

16/1/11

Charlene Smith reports from Lusaka on Mandela's summit

A different climate now, says MK No 2

MECURY 2/23/90

ANC plans for integrated SADF

THE HEADS of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) — the military wing of the ANC — will soon travel to their military camps in Tanzania and Angola to brief their cadres that the armed struggle will be suppressed while the ANC uses the new political space recently afforded it by President F W de Klerk, says MK second-in-command Chris Hani.

In an exclusive interview Hani said he doubted military commanders would have any problems in conveying this to their troops, 'because the first part of their training is political training.'

'They are taught to be obedient to the leadership of the ANC and that also this is a non-racial struggle. They understand that negotiations are another phase of the struggle.'

Hani said it could be impressed on the soldiers of the ANC, that 'the struggle is not over, there will be a need for the maintenance of our functions and to continue improving training and recruiting.'

'There is no question of them going into the country to surrender.'

'But we are in a different political climate now.'

'We need to move toward an acceptable mutually binding ceasefire.'

However, Hani made it clear that for the ANC to tell their cadres to suspend the armed struggle 'when there is violence from the other side' would be wrong.

'Once the Government talks to the ANC about a mutual ceasefire and once violence against peaceful demonstration is not there I won't have problems sitting down with the SADF to discuss our role as an army of soldiers who will protect a non-racial democratic South Africa.'

Hani said Umkhonto we Sizwe had been training cadres inside South Africa since 1982.

He would not reveal the size of the force but said this training would continue.

LEADERS of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), the ANC's military wing, would like to meet South African Defence Force chiefs soon, according to MK second-in-command Chris Hani.

He said in an interview that at present the two 'armies' were serving different interests.

'We believe steps should be taken at this stage for contact.'

He said no formal approaches had yet been made.

'Violence can only come to an end if the armies sit down together and say violence must end,' he added.

Hani said the ANC envisaged the next stages in the negotiation process as the cessation of hostilities, then a

ceasefire.

Hani said he thought an integrated army would not be easy, 'but it is the ideal that we should struggle for.'

There would not be an army dominated by blacks. It would be an integrated army, he said.

'We believe it important to address the fears of the white officer, the career officer,' he said.

He said he did not envisage conscription in a future South Africa.

□ A spokesman for President F W de Klerk's office said the President could not comment as he had not read a verbatim account of what Hani said.

The SADF had not commented at the time of going to Press.

He said any negotiations about a ceasefire would have to discuss 'how we will enforce the ceasefire with our forces who are invisible'.

Responding to questions about the white extreme Right-wing, Hani said the Right-wing was mobilising because they believed the Nationalist Party was betraying all the aspirations of the Afrikaner.

He said if this led to factions emerging in the police and army this would cause a lot of turmoil in the white community and even lead to the assassination of Nats seen as sellouts.

Hani said the ANC was concerned about this.

'Would the army intervene on the side of the Right-wing, feeling that everything they have fought for in Angola and Namibia is being ground to dust?' he asked.

The 47-year-old former lawyer, turned military commander, adopted the most

conciliatory position seen in a long time from him.

He appeared concerned about his image.

'I'm characterised as a ruthless person. That is not so.'

'The question of the armed struggle has nothing to do with me as a person. I am not at all ruthless and believe now is the time for conciliation.'

He said the question of building a South Africa that was a home for everyone had become paramount.

'We must convince whites that a peaceful South Africa must mean a changing of the social positions of the black community.'

'Whites cannot have an impoverished community and sleep well.'

'It is an obvious threat to social stability and peace.'

'The distribution of wealth must be addressed by whites. They have a duty to address this.'

Let Mandela, ANC speak for themselves

WHEN Mr Mandela made his famous/infamous maiden speech addressing, among other things, the small matter of nationalising the economy, he created an immediate chain reaction which culminated in apologists for the ANC in all spheres (government, commercial sector, media etc) telling us that he really didn't mean it, that was all just rhetoric and, in due course the ANC would revise its policy.

Now I have just a few questions for these psychic gentlemen.

1) Is Nelson Mandela incapable of speaking for himself?

2) Are you scared that if people take this policy seriously, the economic confidence in this country

could be even further damaged, or are you also just a "teeny" little bit worried about the ANC image in this regard?

3) Bearing in mind that no other political party is treated in such a polite fashion over such a glaringly contentious issue, to the extent that the National Party in the form of Gerrit Viljoen says that we should ignore this outburst (imagine the Nats helping another political party?) why then does the ANC get such red carpet treatment?

Could it be you think

he is too old to talk straight, or has an amount of good old racism crept into the liberal psyche (Shame, let's help the Black man, he's in trouble in a White man's political arena).

No, gentlemen, I think it is time you stop playing double standards and allow the man and his organisation to be judged by their own words, bearing in mind that if the ANC does come to power, we will all live by his words and not yours.

A SAMUEL

East London

When ex-terrorists become Presidents

SOME years ago they sang "It's a strange, strange world..." and those words certainly ring true today also where we find that yesterday's terrorists and treasonists are today's Presidents.

It all started in Kenya where the leader of the Mau Mau became President Jomo Kenyatta.

Then there was Robert Mugabe in Zimbabwe.

There have been other less notable cases in the rest of Africa.

Next month will see Sam Nujoma as President of Namibia.

Will it be the turn of

Nelson Mandela in 1995 when he becomes President of the Peoples Socialist Republic of Azania?

The way things are going now, this may well prove to be a correct prediction.

And if the above does come to pass, can we expect that President Mandela will appoint Desmond Tutu as his Minister of Finance with Alan Boesak as his Deputy Minister?

After all, these two do have financial experience having been at the forefront of sanctions and dis-

investment.

Also, will President Mandela appoint Hein Graskopf as Minister of Mines as that man has had much experience in dealing with limpet and other mines.

The future will certainly be intriguing and the possibilities of expected appointments for past actions mind-boggling, to say the least.

But I certainly hope that I will not live to see any of the above come true.

"REPLAG"

Bezuidenhout Valley
Johannesburg

Homeland leader was an 'ANC mole'

John Carlin in KaNyamazane discovers why the
Chief Minister of Kangwane has worked for
years within a system of apartheid he abhors

ENOS MABUZA does not fit the popular perception of a South African "homeland" leader as a greedy, unprincipled and, above all, politically crude "puppet of Pretoria". The Chief Minister of Kangwane, in a speech yesterday in the largest township, KaNyamazane, cited Voltaire, Copernicus and Rosa Luxemburg and dwelt on the impact of developments in Eastern Europe on South African politics.

The clarity and strength of thought he gives to his words is among the reasons why Kangwane, 250 miles east of Pretoria, has remained a haven of tranquillity amid the recent turmoil in the black homelands.

More important has been his consistent rejection of the creation of the homelands — fragmented parcels of land — as dumping-grounds for South African blacks. That has set him apart from the other homeland leaders and given him a measure of popular legitimacy they lack.

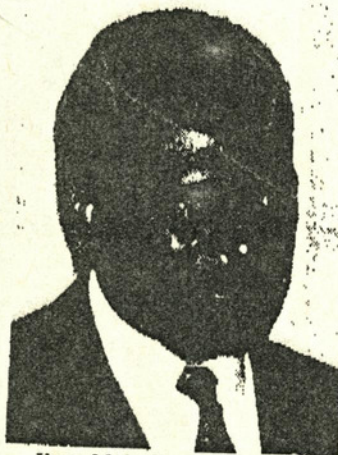
Mr Mabuza decided to work with the homelands system so as to work against apartheid as an enemy within. This he has done for 10 years with the encouragement, he disclosed yesterday, of the African National Congress.

His paymasters in Pretoria have been under no illusion that he rejects the fragmentation and injustice implicit in the homelands system, that what he seeks is a non-racial, democratic and unitary South Africa. But it was only yesterday that they had their suspicion confirmed, from his own lips, that he has been acting as a species of ANC homeland "mole".

"The exiled movement respected and encouraged the role we had to play from our seemingly 'collaborationist' role," he said. "Our role has been a schizophrenic one, balancing on a tight-rope between participation in the hated 'homelands' and in the vanguard of the liberation movement." Mr Mabuza said he had long been in "direct and regular contact with the most senior echelons of the movement" and that

he had taken part in several discussions with the ANC president, Oliver Tambo, in London, where he has also taken the opportunity of meeting Margaret Thatcher on three occasions.

Despite some crises of conscience, he bowed to the ANC's insistence on "the need for us to operate within the legal terrain". Nelson Mandela wrote to him from prison to express his satisfaction and then invited him to his home in Soweto shortly after his release — the first homeland leader to visit him.



Enos Mabuza: odd man out

Quite apart from the information Mr Mabuza has provided to the ANC through his frequent contacts with government ministers, the experience he has gained in government administration is perceived as invaluable by the ANC leadership as preparation for the day when blacks will rule the country.

Mr Mabuza, vindicated in his position by the anger and unrest sweeping the other homelands, said it was inevitable that the "self-interest" which guided the "co-opted" leaders would rebound on them. "The short-term gains that accompanied playing ball according to the rules of apartheid are being exposed for what they are."

the
Independent
2/3/90
London

Nationalisation

no answer, says

2 March 1990

new Anglo chief

By Magnus Heystek,
Finance Editor

Chairman-elect of Anglo American Corporation (AAC) Julian Ogilvie Thompson yesterday dismissed the possibility of large-scale nationalisation of private sector assets.

He said there were better methods of effecting the necessary reconstruction of the economy.

One of these was a higher economic growth rate.

He was speaking at a Press conference after yesterday's board meeting in which it was announced that the current chairman of AAC, Gavin Relly, was to retire at the end of the month.

He said he was confident that there was a "fair chance to persuade the other side that nationalisation was not in the best interests of all".

No immediate plans

Mr Ogilvie Thompson said he had not met ANC leader Nelson Mandela. Nor were there any immediate plans for such a meeting.

In a short meeting with journalists, Mr Ogilvie Thompson spoke of the drastically changed environment in which businesses, especially AAC, had to operate.

"Businesses are part of the solution to the innumerable problems facing the country.

"All will have to get involved. More money will have to be spent on education, training, housing and other social responsibility programmes," he said.

As far as AAC was concerned, he hoped to see a black executive director on the board in the Nineties, but he said any such appointment would be based on merit and not take the form of tokenism.

Mr Ogilvie Thompson remains chairman of De Beers and Minor-



Mr Gavin Relly — retiring



Mr Julian Ogilvie-Thompson

co, AAC's international arm, which makes him South Africa's most influential businessmen.

He refused to be drawn out on speculation that Nicky Oppenheimer was set to return to SA to head De Beers.

"No change of the chairmanship of De Beers is currently being contemplated," he said. But he did intimate that his workload might be reduced.

Mr Relly, who has been chairman of AAC for the last seven years, will remain on the board of AAC and several other group companies.

He will spend a great deal of his time abroad acting as a "roving ambassador" for AAC.

This might include spending some time acting as a consultant to Minorco.

Since Mr Relly was not at the Press conference and Mr Ogilvie Thompson declined to comment further, it is still unknown what precisely Mr Relly's international

role will be.

Mr Relly, who turned 64 last month, has been chairman of the executive committee of AAC for the last thirteen years and succeeded Harry Oppenheimer as chairman in 1983.

Paying tribute to Mr Relly's role at AAC, his successor said: "During his period as chairman AAC has prospered in the development and expansion of its business activities.

An important role

"It has also played an important role in helping lay foundations for the new South Africa to which all of us are looking forward.

"Mr Relly's personal role in the broader South African life has been exceptional, symbolised perhaps by his initiating the process of normalisation of South African politics when in 1985 he led the first delegation to visit the ANC in exile," Mr Ogilvie Thompson said.

Schwarz, SA Jews seek Mandela indaba

Staff Reporter

CAPE TOWN — The Democratic Party MP for Yeoville, Mr Harry Schwarz, will seek a meeting with Nelson Mandela when he returns from overseas to discuss remarks which the ANC leader made in Lusaka about Jews in South Africa.

Mr Schwarz said yesterday in a statement that reports of Mr Mandela's remarks after meeting Palestine Liberation Organisation leader Mr Yasser Arafat in Lusaka had aroused considerable comment in the Jewish community and other SA communities.

Mr Mandela is reported to have said that if South African Jews did not like the truth, then it was too bad.

The SA Jewish Board of Deputies and SA Zionist Federation yesterday said they too would "welcome an opportunity for dialogue with Mr Mandela".

The two Jewish organisations said in a statement that, like Mr Mandela, they were concerned with the establishment of a just,

fair and equal dispensation for everyone living in South Africa.

What was happening in other countries was not relevant to the South African situation, they added.

Mr Schwarz continued: "... I gained the impression from my past knowledge of Mr Mandela and my meeting with him that he was not anti-Semitic. I believe he is not. I would be extremely disappointed if he was."

PROPAGANDA

"When Mr Mandela refers to the truth, I think it is important that he should know the truth and not rely on propaganda which may be fed to him by Mr Arafat and the PLO."

Mr Schwarz said Jews in South Africa had been subjected to attacks by local ultra-right-wing movements, particularly because of their opposition to apartheid.

"It would be ironic if now they are attacked by those they have sought to support."

He said he understood that Mr Arafat was trying to gain pub-

licity for his cause by reflection from Mr Mandela following his release from prison.

"Therefore I would ask that judgment on the issue be withheld until Mr Mandela returns, when I will seek an opportunity of discussion with him."

The statement by the Jewish Board of Deputies and Zionist Federation added: "As far as Israel is concerned, the society in that country is totally non-racial, with Arab members sitting in her parliament."

"Unfortunately, she has as neighbours a number of nations such as Syria, Iraq and Iran which are still in a state of war with her and openly committed to her destruction."

Although the PLO has recently referred to peace negotiations, it has still not renounced its covenant, which is committed to the elimination of the Jewish state.

"As far as these matters are concerned we would welcome an opportunity for dialogue with

Mr Mandela," the statement added.

SA Zionist Federation chairman Mr Solly Sacks said there was no comparison between the struggle of the ANC and that of the PLO.

Israel had repeatedly offered to negotiate with the Arab states but had had no takers, mainly because Arab leaders feared assassination if they talked to the Jewish state.

SURPRISED

Israel was aware, for instance, that King Hussein of Jordan wanted peace but he did not dare enter into any agreements. Arabs knew what had happened to President Sadat when he made peace with Israel.

"We are surprised at Mr Mandela's statements because he has been very conciliatory," Mr Sacks added.

"Just last weekend he urged people in Natal to throw their weapons into the sea."

Star 2/3/90 Businessmen to meet ANC

Finance Staff

A delegation of 25 businessmen meets the ANC in Harare this weekend in a prelude to wide-ranging talks between big business and the organisation over the next few months.

The delegation comprises the chief executives of 11 of South Africa's largest companies, a senior member of a major Government parastatal and 13 other businessmen and academics.

The meeting has been arranged by the Consultative Business Movement (CBM), headed by executive director Mr Christo Nel, and will give the business leaders an opportunity to discuss with the ANC its plans for the South African economy.

The agenda will focus largely on the

organisation's plans to nationalise key assets in the economy — and also on economic restructuring and the role of business in achieving a greater distribution of wealth.

The ANC is sending a 16-man team, headed by SA Communist Party leader Mr Joe Slovo, and Mr Thabo Mbeki, who is in charge of the ANC's international affairs department.

The business delegation includes Mr Peter Wrighton, chief executive of Premier, Mr Murray Hofmeyr, CE of JCI, and Gencor general manager Mr Roodt Senior. Anglo American is represented by Mr Michael Spicer, personal assistant to outgoing chairman Mr Gavin Relly.

● See Page 3.

Crucial stage reached in negotiations process

Thorny choice for the ANC

Star - 2 March 1990

By John Ryan,
The Star's Africa
News Service

LUSAKA — Leaders of the ANC will decide today on the thorny issue of how to maintain underground structures while faced with the Government's offer of being allowed to become a legitimate political force in the internal arena.

It is a crucial stage in the ANC's process towards possible negotiations with President de Klerk on a mutually acceptable constitutional model for the country.

Armed struggle

The ANC has insisted that it cannot end the armed struggle until all its demands contained in last August's Harare Declaration have been met.

Yesterday, the ANC again appealed to the world community for "massive" financial aid to help its political campaign in the run-down

to the negotiations.

Mr Nelson Mandela addressed the appeal through nine American congressmen who were allowed at the ANC's National Executive Committee (NEC) meeting for an informal debate on the organisation's present position.

US Democrats who came to Lusaka specifically to see Mr Mandela includes such pro-sanctions stalwarts as Mr Howard Wolpe, Mr Ronald Dellums and Mr William Gray.

Mr Wolpe is chairman of the House of Representatives' sub-committee on Africa, Mr Dellums the chairman of the black caucus and Mr Gray the House majority party whip.

Mr Mandela said past support from the US Congress "has inspired us to stand on our feet and fight back for the most vital principle in life — the right to determine our own future".

The general secretary of the South African Communist Party, Mr Joe Slovo, told the American

group it was important that sanctions against South Africa be maintained at the moment. Mr Dellums said afterwards he was confident the Democratic Party would be able to get continued support for sanctions within the US.

The congressman said there was no disagreement between his party and the Republican Party on the need to maintain sanctions.

Ceasefire

One of the leaders of the ANC's military wing yesterday suggested that there should be simultaneous talks between a delegation from Umkhonto we Sizwe and the South African Defence Force.

Mr Chris Hani said such talks would be necessary to achieve a bilateral ceasefire to allow final negotiations on South Africa's constitutional future to take place and settle the Natal strife.

Swedish sources said here last night that Mr Mandela's planned visit to Sweden on March 11 had

been postponed, raising speculation that the ANC's proposed meeting with the South African Government may take place sooner than expected. The sources said the Swedish authorities had been told Mr Mandela and his party would not visit Stockholm before the end of March.

This change of plan would leave a gap of more than two weeks for a possible session with President de Klerk and his Cabinet.

A report from Stockholm, where the Mandela party was due to meet ailing ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo during a five-day stay from March 11 to 16, said Mr Mandela's trip to Tanzania might also be deferred.

Apart from the obvious benefits of having the talks about talks between the two parties sooner than later, Mr Mandela has also been invited by anti-apartheid campaigner Bishop Trevor Huddleston to a benefit pop concert for him in London early in April.

So those dates would detail.

Mandela's remarks on Jews challenged

CAPE TOWN — Democratic Party MP Mr Harry Schwarz will seek a meeting with Mr Nelson Mandela to discuss remarks Mr Mandela made in Lusaka about Jews in South Africa.

Mr Schwarz said yesterday that reports of Mr Mandela's remarks after meeting PLO leader Mr Yassar Arafat in Lusaka had aroused considerable comment in the Jewish community.

Jews had been subjected to attacks by ultra-right wing movements in South Africa of their opposition to apartheid, Mr Schwarz said.

"It would be ironic if now they are attacked by those they have sought to support," he said.

The SA Jewish Board of Deputies also said that it would welcome an opportunity to discuss with Mr Mandela his assertion that the political situations in South Africa and Israel were similar. — Sapa.

ANC 'must talk to Govt at every opportunity'

Witness Reporter

THE African National Congress has been urged by a leading political analyst to use every opportunity of engaging the Government in talks, to safeguard the international image of the newly-unbanned organisation.

Professor Robert Schrire from the University of Cape Town said yesterday that his advice to the ANC would be to "engage Pretoria at every opportunity".

They should "flush (State President F.W. de Klerk) out of the bush and get him to show his hand".

If the ANC feared Mr de Klerk was not acting in good faith they should engage him in talks which would reveal whether this fear was well founded.

'Mandela doubtful on FW colleagues'

KAULA LUMPUR. — Doubts remain whether the State President, Mr F W de Klerk can rally the support of his White colleagues in introducing reforms, Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad said yesterday.

Mr Mahathir spoke to reporters on his return from a meeting with ANC leader Nelson Mandela in Lusaka.

"Mandela appears convinced that De Klerk and two or three of his colleagues were sincere, but

the position of other members of the South African cabinet was not convincing enough," he said.

Asked if Mr Mandela was worried Mr De Klerk could be toppled by those opposed to reforms, Mr Mahathir said: "That is possible. Even if De Klerk agrees (to reforms) but is pushed aside by the Whites in South Africa, all his decisions become meaningless."

Mr Mahathir was in-

vited by Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda to meet Mr Mandela in Mr Mahathir's capacity as chairman of the Commonwealth Summit meeting held in Malaysia last October.

Mr Mahathir said he believed members of the Commonwealth would maintain sanctions against South Africa even though Britain had announced it was lifting an investment ban. — Sapa-Reuter

ANC willing to meet SADF commanders

LUSAKA. — As Nelson Mandela joined exiled African National Congress leaders for their first formal discussions yesterday a top military official said the organisation was willing to meet with commanders of South Africa's defence forces.

Mr Chris Hani, the second in command of the ANC's military wing, told reporters preliminary talks with President F W de Klerk's government might include contact with the South African military.

Guerrilla leaders believed the upcoming talks could not be limited to political leaders alone and Mr Hani said he envisaged a time when military officers from both sides would meet to work out "the modalities of a ceasefire".

Mr Hani and Mr Joe

Modise, the top commander of the ANC military wing Umkonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), were among 32 exiled leaders belonging to the 35-member National Executive Committee who began formal discussions with Mr Mandela in Lusaka.

The national executive meeting, chaired by acting president Alfred Nzo, began with an emotional ceremony in which Mr Mandela raised a clenched fist salute and joined in the singing of the nationalist anthem Nkosi Sikelele Afrika, or God Save Africa.

Mr Mandela was flanked by Mr Nzo and Mr Joe Slovo, a ranking White ANC official who is also Secretary-General of the South African Communist Party.

Mr Hani said the first business meeting with Mr Mandela since he arrived in Zambia on Tuesday to visit the ANC's external headquarters will focus on a broad agenda of issues, including Mr Mandela's role in the organisation.

"Already he has brought a new dimension to our struggle. I am sure the national executive will be more precise about the sort of role he is going to play," Mr Hani said.

Since his release on February 11 after 27 years in prison Mr Mandela has been given no formal position in the ANC.

"The presence of Mandela in our midst is a tonic. It strengthens all of us. We feel we are really moving forward. He is a great leader," Mr Hani said. "We are sure the ANC will move from strength to strength with Mandela as one of the comrades at the helm of things."

Although no specific agenda for the two-day meeting at Lusaka's Mulungushi Hall has been released, Mr Hani said conferees, including longtime political detainee Walter Sisulu, and other ANC officials from inside South

Africa, will discuss the lifting of a 30-year ban on the ANC announced by Mr De Klerk on Feb. 2.

Amid calls from church leaders in South Africa and President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia for the ANC to suspend its guerrilla actions, Mr Hani said the organisation's leaders will discuss "what is happening in the armed struggle and a clear strategy on that".

"We will be looking at how to take forward the process of negotiation," he added.

The executive meeting is expected to select at least 10 names of delegates it wants to hold preliminary talks with Mr De Klerk to clear obstacles in the way of full-scale talks towards a new constitution giving the 28 million Black majority political rights.

The ANC is demanding the lifting of the state of emergency, in force since June 1986, and the release of all political prisoners, including those convicted of acts of violence. — Sapa-AP.

Jewish leaders want talks with Mandela

Citizen Reporter

JEWISH leaders in South Africa would like to meet with Mr Nelson Mandela following a statement in Lusaka in which he equated the struggle of the ANC with that of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO).

They were reacting yesterday to Mr Mandela's statement that he sincerely believed that there were many similarities between the ANC's struggle and that of the PLO. Mr Mandela said this at a Press conference after meeting with the Palestinian leader, Yasser Arafat, on Tuesday.

In reply to a question whether he risked alienating the Jewish community by meeting Mr Arafat, he said "if the truth alienates the powerful Jewish community in South Africa, that's too bad".

The MP for Yeoville, Mr Harry Schwarz, asked that judgment on the issue be withheld until Mr Mandela returns.

Mr Schwarz said he had not gained the impression from earlier meetings with Mr Mandela that he was anti-semitic.

Jews have been under attack by ultra-Right movements, particularly because of their opposition against apartheid and it would be ironic if they were to be attacked by those they have sought to support, he said.

"When Mr Mandela refers to the truth, I think it is important that he

should know the truth and not rely on propaganda which may be fed to him by Mr Arafat and the PLO."

He stressed the fact that South African Jews had a close emotional and religious attachment to Israel and were not likely to sever those links.

Events in other countries have no relevance to the South African situation, the executive director of the South African Jewish Board of Deputies, Mr Alec Goldberg, said.

"As far as Israel is concerned, the society in that country is totally non-racial, with Arab members sitting in her Parliament."

He added that South African Jews were con-

cerned with the establishment of a just, fair and equal dispensation for everyone living in South Africa.

Mr Mandela has urged reconciliation amongst his own people, and these peace initiatives as well as the new dispensation put forward by the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, were welcomed by the Jewish community, but they were "upset by Mr Mandela's statements", the chairman of the South African Zionist Federation, Mr Solly Sacks, said.

"To compare South Africa with Israel is 'incorrect' and 'absolute nonsense' because Israel was non-racialistic. The 700 000 Arab-Israeli citizens have full rights, he said.

Mandela 'trying too hard to allay fears'

HOLLAND, Michigan.

— The Rev Allan Boesak said in the United States this week that too much emphasis had been put on easing the White minority's fears about the changing government.

He said in an interview that Mr Nelson Mandela was "among those guilty of trying too hard to soothe those fears".

Since Mandela had been released, "he has never referred to his experience in prison. He has always talked about White fears, telling White people that we have only one future in South Africa and that is a common future," Mr Boesak said.

"I don't know where this man gets his Christian forgiveness from," he said. "Listening to him, I see South Africa is a country given far more than it deserves."

US President George Bush would be applying a double standard for emerging democracies around the world if he lifted sanctions on South Africa before apartheid was dismantled, Rev Allan Boesak said.

"Sanctions in South Africa can only be lifted when (apartheid) laws are

no longer on the statutory books, when we have free and fair elections to choose who will represent us around the negotiating table, and when the negotiating process can be described as irreversible," Mr Boesak said.

Mr Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and the national president of the Association of Christian Students in Southern Africa, was at Hope College to accept an honorary Doctor of Divinity degree.

Mr Boesak said the United States could jeopardise the movement to end apartheid if it lifted economic sanctions prematurely.

"I have a feeling that the United States is applying different criteria for democracy for Eastern Europe and Central America than for South Africa," Mr Boesak said in an interview.

"There, before even talking of economic aid and the lifting of sanctions, the United States wants free and fair elections," he said. "When it comes to South Africa, why do they want to apply different criteria? Sapa-AP.

First returning ANC exiles expected in SA

Citizen Reporter

RETURNING exiles Professor Jack Simon and his wife Mrs Ray Simon (Alexander), described as the first ANC exiles to return to South Africa, are much more than merely members of this organisation.

Both have been leading members of the South African Communist Party.

They have been offered associate fellowships at the University of Cape

Town's Centre for African Studies.

Prof Simon (83) as a member of the SACP's central committee in 1947 was charged, with others, with sedition. Changes were withdrawn after an objection to the framing of the indictment in 1948.

Mrs Simon rose to prominence within the SACP through the trade union movement in the Western Cape, and was elected MP as a replacement for Communist Bri-

an Bunting, but she too was barred from taking her seat because of the prohibition on Communists becoming Members of Parliament.

Mrs Simon (76) has remained active within the SACP and was reported to have received solid support at the seventh congress of the SACP in Havanah last year where she was elected to its central committee. She was previously been a member of the SACP executive when the organisation was headquartered in Cape Town until its banning in 1950.

Until the exile of the couple nearly 25 years ago, Prof Simon lectured in Comparative African and Government Law at UCT.

The couple are due to return to South Africa today (March 2).

Business Day 2 March 1990. Ignore De Klerk at his peril

CAPE TOWN — A curious period of political limbo has begun for SA, a measuring of strength and taking of stock before negotiations begin. After the surge of activity last month, the two principals now nurse their vastly different constituencies, separated by 1 600km and a cultural chasm.

President De Klerk sits in his official residence, among Cape Town's Parliament buildings. Mandela holds court at his home in Soweto, to which no foreign ambassador declines a peremptory summons.

Speculation fluctuates wildly about the time-scale of what is to come.

A prominent foreign diplomat suggests that we shall see leading blacks sitting at the Cabinet table within a matter of months. Other observers are more cautious, predicting immense difficulties and setbacks in the negotiations between government and the ANC, with consequent growing difficulties for De Klerk with his own NP supporters.

Even among those who know SA and its politicians, the enigma persists about what caused a president drawn from the right wing of his party, and from a Cabinet which includes so many former conservatives, to act with such boldness. De Klerk declares that "there was no conversion on the road to Damascus, just a certain ripening, and an understanding that if we continued as we were, we were in a cul de sac".

He is an impressive man, whom office has made more so. There is a vigour, a sparkle in his conversation, especially in private. He is fully conscious that the eyes of the world are upon him, and it seems he is unafraid of the sensation.

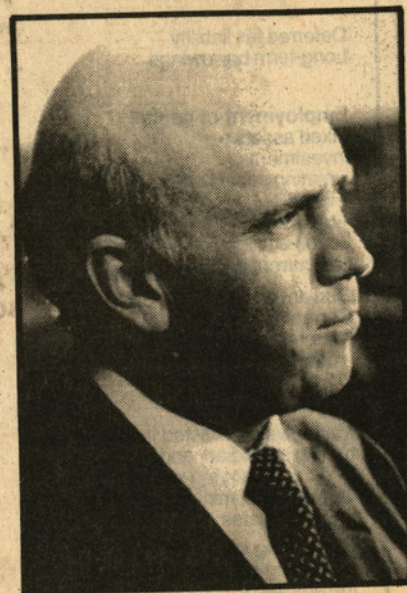
His principal theme now is of urgency: "We must maintain the tempo. We must keep things moving."

The government knows it is contending with three timetables, which

it must strive to render compatible. First is that of political negotiation with the ANC. Ministers believe that Mandela's colleagues are finding it difficult to adjust to their new conditions, to organise themselves for the next phase. If talks cannot begin within the next month or two, both sides may become anxious.

The second timetable is driven by the need to progress fast enough to maintain the support of the whites. The third is that required to gain some visible gestures of support and confidence for De Klerk's reform policy from the outside world.

Deputy Foreign Minister Leon Wessels acknowledges the need to build trust after 40 years of apart-



□ DE KLERK

MAX HASTINGS
Daily Telegraph Editor

heid. "But our credibility with our own constituency rests upon the basis that there has to be a result."

The government's definition of a "result" must mean visible progress in relations, not only with the black majority but also with the outside world. Finance Minister Barend du Plessis emphasises SA's budgetary plans assume a continuation of sanctions, and of the status quo.

"There has to be a substantial shift in our economic policies towards social spending. We must seek to maximise support for those most in need, and that will mean raising money by more toll roads, rises in school fees, higher hospital charges for those who can afford them.

"We have enormous sums of money — billions of rand — tied up in emergency supplies of oil and raw materials. We ask nothing of the world except to be allowed to compete on equal terms. But if we are to increase social spending it would be of immense benefit to be able to free all those sterilised billions.

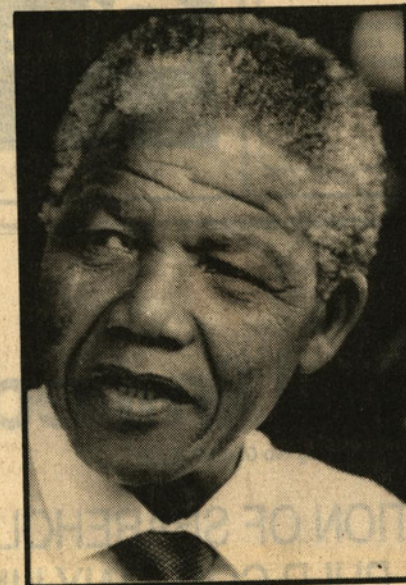
"While political negotiations are going on, why can't the West guarantee us free access to international markets and supplies? If only we can be left to our own devices now, for a time, the commitment to reform is there. There will be no going back."

It is easy to find grounds for pessimism. If there is real enthusiasm for what De Klerk is doing among prosperous and well-educated whites in the Cape, there is likely to be less and

less among the poorer Afrikaners of the Transvaal and Natal. The fear of black power can only grow, and with it De Klerk's political difficulties.

It will be hard to maintain the disengagement of the police from the black townships. Much hinges upon the success of the new government policy of placing the onus for maintaining peace among the blacks on their own leadership.

The scale of factional and tribal dissension within the black leadership has scarcely yet been glimpsed. However eagerly the outside world embraces Mandela as the principal voice of black SA, it is unlikely that all of his own people, and especially the young, will do so.



□ MANDELA

Perhaps most significant of all, the difficulties remain enormous of contriving a transfer of wealth from the white minority to the black majority, on anything like a scale likely to satisfy the latter while remaining tolerable to the former.

Most blacks will judge the progress of reform by what material benefits it brings them, and how speedily. "Socialism cannot possibly deliver the goods this country needs," says Du Plessis. But even if Mandela and Walter Sisulu can be persuaded to accept this, many of their followers are likely to take a simpler view.

If the fears and difficulties in SA today are great, so too is the opportunity. Few remotely objective observers here doubt the sincerity and commitment of President De Klerk and his colleagues. It seems vital for the rest of the world to show recognition of what is being attempted.

Few South Africans realistically expect the immediate lifting of international sanctions. Indeed, many whites of the kind whose support De Klerk most needs would scarcely notice such a remote economic shift. What they want is a visible gesture, of the kind they can readily understand. An official cricket, or better still, rugby tour, would be the most obvious symbol of a relaxation of their own pariahdom.

The De Klerk government has embarked upon a policy as imaginative and bold as anything by Gorbachev in the Soviet Union. It will surely be a tragedy if the world does not do everything in its power to assist the Pretoria government to succeed.

To insist upon waiting until the last barricades of apartheid have been dismantled, until Mandela and his colleagues sit in the parliament building, as they surely will, may be to wait until De Klerk has failed. A great historic moment will have been missed.

**Vlok and Buthelezi
meet in city today**

LAW and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, will meet in the city this morning.

They will aim to find a solution to the Natal violence which has claimed at least 36 lives since Tuesday.

A police spokesman said yesterday that the Commissioner of Police, General Johann van der Merwe, as well as Brigadier Leon Mellet, will accompany Mr Vlok.

Chief Buthelezi will be backed by a number of his top men.

The police spokesman did not say where the talks would be held, but they are expected to begin early today.

A press conference will take place immediately afterwards. — Sapa.

**KwaZulu
deputy minister
refused bail**

Witness Reporter

THE KwaZulu deputy minister of the interior, arrested last month in connection with several murder and attempted murder charges, has been refused bail.

Following a formal application for bail by lawyers acting for Mr Bhekizizwe Jamile yesterday, a certificate was handed in to the Pinetown magistrate's court in terms of which the attorney-general refused bail to Mr Jamile.

He will remain in custody until his next appearance on March 30.

Meanwhile, Mr Jamile's co-accused, a 17-year-old, has escaped from custody along with three other juveniles. Police said one of the four had been re-arrested, but that Mr Jamile's co-accused was still at large.

The regional director of the Democratic Party, Mr Roy Ainslie, said yesterday he would be asking the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, certain questions about the case.

"For example, we want to know why Mr Jamile and his co-accused, who has now escaped, were being held in Pinetown police cells rather than at Westville prison. We are particularly concerned because the chief witness in the case has made a statement implicating several police from that same police station in the incidents with which Mr Jamile is charged," Mr Ainslie said.

The Natal Witness

2 March 1990

Aids

The alarm bells are ringing ever more stridently as Aids — the most recent and the most deadly disease to have affected humanity — makes its sinister journey around the globe. The number of Aids cases in Pietermaritzburg and its environs is now causing concern among medical personnel. Not only are there many more patients suffering from Aids but there are also more people with the HIV virus that can ultimately result in Aids. Sexual promiscuity is the chief cause of the spread of the disease, and unless people review their sexual lifestyles they will continue to be at risk. But at the root of the problem is the need to get the message of sexually transmitted diseases across to everyone.

Compared with other countries, South Africa has always lagged behind when it comes to campaigns aimed at preventing diseases in the community. All possible means of communication — newspapers, graphic advertisements in public places, television and radio — should be used in a concerted effort to advise people on Aids and what can be done to avoid contracting it. The local municipal health department cannot be expected to cope with the problem alone; the provincial authorities and the central Government must also be involved, and the matter given the highest priority. Surely there could be more collusion and planning among our 14 departments of health to keep people better informed. At present the message is not getting across.

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

2 March 1990
Hardline

AN interesting situation is developing.

The African National Congress has committed itself to continuing the armed struggle, but some of its chief supporters are urging it to abandon the armed struggle or at least suspend it.

The first was President Kenneth Kaunda, who told ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, that he should help the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, by suspending armed operations in South Africa.

Mr De Klerk, he said, had to contend with a "lunatic Right-wing fringe" opposed to reform and needed the gesture.

However, Mr Mandela gave a courteous and firm refusal, saying that Mr De Klerk's government had not yet met the ANC's conditions for peace.

"The ANC is not in the same position as the National Party in regard to negotiation.

"We can't be expected to make any concession to the government no matter what difficulties it has."

Another ANC supporter, Canadian Foreign Minister, Mr Joe Clark, who is also chairman of the Commonwealth Special Committee on Southern Africa and is in Lusaka with the leaders who welcomed Mr Mandela, also urged the ANC to abandon its "guerilla violence."

A renunciation of violence by the ANC would be an important step towards full-scale negotiations in South Africa.

"It would be helpful for the ANC to move away from the commitment to the armed struggle," Mr Clark said.

The ANC has no more regard for Mr Clark's view than it has for that of President Kaunda. It is also digging in its heels on the sanctions issue.

It is easy for it to berate Mrs Margaret Thatcher, the British Prime Minister, for lifting the ban on new investment.

Mrs Thatcher is standing alone in the Commonwealth and in the European Community on the sanctions issue.

Screaming at Mrs Thatcher will find sympathetic responses from her critics.

However, President George Bush is willing to lift sanctions once it is legally possible to do so, meaning that South Africa must first meet certain conditions stipulated in the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act.

We think the question of when sanctions should be lifted, partly or fully, will remain a contentious issue, with the ANC opposing any move to lift the curbs before it achieves its objective of one man, one vote majority rule.

However, as in the case of the armed struggle, the ANC will find that some of its supporters will question its hardline stance.

Thus, both on the armed struggle and on sanctions, there will no longer be a total commit-

ment to the ANC viewpoint, whereas the ANC still needs the full backing of the international community.

Meanwhile, Mr Mandela is becoming more and more controversial.

He has upset the business community and foreign investors with his commitment to nationalisation. Although he is prepared to discuss the subject, it is clear that the ANC remains determined to nationalise the gold mines, the banks and other sectors of the economy.

He has also caused concern about his commitment to the armed struggle, and against this his talk of peace rings hollow.

He has also upset Jews by his "too bad" comment on their possibly being upset by his warm embrace of Palestine Liberation Organisation leader, Yasser Arafat, and by comparing Arafat's struggle to that of Blacks in South Africa.

"If the truth alienates the powerful Jewish community in South Africa, that is too bad," he said.

"I sincerely believe there are many similarities between our struggle and that of the PLO."

We predict Mr Mandela, suave though he is, will continue to take standpoints that will alienate opinion here and abroad.

In a sense, that is all to the good, since it means that the false euphoria that followed his release will be dissipated.

Whites to give up economic privilege, says Slovo

LUSAKA. — South Africa's top Communist said the country's ruling White minority would have to give up economic privilege in the post-apartheid society that was the goal of Nelson Mandela's African National Congress (ANC).

"There is no way in which you can expect the average Black to accept that liberation has happened if virtually all the wealth remains in the hands of Whites," Mr Joe Slovo, secretary-general of the South African Communist Party, told Reuters in an interview.

President F W de Klerk's reforms, including lifting of a 30-year-old ban on the ANC and freedom for Mandela after 27 years in South African prisons, had caught the ANC off guard, Mr Slovo said, and detailed economic plans were not yet finalised.

"We have concentrated for so long on how to get there that we have rather forgotten to make plans for when the day arrived," Mr Slovo said of possible negotiations with Pretoria.

ANC economic policies may aim at Whites through nationalisation or redistribution of wealth, but Mr Slovo said the movement had no plans for wholesale dispossession of Whites.

Mr Slovo (63), a lawyer in Johannesburg until he fled into exile in 1962, is a founder and former chief-of-staff of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), and part of the ANC's policy-making national executive committee.

He is also one of the few Whites in the top

leadership of the exiled guerrilla movement legalised on February 2.

As Mandela met in Lusaka with ANC leaders he had not seen for up to three decades, Mr Slovo outlined economic ground rules the ANC plans to apply in any settlement with Pretoria.

The ANC's still vague economic policies have caused alarm and controversy among Whites since Mr Mandela's release.

Mr Mandela's public reaffirmation of the ANC's commitment to nationalise South Africa's gold, platinum and diamond mines sent Johannesburg share prices plummeting after his release two weeks ago. Leading White businessmen have denounced his statement.

"The question that

arises is whether the existing 98 percent monopoly of the wealth and resources can stay in White hands," Mr Slovo said in an interview on Wednesday night at Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda's residence in Lusaka.

"It doesn't have to be only nationalisation. That is just one of the mechanisms. The fundamental issue is to begin the redistribution of wealth," he said.

He said the ANC had no plans for the wholesale dispossession of Whites, but he insisted that the ruling minority, outnumbered five-to-one by Blacks, would have to give up its monopoly of South Africa's wealth, land and resources.

Mr Slovo referred to "basic inequalities that characterised South African society", including differences in earnings, health care and education.

Whites owned and managed six major mining houses. The country's best residential areas were still reserved for Whites. Black hospitals were overcrowded while whole wards of segregated White hospitals were closed for lack of patients.

Government spending on White education out-ranked equivalent spending for each Black child by five to one.

"White farmers own 87 percent of the land. There is no way we can meet the land needs of the Black people while that situation remains," Mr Slovo said.

Mr Slovo called on US Congressmen visiting Lusaka to keep up sanctions pressure against South Africa. Sapa-Reuters.

WE MUST break out of comfortable preconceptions and develop innovative policies. Our solutions lie neither in free market capitalism nor in centrally planned command economy socialism.

Cosatu has a socialist conception of the policies necessary to solve our economic problems. However, it is important to define what is socialist.

Firstly, policy is aimed at developing economic and social programmes that must effectively develop and benefit our whole society. This means there must be particular, but not exclusive, development for the working class majority.

Central to our thinking is the development of a democratic political process that will entrench mass participation and involvement in the formulation and implementation of economic policy.

In these broad dimensions we are unashamedly socialist. Our challenge is to develop inclusivist programmes that will build a productive, prosperous, ecologically stable and culturally vibrant society where every citizen benefits in meaningful measure. We have to avoid a future economy where mass poverty exists side by side with minority affluence.

Three important areas of policy help a more informed interaction. The first is to understand the strong opposition to present economic policies of capital and the state, policies centred on a belief in a free market which, it is held, entails privatisation and deregulation.

In our view the free market solution provides a cover for more narrow concerns and interests of capital and the state. The concern of capital is to cut costs to retain profitability and that of the state to shed its obligations in order to solve its fiscal problems. Such policies constitute a systematic attack on the working class because they have manifest impacts on wages and employment with no gains made elsewhere.

Economic solutions for a new SA lie in breaking the mould

BUSINESS DAY 2 MARCH 1990

In this final excerpt from the three economics papers delivered at the Indaba in Paris last December, ALEC ERWIN puts the trade union view.

If we could attain a more considered agreement based on negotiation within credible forums, then certain potentials within privatisation and deregulation could be developed. There is a component of privatisation which is important, and that is

the question of management accountability for actions. If deficits are met by state subsidy then this must affect managerial style when compared to a self-financing enterprise. Equally deregulation, if it is applied to removing protection of narrow interests, could effect important changes.

We will have to accept that, while the present economic policies of capital and the state and the extreme concentration of economic power within a handful of conglomerates will be the starting points of capital, they will be totally unacceptable end points for workers and the broader liberation movement.

A popular wisdom has developed that our problems are caused by disinvestment and sanctions and will therefore be solved by a future inflow of foreign and aid capital. Such

a growth path expectation is dangerous, because it is unlikely to happen on the scale envisaged, and will only delay the vital restructuring required in our domestic economy.

For structural reasons the economy even without apartheid will not attract massive or sustained capital or aid inflows. We face a much more serious problem of a capital outflow.

In our research in Cosatu and the Economic Trends Project, three important insights have guided our thinking.

Firstly, a state can intervene in a developing economy in many ways. A brief comparison of South Korea and SA is instructive. The Korean state has been prepared to intervene in capital's investment decisions in order to develop a manufacturing sector that can compete on the international market. It directly influenced where investment takes place, but then provided support in the form of research and development and a coherent and active development of manpower and education.

SA provides an interesting contrast. State intervention in the economy in relation to capital was to create very favourable supply condi-

tions for capital. A cheap and might-less labour supply was secured and parastatals developed a large fabric of infrastructure linked to production. Manufacturing grew behind the protective wall of tariffs, and manpower and technology policies were left in the hands of racially and materially divided education systems.

Such a pervasive intervention in supply conditions by apartheid and, more narrowly, economic policies such as import substitution, created a manufacturing sector that can produce more than the high income white (and a small black) strata of society can purchase, but at prices

the vast majority cannot afford.

Manufacturing is therefore structurally incapable of producing for the needs of the mass market and also of competing in international markets. The result is a stagnant and declining manufacturing sector that, with other complex structural problems, prevents economic growth now and in all likelihood in a post-apartheid economy.

Economic Solutions for a new

SA.

Given the magnitude of our problem, and looking at the inability of market forces to generate rather than reflect structural changes, it is necessary to understand the experience of planned economics.

Command economies were capable of effecting relatively rapid structural changes and attaining high levels of employment, particularly in resource-rich economies such as the Soviet Union. However, it is now reasonably clear that such economies did not accelerate the growth of the standard of living, that productivity was static and the quality and variety of products was increasingly unacceptable.

Our economy can be characterised as a high-cost low-wage manufacturing economy. Present economic policies of both capital and the state will perpetuate such a growth path — more realistically a non-growth path.

The challenge Cosatu is addressing is to restructure the existing economy around a low-cost high-wage growth path. This hinges on an increase in productivity.

In achieving an increase in productivity the objectives would be to lower relative prices of manufactured goods in order to expand products of basic social infrastructure and consumer goods to meet mass needs. This must raise incomes through raising wages and increased employment.

Such an economic turnaround or restructuring requires a coherent strategic plan. The key areas are:

- ☐ Investment policy — which would link foreign investment to technology and markets, increasing employment and making us more competitive on international markets;
- ☐ A science and technology programme;
- ☐ A manpower programme which integrates our skill needs and is related to education;
- ☐ Health and welfare;
- ☐ Environment; and
- ☐ Recreation and tourism.

Such planning needs to learn from both socialist and capitalist mixed economies. Centrally planned economic policies are not appropriate either to the political situation or the economic resource base.

This raises the central question of nationalisation. The socialist and capitalist experience of nationalisation requires us to go into a more detailed and disaggregated approach to this problem. In directing production, control of assets by the state is not the complete answer. Neither is the unfettered ownership rights of free market capitalism.

There will have to be social control over production through a range of ownership forms and where the market plays critically important roles. We are going to have to forge new policies.

Of central importance is that the planning processes that will restructure and develop our economic future must be effected by democratic structures not only at national, regional and local levels but more importantly within the institutions of the wider civil society and all processes of production.

☐ Erwin is education officer of the National Union of Metalworkers, a Cosatu affiliate. The papers have been published by Idasa.

2/03/90