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SOWETAN Tuesda

A SUMMIT proposed by Archbishop Desmond Tutu has hit snags with some of the potential participants expressing reservations about the initiative.

Opening the Anglican diocese of Cape Town on Wednesday, Tutu said he would invite leaders of the major black political movements to an urgent summit to hammer out a joint strategy on negotiations.

He said black leaders needed to adopt a code of conduct in their political dealings, and to decide how to handle factional violence and to promote unity and peace.

In his response, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi,

# Tutu's political summit hits snags

X Soweran 23/10/90

By SY MAKARINGE

president of Inkatha Freedom Party and Chief Minister of KwaZulu, said initiatives taken by Inkatha and the African National Congress to address the violence in Natal needed to be nurtured and encouraged.

He said these peace talks might result in a meeting of the leaders.

"I cannot see how we can overfly these peace

talks to meet all of a sudden in a summit at Bishops court," Buthelezi said.

He said he would, however, refer Tutu's invitation to Inkatha's central committee and the caucus of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly for guidance before giving his final response.

The Azanian Peoples Organisation said Tutu's call for a summit was in no way different from the

initiatives Azapo had already taken.

"We hope Bishop Tutu will be able to advance his motivations for the Bishops court summit in a manner which will not undermine all well meant initiatives which are already in motion."

Azapo was referring to two meetings it initiated to address the continuing violence and to find a common strategy on negotiations.



THE AUSTRALIAN

23 OCT. 1990

# South Africa's hideous black violence

SIR — An article by Bruce Haigh, director of the Australia-South Africa Training Trust (26/9), accuses me, among other numerous ghastly deeds, of being "the fire under the South African cauldron."

I seek the opportunity and space to defend myself against some of his appalling accusations and to put forward another perspective on the issue of the hideous black-on-black violence in my country.

His biased, inaccurate and vicious attack on me and the Inkatha Freedom Party sought to present us as the unpopular "bad guys" to put it mildly) and the African National Congress as the popular "good guys". Simplistic propaganda but nevertheless extremely damaging to us when we are wrongfully accused of being a "cruel and destabilising force..."

In calling for our international isolation one gets an early clue of where Mr Haigh is coming from. Finally, in his last paragraph he lets the cat out of the bag: Inkatha must be "deprived" of funds.

Inkatha believes choice is what democracy is all about and that all South Africans, regardless of race, creed or colour, should at last (after

suffering the evils of apartheid) have the right to freely support the leaders and organisations they wish to.

How can a multi-party democracy have any hope in hell of getting off the ground in South Africa if international favour (and finances) are significantly weighed now towards some to the exclusion of others.

The horrors of one-party State rule are well-known throughout Africa and what chance have we got if the Bruce Haighs of this world assist in perpetrating a climate of political intolerance and encouraging external manipulation?

In praising those who have, he claims, denied me access to your country, he is preaching the kind of tyranny that denies freedom of speech, not only to me but to many others. Until now I didn't realise people of this ilk had such power in Australia.

He asserts, incredibly, that Inkatha with 1.8 million paid-up members has "very little" support. The ANC (according to Newsweek magazine — October 15) has yet to reach the 200,000 mark in its ongoing membership drive.

Far from "sponsoring" so-called "tribal" violence,

which I denounce, I have espoused peaceful change and negotiation all my life and, at great political and personal cost, refused to ally myself or my supporters with the ANC's armed struggle and with terrorism in any form whatsoever.

For that the ANC set out to teach Inkatha, and me in particular, a lesson and in 1985 it officially declared its intention (at its National Consultative Conference in Zambia) to "work to win over" my supporters, make Kwazulu "ungovernable", and to "deprive" me of my "social base".

The stage was then set for conflict and we have witnessed a sickening cycle of action and counter-action which, for the most part, is now completely out of control.

The violence appals me and I despise the fact that Inkatha supporters have been drawn into the bloodshed. I have never encouraged or directed violence and I take great exception to being accused of unleashing a "wave of terror".

Let me also categorically deny that I work "in league with members of the highly unsavoury white Right..." I am a black South African who has felt the boot of

racists on my neck for as long as I can remember and to be accused of stabbing my own people in the back, in cohorts with fascists, is just too much.

For a real understanding of the causes and effects of the violence between the ANC and Inkatha one needs to first examine what apartheid has done to this country and how it has ruthlessly fragmented black and other political opposition to it.

Add to this dimension the winner-takes-all attitude of the ANC which sees itself as a government-in-waiting. It tolerates no opposition and those of us who called for a "multi-strategy" approach towards liberation were declared the enemy many years ago.

Simply put, if you were not "with" the ANC you were given a death sentence — as the widows of many town councillors and black policemen can readily testify. Inkatha is not the only organisation to have faced ANC guns, bombs and hit squads. Others, including the PAC and AZAPO, are as vocal as I in denouncing their bully-boy tactics and are also, like us, burying their dead.

The ANC long ago insti-

gated a culture of violence in South Africa, called for the country to be made "ungovernable" and the results are clearly evident now.

To date more than 100 Inkatha branch leaders have been systematically assassinated. In addition, I have 90 pages available listing more than a thousand Inkatha members and supporters (that we know of) who have also died violently. ANC killers have set out to murder me, of which there is proof. There are 6000 homeless Inkatha refugees in Natal/Kwazulu and nearly 500 in the Transvaal.

The ANC embarked on an "armed struggle" (terrorism) to achieve its political goals and to this day employs trained and equipped forces beyond our borders.

ANC insurgents captured only a few weeks ago in Natal/Kwazulu (after the ANC had agreed to suspend the activities of its armed wing) admitted they had been sent to "stoke the violence" in the region and to "eliminate" Inkatha members.

I rest my case.

**MANGOSUTHU G.**

**BUTHELEZI**

President

Inkatha Freedom Party

Ulundi, South Africa



THE AUSTRALIAN

23 OCT. 1990



23/10/90



16/1/11

## ANC refuses to meet Mangope

*Sowetan 23/10/90*  
THE ANC would not meet Bophuthatswana leader Chief Lucas Mangope until he had met their demands for free political activity and the lifting of the state of emergency in the homeland, the organisation's Eersterust branch said yesterday.

It claimed Mangope had urgently requested a meeting with ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela two weeks ago to discuss the "situation in Bophuthatswana".

A spokesman for the branch said even if Mangope agreed to the preconditions, talks

would only be held on a very "low level" with civic associations and youth congresses.

The reincorporation of Bophuthatswana was still a central issue and the ANC spokesman urged the people of Bophuthatswana to "intensify the struggle". -Sapa.



# OPEN SCHOOLS: THE BIG TEST IS JUST STARTING

DAILY NEWS  
23-10-90



Daily News correspondent **JOHN YELD** reports from Cape Town that many schools in the Western Cape will be opening their doors to all races in the new year.

**T**HAT the first white schools in the Western Cape will open their doors to pupils of all races at the start of the new year is now little more than a formality.

With big majorities of parents at Rhenish Girls High in Stellenbosch and Plumstead High having formally voted in favour of open schools and with many others set to follow in the next few weeks, it is clear that white "own affairs" education minister Mr Piet Clase has no option but to approve their official requests when these arrive on his desk.

Attempting to exercise a veto at this stage would almost certainly lead to open defiance.

But for many of these schools, the real challenge has only just started.

As far as the Government is concerned, the three "open schools" models proposed by Mr Clase are a sop to political pressure, and apartheid education — based on "own" and "general" affairs of the tricameral system — must continue.

This is clear from the information document put out by Mr Clase's department. It reads:

"All the schools under the jurisdiction of this department strive to accomplish the following mission:

"The provision of excellent and relevant education originating in the cultural milieu of a local community, that is, schooling which has a Christian and broad national character and which is provided to its target group through the medium of the mother tongue. Where possible, the department renders a service to other groups in terms of the Constitution.

"The Minister will approve the conversion of a state school to one of the additional models only if it will still be possible under the changed circumstances to achieve the stated mission of the department in practice."

And the document states categorically that the majority of pupils

must remain white.

Although many white schools have decided to hold polls in terms of Mr Clase's guidelines, this racially-based criterion remains unacceptable to them. They want open schools in a non-racial system with admissions based on educational criteria — not "multi-racial" schools with effective racial quotas.

The formidable challenge for white schools admitting pupils of other races for the first time next year will be to develop a truly non-racial ethos. For these new pupils will, in most cases, constitute a tiny minority.

It will also take great patience and determination to root out long-standing prejudices and debunk existing

myths, as teachers Emilia Potenza and Charlotte Schaer of Sacred Heart College in Johannesburg pointed out in a recent article in The Transvaal Education News:

"Racial prejudice has been part of the fabric of life in South Africa for so long that we are all victims of it.

Consequently, myths about other race groups and ourselves abound, particularly when it comes to the very pressing issues of integrated education."

DAILY NEWS  
23-10-90



NATIONAL TUESDAY, OCTOBER 23, 1990

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# Mandela to Meet Zulu on Equal Terms

By CHRISTOPHER S. WREN

Special to The New York Times

JOHANNESBURG, Oct. 22 — The African National Congress announced today that Nelson Mandela would soon meet with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the leader of the Zulu political movement Inkatha, under terms that Chief Buthelezi has demanded.

The concession by the congress seemed to be an indication that it had decided to make peace with Inkatha to avoid more violence between supporters of the two groups and end the divisions that have set into black politics.

The move also significantly advances Chief Buthelezi's claim to take part as a full partner, along with the congress, in constitutional talks with the white minority Government.

The congress decided that Mr. Mandela should meet Chief Buthelezi as he has demanded, in his capacity as leader of the new political party organized by Inkatha and not merely as head of one of the black homelands set up by Pretoria.

Chief Buthelezi, who is Chief Minister of the KwaZulu homeland, had refused to attend a meeting on Oct. 5 between Mr. Mandela and other homeland leaders.

## Only on Certain Conditions

Mr. Mandela had previously declined to even see the Inkatha leader, then said last month that he would do so as he met the other homeland leaders.

The announcement emerged today from a meeting of the congress's national executive committee. It affirmed a new readiness to end violence between its supporters and those of Inkatha that has contributed to 4,000 deaths in Natal province in the last four years and nearly 600 around Johannesburg since August.

The congress may also have been trying to pre-empt the call Friday by the Anglican Archbishop, Desmond M. Tutu, for a meeting of black leaders to resolve differences and to form a united front for the discussions with the Government.

Exploratory talks have taken place in Durban between officials of the congress and Inkatha. Today's announcement by the congress said it had decided that "a meeting between the National Executive Committees of the A.N.C. and the Central Committee of the Inkatha Freedom Party be held in the near future, with the participation of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Nelson Mandela, to strengthen the efforts aimed at ending the violence."

Mr. Mandela did not attend the congress's leadership meeting because he is traveling in Asia. But the decision seemed certain to have been cleared with him beforehand.

## Response From Buthelezi

Tonight, Chief Buthelezi issued a statement saying that the congress had not yet told Inkatha of the proposed meeting but implying that he would accept.

Once Inkatha was officially informed, he said, it would begin considering a date and place.

Although Chief Buthelezi has said that the African National Congress encouraged him to found Inkatha as an ally in the struggle against apartheid, the two organizations have sharply differed over strategies for ending white minority rule. Inkatha has opposed both the armed struggle long advocated by the congress and recently suspended and the congress's call for economic sanctions against Pretoria.

Some followers of the two organizations have waged a struggle for political control of their communities. Until recently, congress officials had blamed

On Sunday, the congress received welcome news when Tom Boya, Mayor of the black township of Daveyton outside Johannesburg, resigned all his public posts. He was also president of the United Municipalities of South Af-

rica, an organization of black municipal officials recognized by Pretoria.

The anti-apartheid movement had been pressing Mr. Boya to step down and thus undercut the credibility of the segregated black municipalities.



ANC agrees to talks on violence

# Buthelezi and Mandela set to meet soon

THE long-awaited meeting between ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi is almost certain to take place within weeks.

The ANC said in a statement yesterday its national executive committee (NEC) had decided at the weekend to meet the central committee of Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party "within the near future".

The statement also signalled the ANC's intention to press ahead with plans to hold its national conference in December, despite recent concern that it would be postponed due to the delayed implementation of mechanisms for the release of political prisoners and the return of ANC exiles.

The planned summit would be aimed at strengthening efforts to end violence, the ANC said.

In reaction, Buthelezi said last night the proposed meeting was consistent with recommendations which Inkatha leaders had made for some time.

He said the Inkatha central committee would consider the ANC proposal once this had been formally received, as well as the question of a mutually acceptable time and venue.

It is understood the meeting was facilitated by discussions between Inkatha and ANC representatives on a joint committee on the Natal violence.

Sources said yesterday it was possible the meeting would be the first in a series of encounters at top leadership level.

PETER DELMAR

It was unlikely, however, that the full NEC and Inkatha central committee would be represented as this would involve more than 100 people, the sources said.

Although the discussions would probably include various topics other than violence between ANC and Inkatha supporters, Inkatha sources said the movement would almost certainly resist any attempt to reach a joint strategy on constitutional negotiations.

Efforts to bring the two leaders together, particularly after factional violence spread to the Transvaal this year, have failed repeatedly.

Earlier this month Buthelezi declined an ANC invitation to meet Mandela with other non-independent homeland leaders.

It is believed that Buthelezi's refusal to attend was mostly related to the fact that he was invited as a homeland Chief Minister and not as Inkatha leader.

The ANC is understood to have resisted a one-on-one meeting between the two because it believed such an encounter would give Buthelezi greater recognition than it believed he deserved.

The proposed summit will be the first face-to-face encounter between Mandela and Buthelezi since the ANC leader was released from prison in February.

Yesterday's ANC statement said the two-day "regular" NEC meeting had also discussed efforts by the "democratic

□ To Page 2

## Summit

movement" as a whole to end violence.

It commended efforts in this regard undertaken by the ANC and Cosatu, and welcomed the initiatives of the joint ANC-Inkatha committee, which has met regularly on the Natal violence.

The statement said the ANC had received a report on preparations for the organisation's national congress, scheduled for December and the first in three decades to be held inside SA.

It indicated the conference would go ahead, adding the NEC had decided that preparations should be speeded up.

□ From Page 1

Discussion documents for the conference would be distributed to all ANC branches and the committee preparing for the conference would maintain close contact with ANC regional committees.

The meeting welcomed a report on progress being made by the ANC/government joint working group on the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles.

"The ANC therefore looks forward to the speedy implementation of the relevant provisions of the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes," the statement said.

23/10/90 B1 Day



# Mandela and Buthelezi to meet soon?

THE deputy president of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela, and Inkatha's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi are to meet soon, the ANC's National Executive

Committee announced in Johannesburg yesterday.

The two will come face to face at a meeting of the ANC's National Executive Committee and

Inkatha Freedom Party's Central Committee, if the projected meeting is held.

Chief Buthelezi, reacting to the statement, said such a meeting had not been officially brought to the attention of Inkatha.

However, the proposal to meet was consistent with recommendations he had made "for some time now".

"Once the matter is officially brought to our attention, the Central Committee of the Inkatha Freedom Party will consider the proposal and go into such matters as a mutually acceptable time and venue for such a proposed meeting."

The announcement of the ANC/Inkatha Freedom Party meeting was made in a statement by the ANC's National Executive Committee after its meeting with the organisation's Internal Leadership Core in Johannes-

TO PAGE 2

## Buthelezi, Mandela meeting?

FROM PAGE 1

burg last Thursday and Friday.

The NEC felt the meeting with Inkatha would strengthen efforts towards ending the violence in the country. The NEC commended the Mass Democratic Movement and welcomed the steps taken jointly by the Inkatha Freedom Party and the ANC to bring an end to the violence which had claimed thousands of lives.

The participation of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Nelson Mandela would strengthen the efforts aimed at ending the violence, the NEC statement said.

The NEC recommended that where necessary, in addition to the work carried out by the ANC and Cosam regarding the violence, new initiatives should be taken to reinforce progress towards peace throughout the country.

About the impending ANC national congress, the NEC said preparations were being speeded up to facilitate the holding of the congress in December. Discussion documents would soon be distributed to all ANC branches in this regard.

But the NEC would not say where the conference would be held.

At last week's meet-

ings, the NEC and the Internal Leadership Core reviewed the agreements reached with the government concerning the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles.

Having welcomed the report that progress had been made in resolving the differences between the ANC and the government in these matters, the ANC was awaiting a speedy implementation of the relevant provisions of the Groote Schuur and Pretoria-Minutes, the NEC said.

It also reported that an interim financial statement had indicated that the ANC was faced with a serious shortage of resources relative to the challenges it was facing. To remedy the situation, the treasury would take urgent measures to generate the necessary funds.

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23/10/90  
Citizen



Tuesday, 23 October 1990

# Unity of SADF, MK is a Hani 'fantasy'

Citizen Reporter

AS the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, so astutely said, just who does Mr Chris Hani (Chief of Staff of MK) think he is — he is only a glorified secretary to Mr Joe Modise (Chief of MK), a man whom we hear very little from, said Mr R Brown, chairman of the organisation Veterans for Victory. He said that the young men, the marshall's of the "henchmen" of the African National Congress "elite, strike fear into the very hearts of the Black masses" more so than the armed forces of the SA Police and the SADF.

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## Mandate

Mr Brown queried if Mr Hani had the mandate from the people and the ANC to continue with the fantasy of uniting his poorly trained cadres with those of the elite SADF. He said that it was "all fair and well" that peace talks continue, hands are shaken and ideas of peace brought forward.

The ANC, however, continues to call for sanctions and still supports and condones the armed struggle. This then, is the ANC's struggle — a socialist struggle — a struggle for absolute power. "It is a pity we do not hear the muffled voices of the oppressed masses, oppressed by their own people, the ANC."

## Intimidator

Mr Brown said that the voices heard were the voices of the "intimidator" — the voices of lawless men of the comrades and the so-called young lions of the ANC who are recruited often from the criminal element who hold hearings in the kangaroo courts, who go around necklacing their own kind — often for personal reasons. He asked whether this was an indication as to what we can expect should Mr Hani ever achieve his dream.



Tuesday 23 October 1990

THE CITIZEN

# Aussies welcome Mandela as VIP

DARWIN, Australia

Anti-apartheid leader Mr. Nelson Mandela was received as an honoured guest by the Australian Government yesterday but some Aborigines were less friendly.

Mr Mandela arrived for a five-day stay in Australia after visits to India and Indonesia, which supplied a presidential jet for the flight to Darwin.

Mr Mandela transferred to an Australian Air Force jet reserved for top dignitaries for the four-hour trip to the capital, Canberra, where he was staying overnight before talks with Prime Minister Hawke today.

Mr Hawke said at the weekend that Australia might begin easing sanctions against South Africa if significant progress is made in dismantling apartheid.

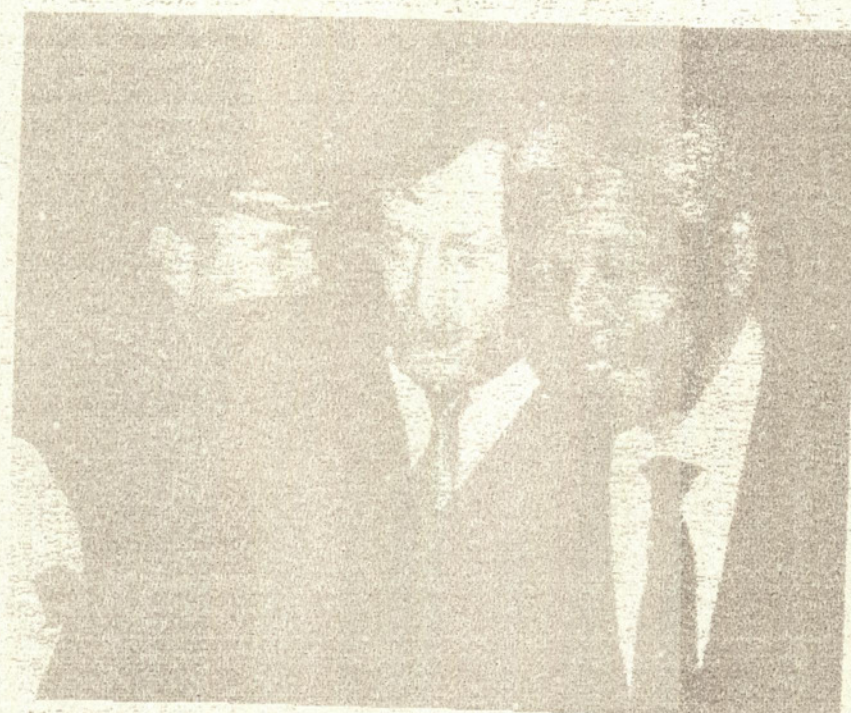
## Dinners

Mr Mandela (72), deputy leader of the African National Congress, will also attend ANC fund-raising dinners and rallies in Sydney and Melbourne.

His trip is opposed by some of Australia's 220,000 Aborigines, descended from the continent's original inhabitants. Aborigines now make up 1.5 percent of the population.

Aboriginal lawyer and activist Mr Michael Mansell, who has set up what he calls a provisional aboriginal government, told reporters last week Mr Mandela was dealing a blow to Aborigines by accepting an invitation from the federal government.

The stigma of Nelson Mandela linking arms with the Australian Government will be shoved in our face every time we



Mr NELSON MANDELA is met by Australian Foreign Minister GARETH EVANS at an Air Force base in Canberra last night, when Mr Mandela arrived on the latest leg of a six-nation Eastern tour. He meets Prime Minister Bob Hawke for talks today.

say something," Mr Mansell said.

"We want to expose by way of protest the way in which the Australian government is seeking to use the Mandela visit," he added.

## Internal

An ANC spokesman in Australia said Mr Mandela, freed in February after serving 27 years in jail, would not comment on Aborigines during his visit because the issue was an internal matter for the Australian Government.

Meanwhile South Africa's Ambassador to Australia, Mr David Tothill, criticised Mr Mandela for playing on the heart-strings of the Western democracies in fund-raising efforts around the world.

Only hours before Mr Mandela's arrival in Canberra, Mr Tothill told a

Foreign Correspondents' Association luncheon that Mr Mandela was not the clear-cut leader of all Blacks in South Africa.

"Many Australians seem to believe that the negotiations (for a new South African Constitution) are a subterfuge that will bring about a handover of power to the ANC, whereupon Mr Mandela will become the country's first Black President," said Mr Tothill.

## Support

However, the ANC itself recognises that it is not the only spokesman for Black opinion. Their level of support cannot be quantified until an election is held.

"Mr Mandela and the ANC are politically oriented and know how to pull on the heart-strings of the Western democracies," Mr Tothill said.

He referred to Mr Mandela as a "creation of the international media." The Ambassador said he could not estimate

what Mr Mandela's trip to Australia would raise for the ANC, the largest black opposition movement.

Mr Mandela's itinerary includes a public rally outside Sydney's Opera House tomorrow and a fund-raising dinner that evening at a downtown hotel.

## Sanctions

Mr Tothill said South Africa's "irreversible" programme for reform meant sanctions against his country should end. He said Australia and Canada, leaders of a Commonwealth programme of sanctions against South Africa, should drop their push for continued trade and sport sanctions.

Australian Foreign Affairs Minister Gareth Evans, however, said in Canberra that sanctions against South Africa would not be lifted because "not enough has changed yet".

—Sapa-Reuters-AF

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## UN body could help return 20 000 exiles

THE UN High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) is conditionally prepared to repatriate SA's 20 000 political exiles — and its price tag is substantially less than the ANC's R270m.

UNHCR spokesman Raymond Hall said yesterday the organisation had held talks with the ANC and government and could well be involved in the repatriation of exiles, under the right conditions.

Speaking from Geneva, Hall said the UNHCR was not yet involved in large-scale repatriation because no general amnesty had been granted, institutional discrimination still existed and the organisation did not have a presence in SA.

Figures supplied by ANC treasury department head Vusi Khanye show that the repatriation of exiles could cost up to R270m, working on a figure of about R13 500 to resettle each person.

The UNHCR said yesterday the expensive repatriation of Namibian refugees had cost the organisation about \$600 per person. If the repatriation of SA exiles costs the same, the UNHCR's bill will come to about R30,4m.

One possible reason for the large discrepancy is that the ANC hopes to provide exiles with accommodation in the country rather than in camps, as an interim measure if the Namibian model is followed.

Hall said the UNHCR had already been involved in the repatriation of small numbers of refugees with the assistance of the

To Page 2

## Mandela playing on West's heart-strings

SYDNEY — SA Ambassador David Tothill criticised ANC leader Nelson Mandela yesterday for playing on the "heart-strings of the Western democracies" in fund-raising efforts around the world.

Mandela was received as an honoured guest by the Australian government yesterday when he arrived for a five-day stay following visits to India and Indonesia. He will hold talks with Prime Minister Bob Hawke today.

Only hours before Mandela arrived in Canberra, Tothill told a Foreign Correspondents Association luncheon that Mandela was not the clear-cut leader of all SA's blacks.

"The ANC itself recognises that it is not the only spokesman for black opinion. Their level of support cannot be quantified until an election is held."

"Mr Mandela and the ANC... know how to pull on the heart-strings of the Western democracies," Tothill said.

Tothill said SA's "irreversible" programme for reform meant sanctions against his country should end.

Later Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans lowered expectations raised by Hawke at the weekend that Australia might be planning to lift sporting and other sanctions.

He said "not enough has changed yet" — there are many other pillars of apartheid still remaining intact including, in particular, the constitutional prohibition on black people voting.

Mandela's visit is opposed by some of Australia's 230 000 Aborigines, who make up 1.5% of the population. Aboriginal lawyer and activist Michael Mansell told reporters last week: "The stigma of Nelson Mandela linking arms with the Australian government will be shoved in our face every time we say something."

Sapa-Reuters-AP

## Exiles

International Committee of the Red Cross. If the UNHCR were to become involved, it would do so only if it could ensure the safety and well-being of the refugees. If that, it would be necessary for the organisation to open an office in SA.

Meanwhile the ANC NEC yesterday welcomed the report that progress has been made in resolving the differences

between the ANC and government on the return of exiles and said it looked forward to the speedy implementation of the relevant provisions of the Groenou and Pretoria treaties.

The NEC also received an interim financial report and agreed the organisation was faced with a serious shortage of resources relative to the challenges it faced.

B/Day 23/10/90



# Crucial ANC meeting may be deferred

Daily News Correspondent

16/1/11  
Daily News 23/10/90  
JOHANNESBURG: The key question of precisely who will wield power in the ANC when it hammers out a final deal with the Government is a major factor behind the current confusion about the organisation's national conference, scheduled for December 16.

A significant number of ANC members, both in South Africa and still abroad, want the conference postponed or downgraded in importance, according to sources. They believe that if the conference goes ahead as planned — and effectively sets the new ANC hierarchy in stone — several high officials will keep their positions "undemocratically".

Only a fraction of the large number of ANC members still in exile (some estimates run into tens of thousands) will have been repatriated by December. Many of them, it is alleged, would vote against some of those in the current leadership with whom they worked abroad and regard as "dead wood".

There has been particular unhappiness about a proposal that exiles be "represented" at the conference by ANC officials who would cast bloc votes on their behalf.

It is this dissatisfaction, coupled with considerable organisational complications, which reportedly prompted ANC Deputy President Nelson Mandela to propose before his departure for the Far East that the December gathering be held outside South Africa, and be styled a "consultative conference".

While important, a consultative conference does not carry the weight of the landmark deliberations back at home.

It is now probable that the long-awaited conference — which would have set the seal on the "homecoming" of the movement after three decades of illegality as well as the apportioning of leadership positions between external and internal activists — will be rescheduled for next year. This means that decisions taken at the consultative meeting (Zambia and Tanzania have been mooted as possible venues) will be subject to review within a few months of them having been taken.



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In calling for our international isolation one gets an early clue of where Mr Haigh is coming from. Finally, in his last paragraph he lets the cat out of the bag: Inkatha must be "deprived" of funds.

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suffering the evils of apartheid) have the right to freely support the leaders and organisations they wish to.

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The horrors of one-party State rule are well-known throughout Africa and what chance have we got if the Bruce Haighs of this world assist in perpetrating a climate of political intolerance and encouraging external manipulation?

In praising those who have, he claims, denied me access to your country, he is preaching the kind of tyranny that denies freedom of speech, not only to me but to many others. Until now I didn't realise people of this ilk had such power in Australia.

He asserts, incredibly, that Inkatha with 1.8 million paid-up members has "very little" support. The ANC (according to Newsweek magazine - October 15) has yet to reach the 200,000 mark in its ongoing membership drive.

Far from "sponsoring" so-called "tribal" violence,

which I denounce, I have espoused peaceful change and negotiation all my life and, at great political and personal cost, refused to ally myself or my supporters with the ANC's armed struggle and with terrorism in any form whatsoever.

For that the ANC set out to teach Inkatha, and me in particular, a lesson and in 1985 it officially declared its intention (at its National Consultative Conference in Zambia) to "work to win over" my supporters, make Kwazulu "ungovernable", and to "deprive" me of my "social base".

The stage was then set for conflict and we have witnessed a sickening cycle of action and counter-action which, for the most part, is now completely out of control.

The violence appals me and I despise the fact that Inkatha supporters have been drawn into the bloodshed. I have never encouraged or directed violence and I take great exception to being accused of unleashing a "wave of terror".

Let me also categorically deny that I work "in league with members of the highly unsavoury white Right..." I am a black South African who has felt the boot of

racists on my neck for as long as I can remember and to be accused of stabbing my own people in the back, in cohorts with fascists, is just too much. To date more than 100 For a real understanding of the causes and effects of the violence, between the ANC and Inkatha, one needs to first examine what apartheid has done to this country and how it has ruthlessly fragmented black and other political opposition to it.

Add to this dimension the winner-takes-all attitude of the ANC which sees itself as a government-in-waiting. It tolerates no opposition and those of us who called for a "multi-strategy" approach towards liberation were declared the enemy many years ago.

Simply put, if you were not "with" the ANC you were given a death sentence - as the widows of many town councillors and black policemen can readily testify. Inkatha is not the only organisation to have faced ANC guns, bombs and hit squads. Others, including the PAC and AZAPO, are as vocal as I in denouncing their bully-boy tactics and are also, like us, burying their dead.

The ANC long ago insti-

gated a culture of violence in South Africa, called for the country to be made "un-governable" and the results are clearly evident now.

In addition, I have 90 pages available listing, more than a thousand Inkatha members and supporters (that we know of) who have also died violently. ANC killers have set out to murder me, of which there is proof. There are 6000 homeless Inkatha refugees in Natal/Kwazulu and nearly 500 in the Transvaal.

The ANC embarked on an "armed struggle" (terrorism) to achieve its political goals and to this day employs trained and equipped forces beyond our borders.

ANC insurgents captured only a few weeks ago in Natal/Kwazulu (after the ANC had agreed to suspend the activities of its armed wing) admitted they had been sent to "stoke the violence" in the region and to "eliminate" Inkatha members.

I rest my case.

**MANGOSUTHU G. BUTHELEZI**  
President  
Inkatha Freedom Party  
Ulundi, South Africa



# Honoring Mr Mandela

*The Herald Sun*

23.10.90

**M**OVES to grant the freedom of the City of Melbourne to Nelson Mandela began three years ago. Then, Cr Bill Deveney, who went on to become Lord Mayor, introduced a motion to honor the South African nationalist leader when and if he ever came to Melbourne.

It was a controversial issue and though the former Prime Minister, Mr Fraser, went to the Town Hall to brief councillors on the desirability of the move, it failed by a single vote to get the necessary two-thirds majority.

On Friday night, Cr Deveney was more successful, and his proposal that Melbourne acknowledge Mr Mandela's leadership against apartheid by making him an honorary freeman of the city was accepted overwhelmingly.

It is a custom that dates back to 13th-century England, when merchants had to pay for the privilege of trading in particular boroughs.

But in Melbourne it began as recently as 1956, when the Freedom of the City of Melbourne Act went through State Parliament and became a coun-

**IAN MACKAY**

**OPINION**



cil by-law in time to make the Duke of Edinburgh our first "freeman" when he was here to open the Olympic Games.

Since then, it has been an honor infrequently granted:

- 1958: Governor-General Sir William Slim.
- 1963: Long-serving Victorian Governor Sir Dallas Brookes.
- 1966: Retiring Prime Minister Sir Robert Menzies.
- 1969: Governor-General Lord Casey.
- 1974: Victorian Governor Sir Rohan Delacombe.
- 1975: Retiring Premier Sir Henry Bolte.
- 1981: Victorian Governor Sir Henry Winneke.

Mr Mandela breaks the mould of Queen's men and politicians, but since he was freed from 27 years' imprisonment in South Africa in February, he has become an international

VIP of considerable standing.

He was invited to visit Australia in March, when the Foreign Minister, Senator Evans, attended a meeting of leaders of the so-called front-line states in Lusaka.

The Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, was invited but couldn't go because of the impending federal election. He said he was honored to get the invitation because it acknowledged Australia's part in imposing the sanctions that led to Mr Mandela's release.

Mr Mandela's visit com-

Several weeks later, he was back as guest of the Prime Minister, Mrs Thatcher.

From Europe, he flew to the US as guest of President Bush. In New York he was granted freedom of the city by the Mayor, David Dinkins. In Washington he made an impassioned address to a joint sitting of Congress.

In Australia, as in India and the US, he has been granted Guest of Government status, which means the taxpayer will pick up the tab. In Victoria, there will be extra state govern-

He visited Mr Mandela three times in prison in South Africa, and probably has had more direct contact with him than any other Australian.

"I am very glad Mr Mandela is coming to Australia," Mr Fraser said yesterday from his property, Waareen. "People in Australia have many preconceived ideas about South African issues, not all of them particularly accurate."

"What they should remember is that whatever progress President de Klerk might have made, the fabric of apartheid is still in place and the apartheid laws have not been repealed."

"Mr Mandela is one of the more remarkable people I have ever met, and people should realise that he was in jail because he was fighting for the kinds of rights which Australians take for granted."

Mr Fraser said the granting of the freedom of the city of Melbourne was appropriate to such a distinguished figure.

"By any standards, he is a remarkable person," he said.

**Mr Mandela has Guest of Government status, which means taxpayers will pick up the tab**

es at the end of an Asian-Pacific swing which last week saw him drawing enormous crowds in India.

He has made two visits to the UK. In June he was guest of honor at a 10-hour rally and pop concert at London's Wembley Stadium, which was televised live to 60 countries.

ment costs in terms of police and other security.

One of his appointments here is a private meeting with Mr Fraser, a passionate opponent of apartheid both while he was in office as Prime Minister, and since as a private citizen and as a Commonwealth "eminent person".



## Mandela here for five-day visit

### Sanctions No.1 on top-level agenda

By foreign affairs writer GREG SHERIDAN and staff reporters

THE deputy president of the African National Congress, Mr Nelson Mandela, arrived in Australia last night for a five-day visit in which he will hold talks with the Australian Government on sanctions against South Africa.

He will also thank the thousands of Australians who have supported his struggle against the system of apartheid over the past 30 years.

Mr Mandela, in a dark suit, walked down the steps of the Indonesian presidential jet after it arrived at Darwin RAAF base shortly before 6pm.

He then boarded an RAAF VIP flight for Canberra, arriving at Fairbairn Base at 11pm.

He was met by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator Evans, and South Africa's ambassador to Australia, Mr David Tothill.

Mr Mandela was whisked away to his hotel early today.

He told journalists in Darwin he did not want to become involved "in the internal affairs of every country".

"We are coming here to express our sense of gratitude," he said.

First to greet Mr Mandela was the federal MP for the Northern Territory, Mr Warren Snowdon, followed by the Australian ambassador to South Africa, Mr Colin McDonald.

After Mr Mandela and his 12-member group shook hands with the welcoming party, he walked to a cordoned-off area to speak to reporters.

Mr Mandela said he felt "very, very well".

Recent visits to Europe, the United States and Indonesia had "so far succeeded beyond our wildest dreams".

Mr Mandela saw his visit as an opportunity to meet and thank personally the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, and the Australian people for support in the dismantling of apartheid.

He said he would seek Australia's continuing support.

Mr Mandela will be afforded the same treatment as a head of State while in Australia and will be welcomed to Par-



Mr Mandela is greeted by the South African ambassador, Mr David Tothill, and Senator Evans after arriving in Canberra late last night — Picture: JOHN HOULDSWORTH

liament House this morning by Mr Hawke.

He will hold talks with Mr Hawke, Senator Evans and other Cabinet ministers today.

Later in his visit he will address rallies expected to draw huge crowds in Sydney and Melbourne.

Mr Hawke appeared to soften his pro-sanctions position at the weekend in the lead-up to Mr Mandela's visit.

He said he thought the time was approaching when Australia might be able to lift sporting sanctions against South Africa.

Australia would lift sanctions once it was clear the

process of dismantling apartheid was irreversible, he said, and it appeared that the process was getting to that stage.

The Prime Minister had previously said in Parliament that now was not the time to lift sanctions.

The Leader of the Opposition, Dr Hewson, criticised the Mr Hawke yesterday for creating confusion over Australia's policy towards South Africa.

He accused the Prime Minister of a policy backdown and said it was reminiscent of the way Mr Hawke handled the issue of Chinese student visas earlier this year.

Senator Evans yesterday moved to play down any suggestion of a change in Australian policy, stressing that Australia would move on sanctions only in consultation with other Commonwealth countries.

He stressed the Government would be seeking Mr Mandela's views on sanctions and whether any policy change was appropriate.

Continued — Page 4  
Challenge of chequered past; Champion of middle class; Dutch trip seen as reward for De Klerk's reforms — Page 4  
Mitchell's view — Page 10





● Black civil rights leader Nelson Mandela arrives in Darwin yesterday for his historic five-day visit to Australia.

# 'Terrorist' blast as Mandela arrives for tour

ANTI-APARTHEID leader Nelson Mandela yesterday flew into Australia — and a broadside from outspoken RSL chief Bruce Ruxton.

Mr Ruxton condemned the historic five-day visit, saying the black South African was a "committed terrorist and communist".

He said Mr Mandela's African National Congress was a terrorist organisation and the IRA and the PLO "paled" in comparison.

The ANC deputy leader landed at the Darwin RAAF base yesterday evening amid tight security.

He was met by officials after stepping on to Australian soil for the first time.

Mr Mandela, 72, waved to waiting reporters as he and his entourage of 12 left the Indonesian presidential jet for the beginning of their taxpayer-funded visit.

Mr Mandela said he felt "very, very well" and that his world tour was proceeding "beyond our wildest dreams".

He arrived in Canberra aboard a RAAF VIP jet just after 11pm where he was welcomed by the Foreign Minister, Senator Evans.

Mr Mandela, looking tired after the flights, was whisked off to his hotel. He will have talks with

By STEVE WRIGHT and PETER FOGARTY

the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, today about the timing of moves to ease economic and sporting sanctions against South Africa.

Senator Evans earlier yesterday contradicted Mr Hawke by saying it was too early to lift bans.

Senator Evans conceded Australia could begin lifting some sanctions before apartheid was totally ended.

"But it is not time yet," he said.

"There are many other pillars of apartheid still remaining intact including... the prohibition on black people voting."

Mr Hawke said at the weekend he thought the processes of dismantling apartheid were "getting to the stage where they may well be irreversible".

Australia officially cut sporting links with South Africa in 1977.

In 1983, when the Hawke Government was elected to power, economic sanctions were expanded.

Mr Mandela became an international symbol of the struggle against racial oppression after spending 27 years in prison. He was released earlier this year.

Mr Ruxton, the Victorian RSL president, said

yesterday Mr Mandela "should have been kept in jail for pursuing a destructive policy against his own country by calling for violence, terrorism and sanctions".

"It should be clear that there is utterly no ground for Mr Mandela being treated like a legitimate foreign dignitary," he said.

Melbourne Lord Mayor Cr Richard Wynne last night defended the decision to give the black rights activist the key to the city on Thursday.

"If Mr Ruxton was a black in South Africa he wouldn't be allowed to give such views," Cr Wynne said.

"Ninety per cent of South Africans have no voice or freedom of assembly."

"They have no democratic rights which is what Mr Ruxton fought for and is respected for."

Mr Mandela is expected to face protests from Aborigines because he has refused to speak about their plight during his visit, claiming it would be a breach of protocol.

Six members of the Aboriginal Provisional Government, led by Tasmanian black activist Michael Mansell, waited in vain at the nearby civilian aircraft terminal to see Mr Mandela.



● Mr Mandela signs autographs at Darwin... his world tour is proceeding "beyond our wildest dreams".



# THE AGE

## Guess who's not coming to dinner?

**N**ELSON Mandela, deputy president of the African National Congress, today sweeps into three days of concentrated deification in Australia, courtesy of the taxpayer. Would it be too much to hope that politicians and the media, especially television, eschew the laudatory and superficial treatment that has so heavily marked the Mandela circus elsewhere abroad, and get down to some serious questioning about the nature of the ANC and the future of South Africa?

The mythology is wrong. It is not axiomatic that to question even a facet of South Africa's most publicised revolutionary black group is to register a de facto vote for apartheid. Yet that is how the ANC propagandists (black and white) would have it and this intimidatory ploy has worked remarkably well in controlling debate.

Even President F. W. de Klerk appears not to have remained entirely immune, having in recent times paid considerably less public attention than he might have to other black leaders, notably Dr Mangosuthi Buthelezi, head of the Inkatha movement and political leader of the Zulus, South Africa's biggest and toughest tribal grouping.

What must be grasped about the evolving scene in South Africa today is that the essential struggle is not so much that for the continued



COMMENT

MICHAEL BARNARD

realisation of black power, fundamental as this might be, as that for control of the new power within black groupings of quite diverse philosophies. In this battle for hegemony over all blacks the ANC is showing itself to be just as ruthless — indeed, more so — than the "white racist minority regime" it seeks to replace.

The big stumbling block for the ANC, Dr Buthelezi's Inkatha, once a Zulu cultural movement but now a political party open to all races, has been subjected to every propaganda deception and misrepresentation in the ANC's book, frequently with the help of a gullible media. For instance, Inkatha has been alternately presented, as the occasion suits, as politically and numerically insignificant and as the prime instigator of the mass black-on-black violence that has cost thousands of lives across Natal and KwaZulu.

Thus we read one day of market research polls showing as little as four per cent black support for Inkatha (even two per cent outside

Natal) and the next that Inkatha has sufficient numbers to be visiting death upon well-armed supporters of the ANC and its UDF political front across a huge swathe of territory. It does not add up. Closer to the truth is that Inkatha has been forced into defending itself against the ANC's drive for a total monopoly of power.

For ANC propagandists, Dr Buthelezi, whose ghost is unlikely to be evoked on our television screens when we are shown Mr Mandela and his Australian hosts cooing about the pending age of a new "democracy", is an extreme embarrassment. He personifies the truth that the South African equation remains complicated and messy and that the new dispensation is not a simple matter of a homogeneous black mass replacing a white minority.

This sort of complication, of course, is not what Western liberals want. They ask merely for quick "solutions" so that they can pass on to the next great "cause" on the international agenda. The sour fruits of their fickleness and abbreviated attention span can be seen across the breadth of decolonised Africa.

Still less is it what the ANC wants. The ANC executive, whose policy and membership overlap with the South African Communist Party raises the question as to just what at core is the dominant ideological force, are trying des-

perately to perpetuate the myth of the ANC as a natural and fully representative heir to government in South Africa.

The lie to the ANC's claim that Inkatha must take full blame for instigating the long-running (but now abated) inter-factional butchery in Natal is given by the sequence in which Inkatha district officials, a number of them women, have been assassinated over the past five years. A list of more than 120 names recently published, complete with positions held, dates, places and manner of death (eg. hacked, shot, necklaced, stoned, throat slit, etc) indicates a systematic attempt to destroy Inkatha at a grass-roots organisational level. Nor is the list exhaustive.

**I** DOUBT Mr Mandela will face many questions about issues of this sort. Chris Hani, chief of staff of the ANC terror wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, was quoted in 1988 as saying that targets for assassination included members of Inkatha's central committee. Other threats have been made to destroy Inkatha and to "isolate" Dr Buthelezi, "the snake which is poisoning the people of South Africa" (Radio Freedom 11/86). The violence, therefore, is not surprising.

What should surprise, however, is that a nation such as Australia, which proclaims the virtues of democracy and political plurality,

should so comprehensively ignore a person of the stature of Dr Buthelezi when his democratic credentials, both in social and economic philosophy, are light years closer to ours than those of the Marxist-oriented ANC leadership. This would apply even if Dr Buthelezi's following were as minor as the ANC propagandists would have us believe.

Ironically, the Zulu leader was a forceful advocate for Mr Mandela's release, just as, in a general course of moderation, he was strong enough to defy the hot-heads in his opposition to international sanctions on the ground — now so sadly proven — that black families would be the first to suffer.

Perhaps that is his offence — being moderate. Moderation mostly comes at a cost. In the ANC lexicon, of course, it merely means "Uncle Tom". Yet here again Dr Buthelezi emerges with honor. Not only did he resist all pressures from the white Government to accept a phoney "independence" for KwaZulu, the Zulu homeland, but, unlike many an ANC-minded radical who fled the country, he stayed put to fight against apartheid from home ground. His speeches variously criticising and chiding Pretoria are legion.

Mr Mandela's endurance in jail, whether or not one overlooks the fact that he was there for an ANC program of insurrectionary vio-

lence he had refused to renounce, is, by some measure, impressive. He has, in former days, reflected a dignity under duress that invites applause. But comic-opera gestures, such as Melbourne City Council's decision to grant Mr Mandela freedom of the city in recognition of his "outstanding leadership", are a giggle.

**S**ADLY, there has been no ANC leadership worthy of the term since his release. The ANC appears bankrupt of ideas other than the single focus that control of the future belongs to the ANC (and its SACP alter ego) alone. If Mr Mandela had truly shown "outstanding leadership" since his release — the period that counts the most — South Africa would be in far better shape today. Much of the black-on-black violence would have been avoided and substantive talks between all major groups within and across the color lines would have been well under way.

Instead, he has allowed himself, at best, to become captive to a self-serving ANC public relations machine and, at worst, hostage to radical black forces hell bent on excluding all other blacks, Dr Buthelezi included, from the negotiating process. In this lie the seeds of disaster for all South Africans. Now turn to television for the pretty pictures.



## THE MANDELA VISIT

# Dutch trip seen as reward for De Klerk's reforms

From correspondents in Johannesburg and Pretoria

PRESIDENT De Klerk arrives in the Netherlands today on the first visit to that country by a South African head of State in 42 years of apartheid rule — an important reward by the estranged Dutch fatherland for his reform initiatives.

The Netherlands trip — months after he visited most other European Community countries — is seen in The Hague as a sign of Mr De Klerk's progress in bringing his country into the international mainstream.

The very fact of the visit is an important point for us. Some of the most active and strongly motivated anti-apartheid lobbies in the world are in the Netherlands," said the South African Ambassador in The Hague, Mr Albert Nothnagel.

The Netherlands' bitter antipathy to apartheid bears some resemblance to a disappointed romance — particularly with the Dutch-descended Afrikaners who dominate South Africa's white power structure.

"For years, we Dutch saw the Afrikaners as the unspoiled grandchildren of freedom fighters in South Africa, there was a feeling of kinship," said Mr Hans van der Meulen, a Dutch academic who specialises in South Africa.

"For that reason the reaction against apartheid was particularly outspoken here. After World War II, there was a sense of revulsion when apartheid laws were written in Dutch — in our language — and there was a feeling of guilt that we had had such good contacts with Afrikaners."

It was the Dutch who set up the first white settlement at the tip of southern Africa in 1652 and in the 19th century staunchly supported Afrikaners fighting off British domination of the region during the Boer Wars.

The establishment of apartheid by the ruling Afrikaner minority in 1948 horrified the Dutch and in recent years some of the most violent anti-apartheid protests in Europe have taken place in the Netherlands.

In 1987, anti-apartheid arsonists forced the Makro wholesale chain to sell its South African subsidiary by setting fire to Makro stores and causing millions of dollars of damage.

RARA, a radical Dutch underground group, claimed responsibility for cutting hoses and contaminating pumps at about 150 Royal Dutch/Shell petrol stations to try to force Shell, the largest foreign company in South Africa, to disinvest.

Twice in the past 15 years, the issue of trade with South Africa aroused passions to such a pitch that the Dutch Government was almost toppled.

In 1975, the Labour-led coalition of then prime minister Mr Joop van Uyl faced a showdown when it emerged South Africa was about to buy Dutch-made nuclear reactor parts. Mr Van Uyl was let off the hook when Pretoria quickly switched its order to France.

In 1980, prime minister Mr Andries van der Merwe faced a crisis when a majority in Parliament demanded the Netherlands unilaterally impose an embargo on South African oil.

He saved his coalition by promising to try to convince the whole of the EC to impose an oil embargo and a year later suspended a cultural agreement with South Africa.

Meanwhile, Jeugkrug, a group of liberal Afrikaners drawn mainly from Mr De Klerk's ruling National Party, bucked government policy yesterday by agreeing, with the African National Congress, that a constituent assembly could write a new Constitution.



Mr Mandela signs autographs in Darwin last night — Picture: CHERYLYN CAINES

## Sanctions No.1 on agenda at top-level Mandela talks

From Page 1

Sporting sanctions, he said, "are tremendously significant in their psychological impact on white South Africans".

"In many ways they are at least

cause no black leader in South Africa is going to want to commit suicide by joining a party which, from the point of view of its established policy, has, really, no future.

A TOUCH PASSE? NOT IF YOU CONSIDER HOW MUCH

## Champion of middle class

Diplomat BRUCE HAIGH examines the role of the ANC and other black groups in the fight against apartheid, while foreign affairs writer GREG SHERIDAN looks at problems raised by the ANC's history of violence

THERE is no doubt the African National Congress is the most popular political party in South Africa today.

It holds this position because of its deep-seated commitment to ending apartheid. It has pursued this over the past 30 years by diplomatic contact with many nations, armed aggression against the National Party Government of South Africa and political activity in black South African townships.

Even during wavering support, such as the rise of the Black Consciousness Movement under the late Steve Biko from the late '60s until 1977 when government action crushed the BCM and saw Biko killed in detention, the ANC maintained a base of support in South Africa.

The crushing of the BCM saw rapid growth in the ANC outside the country as thousands of youngsters fled from South Africa to join the ANC as the only organisation with the structure, funds and capability to hit back at the widespread repression by the South African government at that time.

The pragmatic association of the ANC with the South African Communist Party ensured a regular and substantial flow of funds from the Soviet Union and Eastern Bloc countries through the '60s, '70s and '80s.

This funding, and its broader base of appeal, ensured ANC dominance over its rival, the Pan Africanist Congress, which relied on the People's Republic of China for funds.

At the peak of his influence in 1976, Steve Biko was attempting to unite the ANC, PAC and BCM. His death and the crackdown by the South African government against all black political organisations

with the exception of the government-funded Inkatha, led by the Zulu "homeland" leader Chief Buthelezi, ensured that black politics was forced underground once again.

In a sense, the foundation and rise of the United Democratic Front picked up on this idea and provided a vehicle for the extension of ANC activities inside South Africa.

Mr Nelson Mandela, detained for 27 years, served as a powerful symbol of hope for all those struggling to end the abhorrent system of apartheid.

In this, the ANC has been served by other great leaders such as Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Oliver Tambo, Chief Luthuli (a Nobel Peace Prize recipient) and other younger leaders. The ANC has attracted and continues to attract some of

port from among the educated black middle class.

It is not so clear how far this support is enjoyed in the rural areas or among the 40 per cent or more of jobless black South Africans. Many in the latter category are watching and waiting to see how much and how soon the ANC can deliver.

If the ANC joined with Mr De Klerk in some form of loose governing arrangement while negotiating a new Constitution and if it was not able to deliver at the grass-roots level, it might find other organisations capitalising on this resentment.

What is of concern is the absence of strong calls from the ANC for a redistribution of resources to fill overwhelming needs in the rural areas and the townships in health, housing, welfare and education.

There are 1.7 million squatters living around the edge of Durban, Soweto has large numbers of squatters where 10 years ago there were none. The black population is estimated to be rising at about 2.5 per cent per annum.

One might have thought that as a precondition to negotiations, the ANC might have insisted on an immediate works program.

The Government must now be forced to begin to address and redress the problems it has created over the past 30 years. If this process is delayed until after majority rule, it will be the black government of the day, presumably the ANC, which will be forced to deal with black frustration.

— BRUCE HAIGH\*

Mr Haigh is an Australian diplomat posted in South Africa. He is working on a joint training scheme which brings South Africans to Australia for work experience.

### Jobless wait and watch

the best and brightest young blacks — but not all. Others are working for the PAC, the Azanian Peoples Organisation (AZAPO) — the phoenix of the old BCM — and a host of community-based organisations.

All can claim to represent a legitimate stream of black aspiration and have in common the overthrow of apartheid.

They differ in the concessions that should be offered to the Government and in the future nature of government.

To treat the ANC as the sole representative of blacks in South Africa is to ignore the influence of these organisations and is dangerous for the future of democracy in the country.

The ANC appears to draw considerable and active sup-

## Challenge of chequered past

ALL through the 1980s whenever one met South African diplomats, the conversation inevitably turned to Mr Nelson Mandela.

"Ah Mandela," the diplomats would say, "he is a terrorist, he supports the use of violence, we cannot release him until he renounces the African National Congress's commitment to the armed struggle."

Now all that has changed. Now the South African President, Mr De Klerk, describes Mr Mandela as a man of dignity and integrity.

The South African Government plainly views Mr Mandela as its best chance of achieving a moderate, peaceful majority black government.

It is this sustained mistreatment, many analysts argue, which led the ANC to embrace the concept and sporadic practice of armed struggle.

The ANC's notorious practice of "necklacing" numerous of its black opponents, a practice which involves burning people to death, has caused justifiable fears about what an ANC gov-

ernment has been forced to turn to Mr Mandela as a negotiating partner partly as a result of its own efforts. By banning black South Africans from meaningful participation in politics after the imposition of apartheid in 1948, the authorities in Pretoria have stifled the growth of alternative political institutions.

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Mr Mandela signs autographs in Darwin last night — Picture: CHERYLYN CAINES

## Sanctions No.1 on agenda at top-level Mandela talks

From Page 1

Sporting sanctions, he said, "are tremendously significant in their psychological impact on white South Africans".

"In many ways they are at least as important as trade sanctions and financial sanctions," he said.

"It will be a matter of discussion and consultation with other Commonwealth countries and with the Africans themselves to see what might be appropriate in due course."

He said Australia wanted to see the dismantling of the pillars of apartheid.

He identified these as the South African Constitution, which prevents blacks from voting, the Population Registration Act, which registers people according to race, the Group Areas Act, which prescribes where people can live and the various land Acts, which preserve the majority of land for whites.

Senator Evans said that apart from discussing the situation in South Africa with Mr Mandela the visit would provide the opportunity for the Government to pay its respects to one of the great figures in the world.

The Leader of the National Party, Mr Fischer, called yesterday for the immediate resumption of direct flights between Australia and South Africa and said South



African Airways should be allowed to land in Australia.

Before he left Indonesia, Mr Mandela was told of the South African National Party's decision to allow blacks to join the party for the first time.

Mr Mandela welcomed the move but said black leaders would be committing political suicide if they joined a party he believed had no future.

"I think it is a good step," he said. "But I don't think (the National Party) will have much response be-

cause no black leader in South Africa is going to want to commit suicide by joining a party which, from the point of view of its established policy, has, really, no future."

Mr Mandela said the National Party had resisted racial integration for too long.

"The resentment and hostility of the people is very intense. You can cut it with a knife, even at the moment," he said.

To most South Africans, the National Party still represented apartheid.

"Anybody who joins that party now will be joining a party whose major policy is the enforcement of apartheid still," he said.

The president of the Victorian RSL, Mr Bruce Ruxton, accused Mr Mandela of being a terrorist who should stay out of Australia.

Mr Ruxton also criticised the Melbourne City Council for granting Mr Mandela the freedom of the city.

He said the ANC was a terrorist organisation which made the IRA and the PLO pale into insignificance.

He claimed he spoke for "80 out of every 100 Australians, who wanted to trade and play sport with South Africa".

The Australian Government's timing of its invitation to Mr Mandela was hardly appropriate, he said.

can Communist Party ensured a regular and substantial flow of funds from the Soviet Union and Eastern Bloc countries through the '60s, '70s and '80s.

This funding, and its broader base of appeal, ensured ANC dominance over its rival, the Pan Africanist Congress, which relied on the People's Republic of China for funds.

At the peak of his influence in 1976, Steve Biko was attempting to unite the ANC, PAC and BCM. His death and the crackdown by the South African government against all black political organisations

All can claim to represent a legitimate stream of black aspiration and have a common the overthrow of apartheid.

They differ in the concessions that should be offered to the Government and in the future nature of government.

To treat the ANC as the sole representative of blacks in South Africa is to ignore the influence of these organisations and is dangerous for the future of democracy in the country.

The ANC appears to draw considerable and active sup-

## Challenge of chequered past

ALL through the 1980s whenever one met South African diplomats, the conversation inevitably turned to Mr Nelson Mandela.

"Ah Mandela," the diplomats would say, "he is a terrorist, he supports the use of violence, we cannot release him until he renounces the African National Congress's commitment to the armed struggle."

Now all that has changed. Now the South African President, Mr De Klerk, describes Mr Mandela as a man of dignity and integrity.

The South African Government plainly views Mr Mandela as its best chance of achieving a moderate, peaceful majority black government.

The Government, the black population of South Africa and the international community has anointed Mr Mandela as the man to lead a democratic South Africa.

Several caveats need to be entered. Elections are inherently unpredictable and Mr Mandela has not yet been elected by anybody. The ANC does not represent all blacks. Many South African blacks support a range of other organisations.

More dangerously, perhaps, many South African blacks appear to be altogether alienated from politics, a tragic and dangerous result of the policies pursued by successive South African governments for the past 40 years. From such disaffected masses can spring violent and undemocratic movements.

But it seems the ANC would probably win a free election held now in South Africa and no other ANC leader has anything like the international standing, emotional appeal or spiritual resonance within South Africa that Mr Mandela has.

The South African Govern-

ment has been forced to turn to Mr Mandela as a negotiating partner partly as a result of its own efforts. By banning black South Africans from meaningful participation in politics after the imposition of apartheid in 1948, the authorities in Pretoria have stifled the growth of alternative political institutions.

It is this sustained mistreatment, many analysts argue, which led the ANC to embrace the concept and sporadic practice of armed struggle.

The ANC's notorious practice of "necklacing" numerous of its black opponents, a practice which involves burning people to death, has caused justifiable fears about what an ANC government would be like.

Similarly, the ANC's longstanding refusal to talk to

### Danger in alienation

black organisations which it considers have collaborated with the South African Government — in particular the Zulu movement Inkatha — and which it has only recently partly reversed, is seen by many as a dangerous sign of exclusivism and totalitarianism within the ANC itself.

The ANC's long association with the Communist Party of South Africa is seen as evidence of a bias against democracy.

History is replete with movements of liberation and democracy which embraced violence to throw off unacceptable political repression and then have ruled peacefully and democratically, just as it is replete with liberation movements which, when they have attained power, have been more tyrannical and repressive

program.

The Government must now be forced to begin to address and redress the problems it has created over the past 30 years. If this process is delayed until after majority rule, it will be the black government of the day, presumably the ANC, which will be forced to deal with black frustration.

— BRUCE HAIGH\*

Mr Haigh is an Australian diplomat posted in South Africa. He is working on a joint training scheme which brings South Africans to Australia for work experience.

than the regimes they replaced.

The Irish struggle for independence, for example, was waged with murderous ruthlessness by the old Irish Republican Army (which bears no relation to the organisation which now travels under the same name). When the Irish achieved national independence in the early 1920s, the former IRA commanders became civilian politicians.

On the other hand, when the Chinese communists overthrew the corrupt and tyrannical regime of General Chiang Kai Shek's Kuomintang in 1949, they instituted a regime which was ultimately far more bloodthirsty, cruel and totalitarian than that which it replaced.

The precedents in Africa are not particularly encouraging, although Zimbabwe has avoided the worst excesses confidently predicted for it.

However, the times may help South Africa. All over the African continent there are movements away from one-party rule.

The close association which the ANC, and particularly Mr Mandela, is forging with the leadership of Western nations, not least Australia, may influence the ANC in a pro-democratic way.

When majority rule comes to South Africa there will be an overwhelming surge of international goodwill towards the new South Africa. But if an ANC government slides into its own version of repression this goodwill will quickly evaporate.

It is powerful testimony, however, that the South African Government thinks Mr Mandela is the best hope, not only for black South Africa but for a reasonable future for white South Africans as well.

— GREG SHERIDAN



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HOME

FEATURES

## A NEW LOOK FOR ANTIQUES



## PR WITH A CONSCIENCE



Picture: PETER COX

## Mandela will not be drawn on sanctions

By SALLY LOANE,  
MICHELLE GRATTAN  
and KAY ANSELL

The deputy president of the African National Congress, Mr Nelson Mandela, refused to be drawn on the question of sanctions against South Africa when he arrived in Canberra late last night.

"I've got a meeting with the Prime Minister. I will talk to him first," Mr Mandela told journalists.

Mr Mandela's RAAF VIP plane touched down at Canberra's Fairbairn air force base at 11.10 pm — about 40 minutes later than expected on a direct flight from Darwin.

Waiting to meet Mr Mandela, in winds that threatened to blow away the red carpet and the potted trees on the tarmac, were the Foreign Affairs Minister, Senator Evans, the ANC representative in Australia, Mr Eddie Funder, the South African ambassador to Australia, Mr David Tothill, and a former South Australian Premier, Mr Don Dunstan, who is national president of the Mandela Foundation of Australia.

Mr Mandela, who flew in from Indonesia yesterday, looked fit as he began his five-day tour of Australia. Before leaving the plane, he went to the flight deck and thanked the RAAF crew.

Asked about concerns expressed by some Aboriginal leaders about his visit, Mr Mandela said during a quick flight change in Darwin that he did not want to get involved in local affairs.

Mr Mandela's program today starts with a 10 am meeting with Mr Hawke for talks on economic and sporting sanctions of South Africa. Later in the day he will meet Government ministers and the Governor-General, Mr Hayden, and attend a parliamentary luncheon and a media conference.

Earlier yesterday, Senator Evans played down the prospect

of sanctions against South Africa being lifted quickly. "I do not think anybody is going to rush in to lift sanctions," he said.

Senator Evans's comments came after weekend remarks by Mr Hawke which were interpreted in some reports as suggesting an early end to sporting sanctions.

Despite Government sources insisting that Mr Hawke had said nothing new, the Opposition Leader, Dr Hewson, said that Mr Hawke seemed to have announced a significant shift in policy.

A former Prime Minister, Mr Malcolm Fraser, said he would be surprised if Mr Mandela supported any easing of sanctions against South Africa yet, but he would back any position the ANC leader took.

"I'd be prepared to go with whatever Mandela would agree to, but my own position has been that no sanctions should be lifted until, at the very least, the legislative requirements of the United States Congress have been fulfilled."

Mr Fraser said he had "absolutely no doubt" that sporting sanctions had had a big impact on South Africa. "I think that argument has been won absolutely, especially since some of those who said sanctions would never work have been among the first to want to impose them on Iraq."

Mr Bob Dwyer, coach of the Wallabies Australian rugby union football team, said rugby union had always supported the line the Government wished to adopt: "But at the same time we have always said that when the time came, we'd be very pleased to resume sporting contacts with South Africa."

The Returned Servicemen's League state president, Mr Bruce Ruxton, attacked Mr Mandela as a terrorist who should stay out of Australia.

PAGE 13: Editorial; Michael Barnard's comment.

The Foreign Minister, Senator Evans, greets Mr Nelson Mandela in Canberra last night.



The Herald Sun 23. 10. 90

# Honoring Mr Mandela

**M**OVED to grant the freedom of the City of Melbourne to Nelson Mandela began three years ago. Then, Cr Bill Deveney, who went on to become Lord Mayor, introduced a motion to honor the South African nationalist leader when and if he ever came to Melbourne.

It was a controversial issue and though the former Prime Minister, Mr Fraser, went to the Town Hall to brief councillors on the desirability of the move, it failed by a single vote to get the necessary two-thirds majority.

On Friday night, Cr Deveney was more successful, and his proposal that Melbourne acknowledge Mr Mandela's leadership against apartheid by making him an honorary freeman of the city was accepted overwhelmingly.

It is a custom that dates back to 13th-century England, when merchants had to pay for the privilege of trading in particular boroughs.

But in Melbourne it began as recently as 1956, when the Freedom of the City of Melbourne Act went through State Parliament and became a coun-

IAN  
MACKAY



OPINION

cil by-law in time to make the Duke of Edinburgh our first "freeman" when he was here to open the Olympic Games.

Since then, it has been an honor infrequently granted:

● 1958: Governor-General Sir William Slim.

● 1963: Long-serving Victorian Governor Sir Dallas Brookes.

● 1966: Retiring Prime Minister Sir Robert Menzies.

● 1969: Governor-General Lord Casey.

● 1974: Victorian Governor Sir Rohan Delacombe.

● 1975: Retiring Premier Sir Henry Bolte.

● 1981: Victorian Governor Sir Henry Winneke.

Mr Mandela breaks the mould of Queen's men and politicians, but since he was freed from 27 years' imprisonment in South Africa in February, he has become an international

VIP of considerable standing.

He was invited to visit Australia in March, when the Foreign Minister, Senator Evans, attended a meeting of leaders of the so-called front-line states in Lusaka.

The Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, was invited but couldn't go because of the impending federal election. He said he was honored to get the invitation because it acknowledged Australia's part in imposing the sanctions that led to Mr Mandela's release.

Mr Mandela's visit com-

Several weeks later, he was back as guest of the Prime Minister, Mrs Thatcher.

From Europe, he flew to the US as guest of President Bush. In New York he was granted freedom of the city by the Mayor, David Dinkins. In Washington he made an impassioned address to a joint sitting of Congress.

In Australia, as in India and the US, he has been granted Guest of Government status, which means the taxpayer will pick up the tab. In Victoria, there will be extra state govern-

He visited Mr Mandela three times in prison in South Africa, and probably has had more direct contact with him than any other Australian.

"I am very glad Mr Mandela is coming to Australia," Mr Fraser said yesterday from his property, Naareen. "People in Australia have many preconceived ideas about South African issues, not all of them particularly accurate."

"What they should remember is that whatever progress President de Klerk might have made, the fabric of apartheid is still in place and the apartheid laws have not been repealed."

"Mr Mandela is one of the more remarkable people I have ever met, and people should realise that he was in jail because he was fighting for the kinds of rights which Australians take for granted."

Mr Fraser said the granting of the freedom of the city of Melbourne was appropriate to such a distinguished figure.

"By any standards, he is a remarkable person," he said.

**Mr Mandela has Guest of Government status, which means taxpayers will pick up the tab**

es at the end of an Asian-Pacific swing which last week saw him drawing enormous crowds in India.

He has made two visits to the UK. In June he was guest of honor at a 10-hour rally and pop concert at London's Wembley Stadium, which was televised live to 60 countries.

ment costs in terms of police and other security.

One of his appointments here is a private meeting with Mr Fraser, a passionate opponent of apartheid both while he was in office as Prime Minister, and since as a private citizen and as a Commonwealth "eminent person".



S A

# ZULUS, ANC TO TALK ON FEUD

JOHANNESBURG — South Africa's two main black groups took a step towards settling a bloody feud today when Zulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi accepted an African National Congress invitation for peace talks.

Nelson Mandela's ANC extended an olive branch to Buthelezi, president of the Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party, asking him to join in talks aimed at ending township violence.

The violence has claimed about 800 lives since mid-August.

The ANC said Mr Mandela, at present in Australia, would take part in the proposed meeting, thus meeting Chief Buthelezi's

key condition.

The Zulu leader said: "It remains therefore for us to agree on a mutually acceptable time and venue for the meeting."

Chief Buthelezi had refused to meet ANC officials until he had first had a one-to-one, private session with Mr Mandela.

An Inkatha official said three closed-door sessions in recent weeks between the two organisations had cleared the way for the top-level meeting.

The meetings were primarily involved in bringing an end to the four-year carnage in Natal province between Inkatha and ANC supporters, which has

claimed an estimated 4000 lives in four years.

A time for the meeting is unlikely to be announced until Mr Mandela returns home. The ANC accuses Inkatha of fomenting the township violence with the help of white government forces. Hundreds of people have been hacked, shot, beaten and burned to death in black communities around Johannesburg.

Inkatha denies the allegations, saying that the ANC sought to exclude other black groups from power-sharing negotiations with the white government of President F.W. de Klerk.

● South African police

today issued a coded warning for whites to keep out of black townships — especially at night — after an attack on a white couple parked in a car at the weekend.

Police said the couple were parked near the black township of Sebokeng when four black men walked up and shot the man in the chest and neck, grazing his head with a third shot.

He was in a "satisfactory" condition today in hospital.

Three white men and a white woman were burned alive with petrol-soaked tyre "necklaces" after they got involved in an argument in a shebeen (bar) in Khutloanong black township near Odendaalsrus in the Orange Free State on September 29.

— REUTER. AFP