Human Rights.

At the end of the talks both parties committed themselves to further discussions when the September election was over.

By Carina le Grange

A National Party official and a delegation of young South Africans with "diverse political opinions" returned to South Africa from Lusaka yesterday after meeting officials of the African National Congress at the weekend.

The meeting took place under the auspices of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa).

Idasa official Mr Wayne Mitchell, who led the delegation of 27, which included Randburg NP city councillor Mr Stephan van Metzinger, said the delegation was made up of young South

NP official in Lusaka group

Africans with "leadership potential".

Mr van Metzinger is believed to be the first NP office bearer to publicly attend a consultation with the ANC.

The delegation left South Africa two weeks ago and met political, trade union and business officials in Namibia, Zimbabwe and Zambia, apart from the ANC.

A statement released yesterday by the group said: "We are a group of concerned South Africans with diverse political opinions. Discussions, covering a wide spectrum, were held with groups of people, including businessmen, politicians and a delegation of the ANC.

"Discussions were characterised by an open exchange of ideas, which made it possible for us to hear a variety of opinions as regards the conflict in southern Africa. We declare unambiguously that the visit has resulted in our seeing a better future for post-apartheid South Africa."

Angola After the Big Handshake

By JAIME NOGUEIRA PINTO

LISBON—In the last week of June I traveled to Southern Africa to gain a sense of the peace efforts in Angola after the Gbadolite summit. In this town of northern Zaire on June 22, under the sponsorship of Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko and 18 other African leaders, the two opposites in Angola's 14-year-long civil war, Jose Eduardo Dos Santos and Jonas Savimbi, shook hands and agreed on a cease-fire between their respective organizations: the Marxist MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) and the U.S.-supported armed nationalist resistance Unita (National Union for Angola's Total Independence).

The day after the handshake, the MPLA launched a propaganda effort, picturing the Gbadolite meeting as a victory. According to its version, carried in the Portuguese press and echoed in other Western outlets, Mr. Savimbi accepted in Gbadolite the Luanda government's peace plan of "national harmonization." Supposedly Unita will disappear as an autonomous organization, and its cadres will be integrated fully into the MPLA structures; the freedom fighters eventually will get three Cabinet posts and four provincial governments, and Mr. Savimbi will withdraw politically, going into a kind of "golden" exile in the U.S.

My sense of the Angolan situation told me that this story was a fairy tale. Considering the military situation, which put Unita in a strong position, and the long investment Unita had made in the struggle to liberate Angola, it looked to me like the Gbadolite agreement was a bad deal for Unita. So I accepted Mr. Savimbi's invitation to visit him at a Unita headquarters in the southern Angolan bush.

Going to Gbadolite was a difficult step for the Marxist Mr. Dos Santos. It was dictated by a tenuous military and political situation. The military perspective finds that the main interior towns such as Huambo, Lubango and Luena have been under Unita siege for months, the only supplies coming by air; the morale of FAPLA (the MPLA troops) is lower than ever, with a high desertion rate. The Cubans are withdrawing, leaving FAPLA alone against Unita.

From a political point of view the situation is also dark. Fidel Castro, the principal ally and supporter of the MPLA,

has advised Mr. Dos Santos to negotiate with Unita while most of the Cubans are still present in Angola. They are supposed to be totally out by 1991. The Soviets have decided not to go on paying for one of the "imperialistic adventures" of the Brezhnev era. The U.S., meanwhile, has shown continued support for Mr. Savimbi and Unita. Military supplies for his movement doubled in recent months to compensate for the interruption of the South African pipeline of material, now forbidden by last year's New York agreement and even impossible because of transit restrictions through Namibia's border.

Black Africa seems in a new mood regarding the Angolan civil conflict—and

Jonas Savimbi insists he will stay in Angola. "Only losers go into jail or exile," he declared, after receiving a note of support from President Bush.

even the role of South Africa in the continent. Zaire's President Mobutu, after playing go-between, became a full mediator between the Angolan factions. His reasons were not only philanthropic; he wanted to appear as a peacemaker and a regional leading figure before his trips to Europe and the U.S. Mr. Savimbi, stopping at Kinshasa en route to Gbadolite, told Mr. Mobutu that he wanted to be sure about two things: that Mr. Savimbi would meet Mr. Dos Santos and that Mr. Savimbi would address the peace conference with status equal to that of the Angolan president.

By being included in such situations, the partisan almost automatically gains the upper hand. Guerrilla and civil wars deal with legitimacy, and governments deny legitimacy to insurgents, calling them "puppets" of foreign interests or "armed bandits." Six months ago, the MPLA was calling Unita an "armed wing" of the South African Defense Force, and Mr. Savimbi a "racist puppet" and "armed bandit." When Mr. Savimbi addressed the conference, he received four standing ovations from the audience. Suddenly he'd become a "guerrilla" and a "compatriot." The other day the new Angolan ambassador in Lisbon called him the "Unita president."

My own meeting with Mr. Savimbi confirmed this transformation, though it's always difficult to judge his mood. As

Plutarch wrote about Caesar, he is the same man in good or bad times, neither euphoric in victory nor depressed by defeat. Mr. Savimbi and I talked for two hours about past, present and future. He considers Gbadolite a good start for peace but is cautious about the path ahead. Mr. Savimbi insists he will stay in Angola. "Only losers go into jail or exile," he declared. He is confident about U.S. support, reporting that he received in late June a "personal message" of encouragement from President Bush. He voiced confidence not only in such "old friends" of Unita as Mr. Mobutu, King Hassan of Morocco and President Felix Houphouet-Boigny of the Ivory Coast but also President Ibrahim Babangida of Nigeria and even Presidents Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe and Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique as well as Moussa Traore, chairman of the Organization of African Unity.

Above all Mr. Savimbi is confident of his own people. "Morale was never so high among servicemen and population," he stated. He voiced sentiments of friendship and hope to Portugal, reiterating that he expected a lot from former Angolan settlers in developing Angola once peace is won.

Mr. Dos Santos cannot say the same. The Lisbon government has been too sympathetic to him, but that's about it for good news. The Gbadolite meeting spread suspicion and nervousness among MPLA radicals, including the man who was once Moscow's most trusted in Luanda, Roberto de Almeida. They are accusing Mr. Dos Santos of having gone too far in Gbadolite. The security and interior department agents fear being future scapegoats, as people in poor suburbs are becoming enthusiastic about peace and hostile toward the known informers of the secret police. Soviet advisers also seemed surprised by the Gbadolite handshake; the same with the Cubans, themselves already worried over the trial of Gen. Arnaldo Ochoa Sanchez, a former commander in Angola, for drug running. Gen Ochoa was executed in Cuba last week.

Now there is news about FAPLA local commanders sending messages to their headquarters asking for instructions after the announced cease-fire. They are having trouble maintaining discipline and preparedness among their troops, whose will to fight was already low. It's always difficult to keep men at arms once the road to peace is open, particularly when you are on the government's side. Nobody wants to be the last casualty in a lost war.

Mr. Nogueira Pinto is a Portuguese lawyer and journalist, formerly editor of the Lisbon daily *O Seculo*.



Jonas Savimbi

Winnie Mandela file goes to Attorney-General

Guardian 12/7/89

Patrick Laurence
in Johannesburg

THE death of Stompie Moeketsi has returned to haunt Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of the jailed black leader Mr Nelson Mandela.

A report on state-run radio yesterday said police had submitted a dossier to the Attorney-General on her alleged involvement in events leading to the killing of the young black activist. The Attorney-General would decide whether or not to prosecute Mrs Mandela, it said.

The report came within hours of Mrs Mandela's return from Paarl, where she visited her husband to get a first-hand account of his meeting a week ago with President P. W. Botha.

Mrs Mandela was strongly critical of Mr Botha for organising the meeting; she said her husband was a prisoner, not a free agent, and labelled the 45-minute discussion a ploy to confuse the black community at home and the outside world.

Stompie Moeketsi, aged 14,

was one of several youths allegedly abducted from a Methodist Church house in Soweto by members of the Mandela United Football Club and taken to one of Mrs Mandela's houses in the huge township.

Stompie disappeared for weeks after the abduction. The body of a boy who had been found dead in Soweto early in January was later identified as his. Police investigations led to the arrest of nine members of the Mandela United Football Club.

Some members of the team lived in special quarters in Mrs Mandela's home. They served as her bodyguards or, as her foes charged, as her private militia. The behaviour of the team drew bitter criticism from the Soweto community.

It led to a damning attack on Mrs Mandela in February by the "mass democratic movement," a front of political forces spearheaded by the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

The leaders accused the soc-

cer team of "conducting a reign of terror" and charged Mrs Mandela, who served as their patron, with "violating the ethos of the democratic movement".

Stompie Moeketsi was allegedly abducted together with three other boys who stayed at the church house. One of the three escaped and the other two were freed after tremendous community pressure.

Mrs Mandela did not deny that the boys were taken from the church house. She claimed that they had been sexually abused by the clergyman there. "I gave them shelter, as is my duty as a social worker," she said.

Mr Geoff Budlender, a lawyer who handled affidavits from three boys, known as Thabiso, Pelo and Kenny, said at the time: "They say Mrs Mandela was involved." He declined to elaborate.

The priest, backed by Bishop Peter Storey of the Methodist Church, has denied Mrs Mandela's allegations that he "sodomised" the boys.

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President meets prisoner

THE CAPE TOWN meeting between President P.W. Botha and Nelson Mandela on July 5 has expectedly provoked very mixed reactions from both sides of the inhuman apartheid divide that separates the rest of the world from the racist white population of South Africa. Does the encounter between the leading personalities on either side at last signify a bridge across the historic troubled waters of southern Africa?

For the British and American governments who have both favoured discretion rather than outrage in their dealings with South Africa, the meeting has already come to signify yet another southern African watershed. New York, Gbadolite, Tuynhuys, are all logical moves towards a permanent peace in Southern Africa, secured through negotiation rather than confrontation.

The South African government, while acutely sensitive to the propaganda advantage to be derived from Botha's unexpected initiative, cannot be seen to be bowing to external pressure, particularly with elections imminent, and Treurnicht's Conservative Party improving its position in the polls. For most Afrikaners, Mandela remains a terrorist, and Botha's decision to receive him at his Tuynhuys presidential residence is seen as a treacherous volte-face rather than a courteous gesture from one elder statesman to another. Conversely, renewed speculation that the government intends to release Mandela after the September elections could help the National Party regain voters from the liberal Democratic Party.

It is still not certain to what extent Botha was acting alone in setting up the meeting. Some cabinet colleagues, including De Klerk, were notified in advance, but the National Party as a whole was left in the dark and the rank and file obviously resented what was construed as an ill-judged publicity stunt at best and, at worst, an attempt by an increasingly isolated and discredited leader to cut a finer figure for himself.

Government statements on the meeting have emphasised that no agendas were set at Cape Town, that the conversation was largely apolitical. Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, emphasised that "no policy matters were discussed and no negotiations conducted", but added that both men "availed themselves of the opportunity to confirm their support for peaceful development in South Africa". Significantly, the most enthusiastic reaction to the meeting came from Foreign Secretary, Pik Botha, who referred to it as "probably the most important event in the recent history of South Africa". He added, pointedly, that it was "important to note that the two South African leaders met without any foreign mediation".

Outside the National Party, the most enthusiastic reactions came from the Democratic Party, which called the meeting "an important step towards restoring rationality to the political scene." Archbishop Desmond Tutu described the meeting as a climbdown by the government and told a Cape Town news conference: "At long last a head of state is heeding the calls of those who are interested in negotiations. In some ways you could say it is the outgoing president meeting someone who is going to succeed him".

But worries about the potential political capital for Pretoria in publicising the meeting have tempered the optimism of Mandela's supporters. Reverend Frank Chikane, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, looks at the meeting in the context of the classic situation of a prisoner being brought before his captors. He believes that no meaningful dialogue is possible under such circumstances and for the government to pretend otherwise is "nothing short of political mischief."

And an ANC spokesman in Lusaka warned that "it would be wrong for anybody to believe that the meeting signifies the start of negotiations between the black people of South Africa and the government".

WA