

Big talk, but where's all the support?

INKATHA leaders threaten dire consequences if they are not allowed to get their way at the negotiating table.

But their "big talk" is not backed up in any significant manner by a display of support in opinion polls.

A Markinor poll published this week found that three percent of metropolitan blacks and six percent of whites would opt for the IFP as their first choice in elections.

But, say IFP backers, a different picture will emerge once rural voters are taken into account.

Does it? Not really.

The HSRC polled 6 000 potential voters in each of the nine development regions in September last year. With the exception of Natal, which IFP leaders speak of as their personal fiefdom, Inkatha gained only paltry support.

Even in Natal, it received the backing of only 37 percent of those polled.

A more recent HSRC poll, weighted to reflect the views of rural black voters, again found no significant support for Inkatha outside Natal. In Natal, support for the IFP was down to 31 percent.

VIVA



C. Press

18/07/93

By LEN KALANE

75 years on and Mandela is still champion of the world

IMAGINE him, Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela, dressed in full police uniform with handcuffs, knobkierrie and even a whistle!

Imagine too, Mandela the gardener, shortly before the Rivonia trial when police were searching high and low for him. The gardener in disguise, working on the lawns of the Riviera home of Cecil Eprile, then editor of *Drum*, later thought to be a CIA agent (he wasn't).

Picture him too, Mandela, the chauffeur in disguise, Mandela, the black pimpernel. And lest we forget, Mandela, the up and coming boxer in amateur ranks, keeping trim and fit at a Fordsburg gymnasium.

None of this is fiction. It really happened.

Indeed Mandela was once a cop – a mine policeman.

This, according to Mary Benson's book *The Far Cry*, was after the 22-year-old Mandela had run away from the Transkei to escape an arranged marriage. According to Benson the only job the young aristocrat and university student could get in Johannesburg was as a mine policeman.

"I sat at the compound gate," says Mandela in the book (with a hearty laugh) "and watched people come and go. I wore a uniform and carried a knobkierrie and whistle!"

In the Transkei he had been brought up as a son of a chief in the royal kraal of the Tembu people. At night around the fire the young Mandela would listen fascinated to tales told by tribal elders of the days when the land was theirs, long before the wars against invading Europeans.

Walter Sisulu rescued him from the humiliating job at the mine and "pushed" him into studying law. In 1944 he and Oliver Tambo were encouraged by Sisulu to join the ANC. With other young nationalists they formed a militant Youth League. The Defiance Campaign, repeated bannings, imprisonment and the Treason trial all followed.

By then a completely different Mandela had been moulded. He was Number One on the Special Branch's wanted list, and had managed to elude the police for more than a year. Mandela the gardener, the chauffeur, the black pimpernel!

Take Mandela's account of his narrow escape while underground and on the run as described in Benson's biography: "I was waiting on a corner in town, wearing that chauffeur's outfit when the car due to pick me up failed to arrive.

"Then coming towards me I saw one of the Special Branch – an African member I knew by sight. He looked straight at me. I thought, well, it's all up! But he went on by. And as he did so, he winked and gave the ANC salute!"

The incident – which he regarded as an example of the hidden support the ANC had, even among the police – made Mandela roar with laughter.

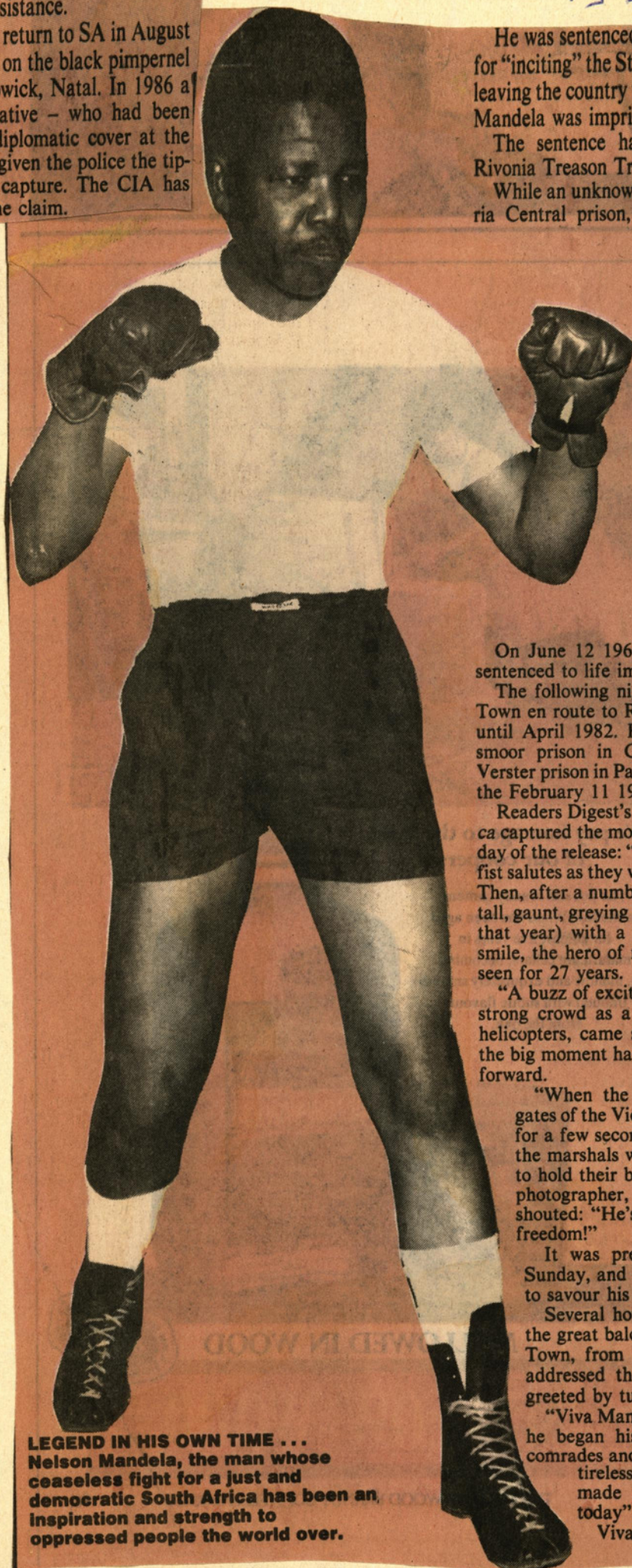
See pg 2

A few weeks later, on December 16, the launch of Umkhonto weSizwe saw acts of sabotage undertaken in Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth and Durban.

After this Mandela slipped out of the country to tour the world organising for the ANC and mobilising for Umkhonto. From then on Mandela was to remain an heroic symbol of black resistance.

A few days after his secret return to SA in August 1962 the net finally closed in on the black pimpernel when he was captured in Howick, Natal. In 1986 a retired American CIA operative – who had been stationed in Durban under diplomatic cover at the time – disclosed that he had given the police the tip-off which led to Mandela's capture. The CIA has never confirmed or denied the claim.

VIVA MADIBA From pg 1



He was sentenced to five years in November 1962 for "inciting" the Stay-at-Home strike in 1961 and for leaving the country without a permit. The 44-year-old Mandela was imprisoned in a Pretoria jail.

The sentence had not even expired when the Rivonia Treason Trial began in October 1963.

While an unknowing Mandela was sitting in Pretoria Central prison, police raided the underground headquarters of the ANC at Lilliesleaf Farm, Rivonia. There they found documents relating to the manufacture of explosives, Mandela's diary of his African tour and copies of a draft memorandum – "Operation Mayibuye" – which outlined a possible strategy for a guerrilla struggle.

Mandela was brought from jail to join the other Rivonia Trial accused – including Sisulu, Govan Mbeki and Dennis Goldberg. Charges against them included sabotage, conspiracy to overthrow the government by revolution and assisting an armed invasion of SA by foreign troops.

On June 12 1964, all eight of the accused were sentenced to life imprisonment. Mandela was 46!

The following night Mandela was flown to Cape Town en route to Robben Island where he was held until April 1982. He was then transferred to Pollsmoor prison in Cape Town and later to Victor Verster prison in Paarl from where he was released on the February 11 1990.

Readers Digest's *Illustrated History of South Africa* captured the mood at Victor Verster prison on the day of the release: "People danced and gave clenched fist salutes as they waited for the heavy gates to open. Then, after a number of false alarms, he appeared, a tall, gaunt, greying man of 71 (he turned 72 in July of that year) with a dignified bearing and expansive smile, the hero of millions whom the world had not seen for 27 years.

"A buzz of excitement swept through the 40 000-strong crowd as a brown sedan, escorted by three helicopters, came slowly into view. Convinced that the big moment had at last arrived, the crowd edged forward.

"When the car reached the outer security gates of the Victor Vester prison it stopped – and for a few seconds everyone, even the police and the marshals with their walkie-talkies – seemed to hold their breath. Then a door opened and a photographer, his voice shaking with emotion shouted: "He's walking ... he's walking to his freedom!"

It was precisely 4.16 pm on that special Sunday, and ANC leader Mandela was about to savour his first seconds of freedom.

Several hours later, when he stepped on to the great balcony of the old City Hall in Cape Town, from where statesmen and kings had addressed the people in times past, he was greeted by tumultuous applause.

"Viva Mandela, Viva!" the crowd chanted as he began his address by thanking "friends, comrades and fellow South Africans" for their tireless and heroic sacrifices which had made it possible "for me to be here today".

Viva, Mandela, Viva! Happy birthday!

LEGEND IN HIS OWN TIME ...
Nelson Mandela, the man whose ceaseless fight for a just and democratic South Africa has been an inspiration and strength to oppressed people the world over.

A reason to celebrate!

NELSON ROLIHLEHLA MANDELA, the only son of Chief Henry Gadla Mandela and Nonquphi Mandela, was born on 18 July 1918 in the Transkei.

When he was 12 years old his father became seriously ill and he was looked after by Chief Dalindyebo, the acting paramount chief at the time. He was brought up as a Methodist. He matriculated at Healdtown, after which he enrolled for a BA degree at Fort Hare College, as it was called at that time.

It was here that he met Oliver Tambo. They later became co-workers in Johannesburg's first black legal partnership, and fellow leaders of the ANC.

Mandela was popular with the other students and was quickly elected to the Students' Representative Council. He also became vice president of the athletics union. But, in 1940 he resigned from the SRC in protest against the authorities who were trying to limit his power. He joined a student boycott and was suspended.

Mandela returned to Mqekweni, the Great Place of the Paramount Chief, where

Chief Dalindyebo ordered him to stop the boycott and go back to his studies. The chief felt it was time that Nelson married and had chosen a wife for him.

The chief had already paid the lobola without asking Nelson, and arrangements for the wedding were well under way. Just 23 years old, Nelson Mandela fled to Johannesburg with his cousin Justice Mtshali.

One of the first people to befriend the young man was Walter Sisulu. As a relative of the Paramount Chief, Nelson Mandela quickly found a job. The Induna at Crown Mines offered him a job not knowing that he had run away. Mandela started as a compound policeman, posted to guard the gate to the compound where the black miners lived. After three days the Induna found out that he had run away and that was the end of the job.

Nelson told Walter Sisulu that he wanted to study law. Sisulu helped him complete his BA degree and also introduced him to a law firm. This firm later trained him while he was doing his LLB at the University of the

Witwatersrand.

Living with Walter and Albertina Sisulu in Soweto exposed Nelson Mandela to many of the people serving in the ANC. Among these was his college friend Oliver Tambo, himself a lawyer. Mandela joined the ANC in 1944. In the same year he also married Evelyn, his first wife. They had three children, two sons Makgatho and Thembi, who was killed in a car accident, and a girl Makaziwe (Maki).

Nelson Mandela helped to form the ANC Youth League and in April of 1944 became a member of the executive. Their goal was to bring life back to the ANC as they believed it was weak and needed to be shaken up. At first the Youth League was opposed to working with the Communist party. But, during the 50's their outlook changed and they began to work more closely with the communists. The ANC joined forces with the Indian Congress and the Communist Party to organise a one day strike in the Transvaal on 1 May 1950. They were protesting against the banning of

communism under the Suppression of Communism Act. There were violent clashes and some people died. Mandela and Tambo represented the ANC Youth League at a meeting between executives of the ANC, the SA Indian Congress and the Communist Party of SA. As a result of this meeting a National strike was organised for June 26. This was the beginning of the Youth League co-operation with the Communist Party. Towards the end of 1950 Nelson Mandela became the National President of the Youth League. He was also elected deputy to ANC President Chief Albert Luthuli in December 1952.

Mandela and Sisulu, with others in the Youth League, put their proposal for non-violent methods against the State, to the ANC annual conference in 1951 and began a Defiance Campaign. Mandela was arrested on his way home from the meeting but was later released, only to be rearrested on July 30. He stood trial in November. He was found guilty and sentenced to 9 months imprisonment. The next month Mandela was banned. He was not

16/1/11

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allowed to attend meetings and was also forced to resign from the ANC. Around this time his marriage to Evelyn broke up.

Mandela played an important role at the Congress of the People during which the Freedom Charter was adopted at Kliptown on 25 June 1955. These activities later led to Mandela also being tried in the Treason Trial in 1956.

Although deeply involved in politics, Mandela found time to start a law firm with Tambo. He also married his second wife, Nomzamo Zaniwe Winnifred Madikizela. They have two daughters, Zenani and Zindzi. It was during the Treason Trial that they met. The law firm continued, despite bannings, evictions from their offices in Johannesburg and Tambo going abroad, until Mandela too went underground in 1961.

FBI foils plot by radical skinheads to bomb ANC leader

Cult targets

Mandela

PETER FABRICIUS
Washington Bureau

A sinister white supremacy group planned to kill ANC leader Nelson Mandela in Los Angeles, it was learned this week.

The Fourth Reich Skinheads planned to bomb the church where Mr Mandela was holding a fundraiser and to machine gun the congregation.

Mr Mandela was apparently not forewarned, even though the FBI knew of a plot to attack the First African Methodist Episcopal Church (AME) where he spoke last week.

The FBI also knew that the Fourth Reich Skinheads had discussed assassinating Mr Mandela.

But it seems that he and the ANC were never informed about the plans of the extremist group — which has links with an organisation called the Church of the Creator to which Janus Walusz, the alleged assassin of Chris Hani, apparently belonged.

According to Pretoria political analyst Dr Wim Booysse, the Church of the Creator in South Africa is a chapter of the extremist church by the same name in the United States.

"It uses the same basic documents, the same symbols, and has the same dogma about the white man needing to inherit the earth," Dr Booysse says.

Within right-wing circles, Mr Walusz was believed to be a member although the head of the church told other right-wingers Mr Walusz did not attend meetings.

It was only this week that the FBI, the US Attorney's office, and the Los Angeles police decided to act against the Fourth Reich Skinheads, arresting eight of its members and seizing an arsenal of weapons and Nazi paraphernalia.

They were held on charges of plotting to blow up the First AME Church and to kill Rodney King, the black man who was beaten by Los Angeles policemen last year, sparking a huge riot in the city.

The First AME is the most prominent church in south-central Los Angeles, centre of the riots.

FBI spokesman Steven Berry said on Friday that Reverend Cecil Murray, minister of the First AME church, had been warned about the threat against the church three or four weeks ago.

But the FBI told Mr Murray it had the situation under control.

It was up to Mr Murray and Mr Mandela to decide whether to go ahead with Mr Mandela's address at the church, Mr Berry said.

Mr Murray could not be reached for comment but the Reverend Leonard Jackson, co-minister at the church, said the FBI and other authorities had not specified the threat to the church.

He believed it the duty of the authorities to inform the ANC of the threat.

ANC sources here said they did not believe Mr Mandela had been told about the plot.

And Mr Berry said their talk of assassinating Mr Mandela had never hardened into a specific plot.

He said as far as he knew the Los Angeles group had no links with right-wing extremists in South Africa.

The FBI was not investigating such links and had not asked the SA Police for help.

16/1/11

IFP leader threatens 'breakaway convention'

Buthelezi's grim warning on talks

IDO LEKOTA

ULUNDI — Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi has warned of a "break-away constitutional convention" which would divide South Africa in two if this was the only option left his party by developments at the multiparty talks.

Addressing more than 100 delegates attending the IFP's pre-congress national council in the KwaZulu capital yesterday, Buthelezi said Inkatha could either back down and eat humble pie or consider the possibility of establishing its own constitutional convention with those who "are excluded with us, or join us in fighting our exclusion".

Political backlash

"That may be the only thing left to do. But if we walk that road, we must know that it will be the first major step to split South Africa into two mutually exclusive political segments," he said.

The Inkatha leader warned, however, that such a move would have a political backlash which would, among other things, involve attempts to destroy the political control of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly.

Buthelezi said a breakaway constitutional convention would be sparked by "the gauntlet thrown down to us by the South African Government and the African National Congress as they back official consensus decisions regarding issues vital to the future of South Africa, knowing that we reject them vehemently".

He said the IFP conference would have to decide whether it was prepared to pay the price, knowing that action against it might precipitate the first step to civil war.

"I repeat that this is no threat to resort to a civil war. It is a political assessment of what others are doing to bring about conditions for civil war, because the worst that can be done to us politically has failed to break us."

Buthelezi said the ANC was probably aware of such an eventuality — that was why it had kept intact its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and continued recruiting.

The IFP leader said the ANC's claim that it was in a hurry for elections because people expected them now was mere "political phillandering". If that was what was motivating the ANC, it would support the IFP's proposal for an election next year under a final constitution — it would therefore not wait five years or longer for a proper election.

Buthelezi nevertheless called on IFP delegates to prepare for an elec-

● TO PAGE 2.

● FROM PAGE 1.

tion, possibly in September next year.

He indicated that the IFP would remain part of the negotiation process: "If the IFP delegation now gives in to the pressure and withdraws, it will be a case of the South African Government/ANC alliance becoming a negotiating steamroller," he said.

Capitulation now would mean becoming party to the historic annihilation of KwaZulu and other territories whose leaders were not members of the Patriotic Front.

● Political Correspondent KAIZER NYATSUMBA reports that Buthelezi's comments come at a time when a big question mark hangs over whether the IFP and the KwaZulu government will rejoin multiparty negotiations on Monday.

Buthelezi, who this week travelled to many parts of the country opposing agreements already reached in negotiations, walked out of the forum on July 2 when it formally adopted April 27 next year as the date for South Africa's first all-in election. It was followed by KwaZulu government and Conservative Party delegates.

Now the return of the IFP and KwaZulu to ne-

gotiations depends on the outcome of at least two important meetings this weekend: one between the Government and the IFP and KwaZulu in Pretoria today, and this weekend's annual congress of the IFP in Ulundi.

IFP central committee member Walter Felgate yesterday said the main thrust of the congress's deliberations would be negotiations. "This will be a crucial conference, and it will make a very fundamental difference to the negotiations process," he said.

Buthelezi, who has been accusing the Government and the ANC of striking secret deals, has suggested the IFP and KwaZulu government delegations may not return to negotiations unless he obtains guarantees of a federal system of government in South Africa.

The IFP leader, who will address a joint rally with Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini at the First National Bank Stadium outside Johannesburg tomorrow, has come in for a roasting from the Government and the Democratic Party after his recent statements.

Sources close to Government have told Saturday Star Pretoria is growing increasingly irritated by Buthelezi, who appeared to lack a full understanding of the give-and-take of negotiations.

Township residents celebrate as the Kheswa mystery grows

THE SMILING MONSTER

THE last time lawyer Anina van der Westhuizen saw Victor Kheswa was a Friday afternoon. He was accompanied by two policemen and waving to her from a car as it pulled out of the Vanderbijlpark police station.

Less than 24 hours later, the man known to people throughout the sprawling Vaal Triangle townships as the Vaal Monster was dead — his wrists white from the bonds that had tied him, a streak of dried mucus running up his cheek.

For the past week, as the tale of the

CHARIS PERKINS and BRIAN SOKUTU trace the background of the man who came to be known as the 'Vaal Monster'

man known as Khetisi has unfolded, conflicting reports of his political affiliations have been punctured with vivid accounts of the gruesome murders and massacres which, township residents said, made him one of the most feared men in their midst.

Once admired by pensioner William Mabaso as his neighbour's "bright" toddler, Khetisi was no longer so

chummy 23 years later when he led his gang to attack the Mabaso family.

Mr Mabaso, his wife Maria and four children say they fled their home in Zone 7, Sebokeng, after Khetisi and his gang looted the building, set it alight, and sprayed the walls with gunfire.

"I knew that child. He was a bright toddler who grew up very well — but he got the name Vaal Monster because of what he did to people," said Mr Mabaso.

He believes Khetisi's "cruel and greedy" mother, Emma, is to blame. "She spoilt him by allowing him to steal cars when he was a kid."

The boy's father, Samuel, deserted the family "after a confrontation with his wife over their son's activities".

By the time Khetisi was 12, he was driving stolen cars and selling dagga. He also led a small gang terrorising Sebokeng residents, Mr Mabaso said.

The youngster ran into trouble with former friends in March 1990 when ANC-aligned comrades tried to persuade him to stop robbing customers at a petrol station.

In December 1990, he escaped an attempt by comrades to necklace him and fled to KwaMadala hostel.

That, according to ANC branch

chairman Tsietse Kekepetse, was when random attacks on residents by gunmen in cars began.

Mr Kekepetse, who first met Khetisi in 1987, said one of the first victims of the KwaMadala gang was ANC Youth League Sebokeng member Christoffel Nangalembe.

He and Khetisi had been childhood friends, but Khetisi was angry that Christoffel had accused him of forcing a woman to drink poison. The woman later died.

On January 6 1991, Mr Nangalembe's body was found on a refuse dump in Boipatong's Tsirela hostel. He had been garotted with wire.

Gunmen linked by survivors to the Khetisi gang fired on mourners attending an all-night funeral vigil for Mr Nangalembe, killing 45 people and wounding more than 50.

Khetisi became an Inkatha Freedom Party member at the hostel and, according to Vaal regional secretary William Nhlapo, rose to become chairman of the IFP's Sebokeng branch.

But Khetisi, who died in police custody, evidently also had links with the SAP.

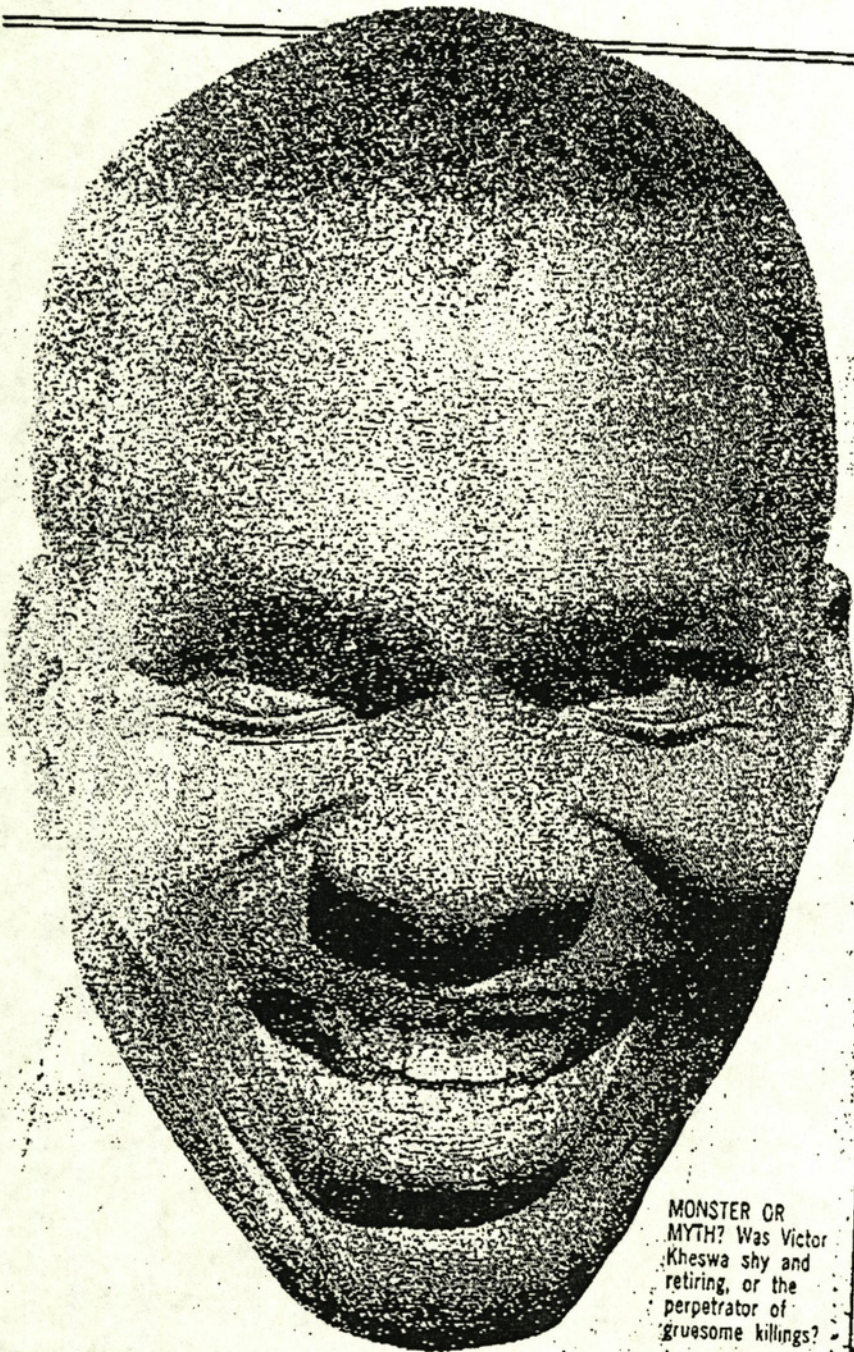
Charged

Several witnesses saw him observe the funeral service for the murdered wife and daughter of ANC activist Ernest Sotsu in July 1991 from inside a police van.

Khetisi had been charged with the murders, but he was not in custody at the time and no one can explain his presence in an SAP vehicle that day.

Stranger still are the links, first claimed then denied, with the ultra-right World Apartheid Movement — recently renamed the World Preservatist Movement.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said a police investigation had shown there was no evidence to prove Khetisi had ever been a WPM member.



MONSTER OR MYTH? Was Victor Kheswa shy and retiring, or the perpetrator of gruesome killings?

§ Khetisi's lawyer drew a different picture of her client, claiming he was an "intelligent young man".

"His teachers liked him very much. He was popular with the girls and a good organiser. He was one of the big boys in the school."

"His father, who lives in Lesotho, bought him a car. Maybe that is where the trouble started, because it caused jealousy among the people in Sebokeng."

"He was known as a monster, yet I knew him to be shy and retiring," she said.

Police

The IFP claims the Khetisi affair is part of a campaign by state intelligence agencies to link it with right-wing violence. The ANC insists Khetisi was a state agent, killed in custody to prevent information about the source of Vaal violence coming to light in court.

The police have appointed a special task force to probe the matter.

But the residents of Sebokeng have already considered their verdict. They danced in the streets when Khetisi died.

NP accused of bribery to woo votes



ABE WILLIAMS... welfare payouts

STARTLING allegations that the NP was using taxpayers' money to woo black voters and had attempted to bribe DP members into supporting the party by offering them money and cars emerged this week.

Sport and Welfare Minister Abe Williams offered government welfare payouts to impover-

By RAY HARTLEY
Political Reporter

ished coloured voters in the Western Cape in a letter printed on official NP stationery.

And DP Youth chairman Colin Douglas has alleged that two DP members had been approached by NP officials and offered perks in exchange for their loyalty to the NP.

Mr Williams's letter called on people earning less than R600 a month to apply for assistance of between R64 and R216 a month from the House of Representatives at the Saxonsea town hall on May 11.

"The needy (unemployed and poor) can apply for community help on Tuesday, May 11, at the Saxonsea hall.

"The department's offices in Atlantis will also be open. This arrangement has been made to be of

assistance to more people," Mr Williams said in the letter, which was not dated.

Mr Williams was recently embroiled in controversy after documents showed he had authorised the payment of R9 000 for an NP tea party attended by Mrs Marike de Klerk in Atlantis.

The money came from the House of Representatives' budget, though the tea party was an NP event.

Transparent

Mr Williams could not be contacted for comment on the latest incident.

DP justice spokesman Tony Leon described Mr Williams's letter as "out and out political bribery" and called for a full investigation into NP abuse of taxpayers' money to win votes.

"Mr Williams wouldn't know an ethical dispute if

it fell on his lap. He's an offensive pork-barrel politician," Mr Leon said.

Southern Transvaal DP Youth executive member Sandile Dube said he had been approached by an NP official who tried to persuade him to join the NP.

"He said money talks louder than words," Mr Dube said.

He said the official, a Mr Booyens, who made the approach 10 days ago, had offered him a top post in the NP in the area.

A DP Youth activist in Carolina, Mr Sipho Xaba, was offered a car on condition that he join and work for the NP, Mr Douglas said.

"The transparent attempts by the NP to buy black DP members speaks of their inability to be a viable political force in a post-apartheid SA.

"They also demonstrate that little has changed in NP tactics," he said.

We don't want whites' riches, says ANCYL

By CHARLENE SMITH

SOWETO'S ANC Youth League, the most powerful branch in the country, says it wants to reassure whites "that we don't want to take their property".

The league has organised a six-day conference, starting today, with 40 other youth organisations to find constructive solutions for the "lost generation" and to "alter perceptions that the seizure of white property is an option," said Mr Libelo Maloka, the ANCYL's organising secretary in Soweto.

"We want the youth, regardless of their political affiliation, to start building on the benefits flowing from negotiations. The new government of national unity should have a base on which to build confidence and hope.

"We need to reconstruct the thinking of the youth and prove that South Africa belongs to all."

However, Mr Maloka said the conference, which will be held just outside Soweto, would have to be give SA's youth direction and optimism. "We need to take the youth from the street, ensure they are educated and have enough recreational facilities," he said.

"South Africa needs a strong message of hope."

More than 300 delegates will at-

tend from organisations as diverse as the Azanyu, the Pan Africanist Congress, church and other youth formations.

The meeting will be opened by ANC president Nelson Mandela, who will be presented with a birthday gift by the ANCYL.

It was hoped that other political leaders from other groups would also attend.

OPINION

Chief Buthelezi in a corner

CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi's latest display of bellicosity has brought him close to the point where, politically, he will find it impossible to retreat without serious humiliation. At that point he will have destroyed himself and his cause, and subjected his people to yet greater misery; already it is difficult to see how he can manoeuvre himself out of the tight corner into which his bluster and intransigence have put him.

Chief Buthelezi's warlike utterances must be seen against a background of growing weakness in the Inkatha Freedom Party's political position. The ANC is steadily extending its hegemony over new areas of Natal formerly controlled by Inkatha chieftains, and the opinion polls — admittedly scrappy — suggest that the IFP faces a severe mauling in the coming elections. It may do better than expected with Natal's dissident Nationalists and eccentric whites, but among Zulus it is plainly a minority party, and losing ground. That, no doubt, is why Chief Buthelezi is so bitterly opposed to the April 1994 election date.

While his support erodes, Chief Buthelezi falls ever more deeply into a dangerous isolation. He is alone among the major leaders of the country has been cut off — by his own choice — from the softening influence of Codesa, where other leaders managed to strip away each other's demon-masks and overcome their own worst prejudices about each other. Like the Turnhalle in Namibia, Codesa was perhaps most useful in

changing the participants in the process, leaving Chief Buthelezi as the last major inhabitant of the old South Africa, viewing the world from the village atmosphere of Ulundi, and cut off from the intellectual and political mainstream of the country.

His isolation from Codesa was exacerbated, and continues to be exacerbated, by his odd retinue of alienated whites who seem to regard themselves as honorary Zulu warriors. Their influence seems often to offset the ameliorating counsel of men like Joe Matthews and Frank Mdlalose, who have participated constructively in the negotiations at Kempton Park, and who have themselves been changed by their participation.

Chief Buthelezi, once widely regarded as destined to lead South Africa to new uplands of democracy, has fallen into the shabby company of white racists and black eccentrics like Brigadier Oupa Gqozo — people with whom a younger Buthelezi would not have deigned to associate. His international connections are falling away, and his decline, as measured by the company he keeps, is tragic.

Only one thing, ironically, sustains him: the South African taxpayer. The subsidies from the government enable him to strut the stage, building up his paramilitary forces as he throws out increasingly belligerent challenges, and puts us all at peril. A tighter rein on his expenditures, if that can be engineered, might well prove the most effective way to curb his warlike passions.

Let sense prevail

COMMENTING
on the
improvement in
Mr Mandela's
standing,
Markinor's
Christine
Woessner says:
"No doubt his
performance and
display of
leadership after
Chris Hani's
assassination have
earned him new
respect."

That might be
so, but Mr
Mandela is in
danger of losing respect by his continued
insistence on extending voting rights to
children.

The last time he promised votes to
14-year-olds, he was shot down by the ANC
executive. Now Mr Mandela labels those
who did so "conservatives", and promises to
revisit the debate after the first elections
are held.

One can only hope the ANC executive
members hold their ground; what they have
displayed is not conservatism, but sense
and leadership. On this matter, at least, Mr
Mandela is lacking in both departments.



Holomisa and ANC argue over new Kei border

By DAWN BARKHUIZEN
THE ANC and Major-General Bantu Holomisa are at odds over the Transkei military ruler's insistence that the Border-Kei region remain separate under a new federal dispensation for "at least 15 to 20 years".

Transkei sources said this week that the staunch alliance between the Transkei head of state and the ANC had begun to show cracks after the assassination of SACP secretary-general Chris Hani, and because General Holomisa had failed to take firm action against PAC and Apla operatives in Transkei.

"It appears the general is not entirely sure of his role in a future South Africa, and the ANC is starting to regard him as somewhat of a loose cannon," sources close to General Holomisa said.

General Holomisa said this week the ANC had never discussed with him its plans to cut the number of federal regions from 10 to eight, merging the Eastern Cape and Border-Kei regions with King William's Town as the capital.

"We learnt about the plans only when they released them last week. As far as we know, the new boundaries are for electoral purposes only, so whatever the ANC is doing now

to get more votes is their baby," he told the Sunday Times.

"But if they are shifting their position for the future, the people of Transkei will have to reconsider their stance."

"All new investment will go to cities with established infrastructures like Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage, instead of to rural areas," he said.

"We are also opposed to King William's Town as a capital. A regional government should be close to the people. Umtata should be the capital."

Eastern Cape ANC spokesman Linda Mti said there had been "minor differences" between the ANC and General Holomisa over the timing of Transkei's reincorporation into South Africa, but the ANC held the military leader in high regard, and his military expertise would be needed in a new South African army.

Mr Mti denied claims that the ANC was gerrymandering to secure an ANC majority in the region where the PAC has established itself and is gaining support, saying the ANC felt the entire region should be bolstered.

He pointed out that the ANC was flexible about the merger and not about to "fight and die for it".

Denying the dictates of blind revolution and brute repression

NEGOTIATIONS start up again at the World Trade Centre next week. If all goes well, this will be the last round. Within weeks a political settlement could be wrapped up, and it will be for the special session of Parliament in September to pass laws that start the final transition from old South Africa to new.

The conference halls at Kempton Park will have served their political purpose, and can revert to hosting exponents of world trade — more of them, hopefully, than in the sanctions-strangled past. The negotiators will have to find premises from which to operate and run the transitional executive council (TEC), South Africa's first experiment in truly non-racial governance. It may not look and sound like it, but these are heady times.

With the nation's fascination (ranging from rapturous to morbid) centred on next year's election, no one is making too much fuss about the step in between, the TEC. This seems a pity. Seen in its proper context, and with a bit of talking-up, the moment of the TEC's birth later this year could be turned into a trigger-point for a surge of optimism and renewed energy.

Such opportunities to enliven a punch-drunk public do not come by all that often, and should be seized upon. If — and any valid political prognosis in this country should be preceded by that two-letter word — all or most of the parties at the talks behave as sensibly as they should, the TEC can be the first tangible proof that all we have been through in the past three years is both worth it, and leading somewhere.

The TEC has huge symbolic significance, first and foremost. It can be an indication to the voteless majority that change for the better really is coming, and simultaneously an assurance to the previously privileged that change is not going to mean chaos. It is an embodiment of a potentially magnificent compromise.

For the first time in nearly 400 years, a structural start will have been made in distributing

UNDERCURRENT
AFFAIRS

SHAUN
Johnson



WHAT is worrying is the blunt possibility of an upsurge of violence dwarfing anything that has gone before. Leaders fear a last-ditch offensive to "drown the transition in blood"; to quote Cyril Ramaphosa.

power, and responsibility — a task once considered quite impossible. For the first time, also, we would be able to look forward with hope to a system with sufficient legitimacy to stamp out the wild and destructive elements which have flourished in the interregnum.

The symbolism will go way beyond our borders: a message will be sent out that rationality still prevails in South Africa, that the transition has not spun out of control, and that stability is not a chimera. We should all, whatever our skin pigments and living standards, be popping champagne corks on TEC day — the day the dictates of blind revolution and brute repression are denied.

So that is what we could have, if rationality prevails. We will not have it unless relative peace does too. This is the rougher side of the transitional coin. There is at the moment a mood of frank alarm in the top echelons of both the ANC and the Government. It is so intense that it is not even primarily party-political: by

this I mean that the politicians are concerned enough to be concerned for the entire nation.

What is causing the worry is the blunt possibility of an upsurge of violence which dwarfs what has gone before in scale and intensity. Leaders are convinced that a last-ditch offensive will be launched between now and next year to "drown the transition in blood", to use Cyril Ramaphosa's phrase. The negotiators are unsure of their own capacity to stop that. They see in the latest East Rand havoc a glimpse of a terrible future, imagining the effect of, say, 10 Sobokengs a week, every week.

The situation today in Sobokeng, among other tragic townships, is such that a single shot fired in the air by anyone is enough to prompt a fusillade in response, and spark off a small war. The security forces, or rather their leaders, have abdicated responsibility and leave the people to their fate. They say it is too dangerous to maintain law and order when night falls and, if they are not prepared to do it, who is? Things have gone horribly wrong on this score, and it is little wonder that top politicians are beginning to recognise that a fresh start has to be made; what has been tried so far has not worked.

What is required now is nothing short of a defensive offensive, launched by everyone who can contribute, in defence of the prospects we have for a workable political future. They are prospects that, once lost, will not be retrieved.

We urgently need new and bold thinking on everything from the control of the security forces, to the scale of the Peace Accord structures, to the powers of the Goldstone Commission, and beyond.

● Shaun Johnson is being sent to Siberia, via Moscow. This is not as a result of readers' suggestions, but at the invitation of the Russian Press Association. Johnson says he fully intends to try to send Undercurrent Affairs back home from that side of the world, but if it does not appear for the next two weeks, readers will know why.

4 SUNDAY TIMES, July 18 1993

Former foes unite in drive for peace

By RYAN CRESSWELL

WAR tears people apart, but it can also bring them together. Take Isaac Shandu and Vasco Hlengwa.

Isaac is an Inkatha Freedom Party supporter, and Vasco an ANC member; not so long ago, they would not even have spoken to each other.

But these days, they spend a lot of time together — driving through the troubled Umhumbulu area of Natal on a quest for peace and tolerance.

They are already making their mark. Since they set up a peace sub-committee at KwaMakhutha near Amanzimtoti about a month ago, there have been no incidents of violence in the township, where hundreds have been killed in fighting between IFP and ANC supporters in the past.

The two businessmen spend most of each day together in a borrowed car, driving to townships, rural villages, schools and churches to preach peace and political tolerance, and educate people about the forthcoming elections.

"At one stage, it would have been impossible to speak to each other, but now we are good friends," said Isaac. "We have decided to dedicate our lives to visiting warring areas to educate people about peace."

"The people have accepted us — they want peace."

Vasco added: "We decided to start with KwaMakhutha because it was a flashpoint."

"Now we are already moving into the areas around KwaMakhutha, and hope to establish at least five other peace sub-committees by December."

AWB attacks judge over his findings

IN a personal attack on Mr Justice Richard Goldstone yesterday the AWB expressed shock at his commission's labelling of "Afrikaner boys and girls" as "hooligans". The organisation was reacting to Thursday's findings by the Goldstone commission on the June 25 invasion of the World Trade Centre.

It said these people were "young Christian Afrikaners who occupied the WTC to apologise to God... for the so-called government leaders excluding God from the constitution and chasing Him out of the promised land".

The AWB accused the judge of leftist activities when he was a National Union of South African Students leader, and called Nusas "blatant communism in camouflage".

It accused him of "feverish haste" in his investigation of the "breaking of a single window" at the WTC, but of doing nothing about people who urged the killing of Boers.

Urgent talks fail to defuse crisis over breakaway threat

BUTHELEZI GOES TO THE BRINK



CHIEF BUTHELEZI: Accused of ulterior motives

By CLAIRE ROBERTSON and RAY HARTLEY

GOVERNMENT negotiators held talks for more than three hours with Inkatha yesterday, but failed to defuse a crisis sparked by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's threat to start breakaway constitutional talks.

Angry government negotiators were stunned by Mr Buthelezi's latest threat of independent action, which the IFP leader said could lead to civil war.

"This makes all the talks we are having with them absolutely ridiculous," said one senior negotiator.

Mr Buthelezi dropped a bombshell on Friday by saying the IFP would have to choose between forming a "break-away constitutional convention" and "eating humble pie" at the World Trade Centre.

Government chief negotiator Roelf Meyer held talks yesterday with an IFP delegation — including hardliners Mario Ambrossini and Walter Felgate — to discuss the

latest threat. The meeting, scheduled before Mr Buthelezi's statement, went on far longer than planned as government negotiators struggled to make sense of Inkatha's private, reasonable stance and its public threats.

At the meeting, the government tried to convince Inkatha that its constitutional objectives were attainable "within the framework of resolutions already adopted" by negotiators.

But the Inkatha delegation failed to offer any assurances that the party would not quit the talks. Another meeting will be held on Tuesday.

LATEST

THE Inkatha annual conference is poised to order its delegates to withdraw from negotiations after a report from Inkatha official Walter Felgate on bilateral talks held with the government in Pretoria yesterday.

Political parties, already frustrated by Inkatha's posturing, have vowed the talks will go on — without the IFP if necessary.

SA Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo said: "If this threat is intended to intimidate the process, it will fail miserably."

"I have no doubt the talks can continue without the IFP. One doesn't want to risk antagonising any party to the talks, but on the basis that no party can hold the talks to ransom, we can continue without them."

The African National Congress has also offered to revive behind-the-scenes efforts to keep the IFP at the talks.

"It is sad that they are painting themselves into a corner," said ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus. "I do not understand what they hope to achieve by this."

"We are prepared to enter into further discussions to convince them to stay in the process. The only negotiating forum with credibility is the forum at the World Trade Centre."

For now, however, the IFP has not totally severed its links with the talks. Mr Buthelezi said yesterday

□ To Page 2

Buthelezi goes to the brink

□ From Page 1

the IFP would return once a draft constitution had been tabled.

IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose moved to defuse the controversy, saying Mr Buthelezi "was raising merely one of a number of options to consider".

Ciskei, stablemate in Inkatha's Concerned South Africans Group, would "consider this option in the event of all others being unacceptable — but we would like to exhaust all other options", said Ciskei delegate Mick Webb.

Mr Buthelezi has been accused on all sides of having ulterior motives for threatening to split the talks.

IFP ambivalence is attributed in equal parts to attempts to stall elections, to internal divisions among the party's constitutional advisers, and to Mr Buthelezi's fury at being "marginalised" by the ANC.

The internal divisions were highlighted yesterday when a senior IFP negotiator, asked to explain what lay behind the latest Ulundi threat, said: "Don't ask me — ask the person who wrote the speech."

Negotiators are growing dizzy trying to keep up with Inkatha's constant shifts in position.

Two weeks ago, Inkatha said it would "not participate in the debate" until it saw a draft constitution which met its needs.

On Wednesday, IFP delegates revived the war talk by stressing their unhappiness at the sufficient-consensus method of reaching decisions.

On Thursday, Inkatha said it would boycott the talks altogether until it saw the constitution.

And on Friday, Mr Buthelezi threatened to split the talks.

But yesterday, he re-committed himself to the talks as long as the draft constitution was acceptable.

In another development yesterday, Inkatha's right-wing ally, the Conservative Party, said it would also boycott the talks until the Afrikaner's right to self-determination received "unequivocal" recognition.

Foreign reaction to the latest Inkatha threat was condemnatory.

July 18, 1993 DAYTONA BEACH SUNDAY NEWS-JOURNAL

Pro-apartheid group boycotts S. Africa talks

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa (AP) — South Africa's leading white, pro-apartheid group pulled out of political talks on Saturday, saying it would not return unless whites were promised they could rule themselves.

The withdrawal of the right-wing Conservative Party was not expected to derail the negotiations involving more than 20 groups, including the government and the African National Congress, the nation's leading black group.

But it indicated the Conservatives and their allies intend to step up opposition to holding the nation's first multiracial elections in April.

Negotiators set the election date earlier in July over objections from the Conservatives and the Zulu-dominated Inkatha Freedom Party, a conservative black group that also wants a homeland where it can maintain its power free of central government control.

The talks were to resume Monday without the Conservatives and Inkatha, a bitter rival of the ANC.

The ANC is considered the likely winner of elections including the black majority. It wants a strong central government that can re-

dress the inequities of apartheid.

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who also is chief minister of the KwaZulu black homeland, said Saturday that Zulus were prepared to die to defend their right to govern themselves.

He told an Inkatha national conference the ANC wanted to dismantle KwaZulu and said that would be "a prescription for civil war which we must resist in every possible way."

Political violence between the ANC and Inkatha has killed thousands of blacks in recent years. More than 100 people died in black townships near Johannesburg in fighting that erupted after the election date was set July 2.

The Conservatives represent most of the nation's 3 million Afrikaners, the Dutch-descended settlers of South Africa, and are the official opposition in the dominant white chamber of Parliament.

The party joined the talks only after negotiators promised to consider its call for a white homeland free of black rule. The ANC and the government, however, have rejected any enclaves or territories set up on a racial basis.

Compliments of
Cliff Hosney

THE DAILY TELEGRAPH



ITALIANS good at talking their way out of a tight spot



SPANISH keep the noisies battered down on patrol



DUTCH insist on knocking off at five for tea



BELGIANS say the British are too willing to fight



JAPANESE brought bath houses and salted plums



PAKISTANIS highly regarded for toughness

The whole world's in these hands

In Somalia, the Italian general has been sent home. In Bosnia, Dutch soldiers stop work at 5pm. So how reliable are the forces under UN command? ROBERT FOX reports

THIS IS the year that the UN peacekeepers collided with warlords in Cambodia, Somalia and Bosnia, and nothing will be quite the same again for the men and women in blue helmets. The concept of peacekeeping and humanitarian intervention is changing but few of the contributing national armies seem to measure up to the task.

Gone is the distinction between peacekeeping and peace-making, laid down in the UN Charter. Increasingly the peacekeepers are having to use force to defend themselves and maintain even a shred of credibility. Some, like the British and French in former Yugoslavia, are prepared to accept the challenge, and can and will live back. Others are more reluctant.

This week the UN Under-Secretary General for Peacekeeping Operations, Kofi Annan, ordered the commander of the 2,400 Italian troops in Somalia to be removed. In his turn General Bruno Loré said the mission has changed beyond recognition from the UN mandate. What the US forces condemned "Operation Restore Hope" has become "get the warlord", principally General Farah Aidid.

The message from Somalia and Bosnia is that UN forces have to be prepared to make war, or threaten it, to stand a chance of establishing peace. But many contingents do not believe it is their task and want to go home.

With the operations in Somalia, former Yugoslavia and Cambodia now roughly a year old, it must be time for the UN Secretary General to draw up his half-term report on their progress, and in particular on the performance of the contingents of the different nations.



MOROCCANS well respected, despite their appearance, they have treated thousands at their Mogadishu hospital

□ BOSNIA

THE performance of many of the 30 and more contingents in the 74,000-strong UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in former Yugoslavia ranges from the frightening to the farcical. In Croatia members of the Nigerian battalion were removed after being caught drug dealing with the local Mafia in the Karlovac region. The Nepalese arrived with the no vehicles, were provided with them and driving lessons by the Germans. The Russian battalion serving in the sector round Osijek and the rubble that was once Vukovar successfully compounded the Croat's injuries with insult. After his tour the battalion commander, a colonel, returned as a "special military adviser" to the occupying Serbs — who presented him with a new BMW car.

But Bosnia has been the real test of nerve and patience for the UNPROFOR contingents, now isolated in the worsening three-way fight between Serbs, Croats and Muslims. The Ukrainians in Sarajevo have emulated the Russians, indulging in bartering and shopping and trading in pornographic videos. The 8800 they earn a month is a Croat's ransom back home, a place few are keen to see again in a hurry. The Egyptians in Sarajevo came to Bosnia, snow and froze — even in the height of summer last August. They are the least active of

the contingents, as much victims as the people of Sarajevo themselves.

The mood of reluctance pervades the smaller contingents, the Dutch, Danes, Belgians and Spanish. The Canadians have recently been blockaded in their compounds by Muslims angry that they should have invited two local Croat commanders to their Canada Day celebrations on July 1. The Belgians and the Dutch resent the British and the French, who they believe are too willing to fight. A Belgian logistics officer once pleaded "personal reasons" for not allowing a Belgian aid convoy to cross from Serbia to Tuzla under British military escort. The Dutch Logistics Battalion give the impression of being true nine to five soldiers. "One evening we couldn't get them to complete a mission," said a British officer, "because they said five o'clock was knocking off time, when they went home for tea."

The Dutch, Belgians, Canadians and Spanish would like to go home. The Spanish Foreign Legion came in last autumn flourishing brochures explaining how they earned their sobriquet of "the Bridegrooms of Death". Now they are grooms waiting in the ante-chamber, excluded from their main patronising area of Mostar, Jablanica and Konjic. They have lost six soldiers killed and more wounded. Their wheeled armoured carriers have proved particularly vulnera-

ble to rocket-propelled grenades. Two weeks ago they were ordered out of Mostar by the commanders of the Croat HVO militia. Their performance on patrol has not been adventurous. Asked if the Spaniards knew which local forces were leading the offensive in Jablanica, the unit public relations officer replied: "No, because our men could not see anything — the firing was heavy so they couldn't look out of the hatches of the APCs."

□ CAMBODIA

IN Cambodia, where the largest UN peacekeeping force is now deployed, national stereotypes seem to have come unstuck, however. For the first time the Japanese sent abroad with the UN a contingent of police and a battalion of troops. The police panicked after one was murdered, and fled to the capital Phnom Penh. This was followed by a request from Tokyo to "be deployed to a safer area". The battalion did slightly better in the most secure province of Takeo, but they insisted on bringing everything Japanese with them, from bath houses to salted plums.

Worst behaved were the Bulgarians, who blow their £50 a day allowance on fast bikes and brothels. Scores were sent home for their lawlessness, including rape of Cambodian women. Prince Siha-nouk's private secretary reflected

"It would have been better to have a professional force, perhaps only from Western countries."

By common consent, the most successful contingent was the Uruguayan, who struck a real rapport with the people of the jungle in the poorest province of Ratanak.

□ SOMALIA

IN Somalia, there is little sign of the operation drawing to an end in harmonious circumstances. So far more UN soldiers have been lost there than since operations in the Congo in 1961, when 34 African soldiers were lost in one night.

Worst casualties have been taken by the Pakistanis, who suffered 24 dead on June 5. But the Pakistanis are regarded well for their toughness, not to say ruthlessness.

Similarly the Italians are respected as the former colonial power, and the ability to negotiate where others have failed by force — a characteristic they showed in the Multi National Force in Lebanon from 1982 to 1984. The Pakistanis and the Italians, with more than 6,000 troops in Mogadishu, do most of the heavy work on the ground. They take the responsibility and the blame for mistakes. Both would like more say in military planning, which is hogged by the Americans.

Third World contingents, some described as very efficient, are relegated to a supporting role outside the capital, though the Moroccans, with a field hospital opposite the UN compound in Mogadishu, are highly respected by the Somalis.

The lack of command and co-ordination from the force HQ in both Somalia and Bosnia shows that for the UN peacekeeping in the general anarchy of the new world disorder is still a Custeria activity. The staff at UN HQ under Under-Secretary General Kofi Annan is too small to manage 14 major operations across the globe. In those operations the best trained armies and their contingents must be allowed to lead, command and co-ordinate. This is the consensus of officers now on the ground in Croatia and Bosnia, the first UN operation in Europe. National foibles and failures have broken cohesion in the command of UNPROFOR in Bosnia, much the same appears to be happening in Somalia.

The British appeal to be applying lessons from Northern Ireland, and the French from peacekeeping in their colonies from the Pacific to the Caribbean. This means the reasonable application of force of fighting back which required. Officially the British have shot dead one militant but privately the figure is put as high as 20 by some British Army sources.

If the UN forces stand still and do nothing, they will become the prime targets. That is the message for their national contingents from Mostar to Mogadishu.

Additional reporting by Hugo Gordon and Scott Peterson

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'We have sufficient vision to avoid mistakes such as those committed in the rest of Africa'

Fighting fit at the dawn of democracy

Nelson Mandela, who will turn 75 tomorrow, was in reflective mood when he spoke to **David Beresford** about his speech from the dock, a lost marriage, controversial friends and strange bedfellows

DAY had just broken across the yellow mounds of the East Rand when he walked in, tall and stately as ever in a grey suit, his smile of greeting coming comfortably to the now familiar creased face so long hidden on Robben Island.

Mr Mandela still gets up at 6 o'clock in response to an internal clock implanted by the regimen of prison days. He has had to give up the 6 o'clock jog through the leafy streets surrounding his home in Johannesburg's affluent northern suburbs, his security men insisting it is just too dangerous after the assassination of his half-apprentice Chris Hani. Instead he pedals to nowhere through the pre-dawn hours on an exercise bike, the lidless habit of training apparent in his slim figure and easy stride.

The austerity of his office, on the 10th floor of the skyscraper in central Johannesburg which houses ANC headquarters, also recalls the prison years. On a table a big cake iced in the colours of the ANC wishes him a happy 75th birthday. The coldly political motif seems to symbolise a life that has been robbed of the personal, transformed by the demands of history into a public possession.

Against a wall a row of books waits precisely behind the glass front of a display cupboard, a collected works of Shakespeare prominent among them. His large wooden desk sits solidly on the beige wall-to-wall carpeting. Two bronze statues on the surface: what looks like a Henry Moore and another of a man emerging phoenix-like from raw earth.

He confessed that he did not know what they were and bent to read the plaque under the phoenix figure, discovering a dedication to the struggle of the oppressed peoples of the world by Ayatollah Khomeini.

The only other ornamentation on the desk are two silver picture frames, one of a grand child, the other containing a photograph of him with his children and a smiling Winnie.

It is a melancholy reminder of the emotional tragedy. Insiders say he still hides a passion for her, nursing his grief in a solitary existence outside the limelight, his home life enlivened by little more than the conversation of bodyguards.

"Nelson and Winnie: it was one of the great romances of the world..." I prompted, nudging into forbidden territory. She must have had an important place in those 75 years? He grins and nods. "She obviously is a great lady with a great deal of steel in her. But unfortunately our marriage is a marriage just by name," he said, repeating the phrase as I to convince himself.

The angry star of an African morning is blocked by Venetian blinds shielding the big picture windows. They look south and east, towards the townships of Kaitshong and Tokoza where lives are daily being tossed on the pyre of the liberation struggle. He once offered his own life in the cause, of course, and I reminded him of the concluding words he used 30 years ago, in a courtroom in Pretoria. "I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die."

MR MANDELA can be wooden in his speech, conscious of the need to offer clear definitions. But the stiffness evaporates as his mind drifts back to the Rivonia trial and the moment when the judge was contemplating his execution. "I drafted this speech and brought it to my colleagues (his co-accused). We discussed it and they made a number of alterations and we took it to our lawyers."

The lawyers were horrified by the famous last paragraph. Mr Mandela recalled, warning that it will be delivered in court "they will take them and hang them straightaway". The Ob-

server's Anthony Sampson was attempting the trial and he was asked to rewrite it, but his version was rejected by the prisoners, who believed that they were going to be hanged anyway. "We felt that we must go down under a cloud of glory; it was of no use compromising with that last paragraph." The defence team capitulated and the world heard one of the great political testaments of the 20th century.

The speech justified the ANC's decision to turn to armed struggle. In what circumstances, I now asked, was the recourse to violent resistance justified? What about the Basques, the IRA, or even Afrikaners threatening violence in defence of what they call their right to self-determination? Cautiously for a man who had 27 years in which to contemplate the principle which led to his incarceration, he did not appear to have formulated a simple answer. He explained that the ANC had no alternative once the government "decided to close all channels of peaceful struggle". The Afrikaner was well represented at the present multi-party negotiations, he pointed out, and progress was being made there.

"I am prepared to recommend to my organisation that we should do something to accommodate the demand for an Afrikaner area within the system of regionalism and I think therefore, in those circumstances, there is no reason to resort to arms."

Reminded of the controversy to Britain over his advice to London to negotiate with the IRA, he indignantly pointed out that the ANC had laid down its arms and talked to its enemy, the government. "It is successful and it is therefore natural for me to say that in similar conflicts peaceful negotiations should be used. It was in this spirit that I made the suggestion that the British government should talk to the IRA."

And what of Western criticism of his support for the likes of Fidel Castro and Colonel

Muammar Gaddafi? "When we started the armed struggle, our then leader, Comrade Oliver Tambo, first went to the Western capitals to ask for support. The West would not allow him even to see the most junior government officials. They were supporting the apartheid regime and not interested in our case."

"But when he went to Cuba, when he went to Gaddafi, they received him with open arms," he recalled. "No freedom fighter of integrity would now abandon his friends who helped him in hard times. He welcome new friends. The Western powers have done a great deal to put us in an even stronger position. But we welcome their support without now rejecting the support of our old friends."

SINCE the winds of change began blowing through Africa, the continent has been riven by civil wars and coups and its governments have become notorious for maladministration, incompetence and corruption. How did Mr Mandela answer fears that, with liberation, South Africa might go the same way?

Africa's problems had to be considered in the context of long years of colonial exploitation and oppression, he replied. Africa was changing with the acceptance of multi-party democracy, which was going to lead to more settled conditions on the continent. In South Africa, he added, "we have sufficient vision to avoid mistakes such as those which have been committed in the rest of Africa."

What of his personal campaign to have the franchise extended to 14-year-old children? It was not intended for next year's election, said Mr Mandela. "What I am doing is to open a debate. I am confident that I am going to fight and win that battle." Voters above the age of 18 had failed the country in the past, he said. "They put into power a government which initiated the most brutal form of racial oppression. Fourteen times they returned them to power."

But was that not due to their race rather than their age? "The result is the same. They have condemned the country to a system of government which brought about the most serious

hardships for the majority. That is totally inexcusable whatever the motivation was."

What was his view of the "oppressors" in South Africa, the Afrikaners? "There is a great deal of hostility against the Afrikaners from blacks for understandable reasons," he said. "And yet we can't deny the fact that they have nevertheless played a very positive role." Citing the names of anti-apartheid activists like Bram Fischer and Beyers Naude, he said their contribution to the struggle "is why I tend to look sympathetically at the demand for a homeland for Afrikaners". The demand was unacceptable, he hurriedly added, because it would be followed by similar claims from other "ethnic nations" and would lead to the dismemberment of South Africa.

"But I believe, as an individual," he said, "that we should accommodate that demand within the regional system which we have accepted."

And Chief Mangosuthu Buthe? Mr Mandela hesitated, before saying diplomatically: "I think he has a background of achievements as an individual and could make a positive contribution towards the major national issues facing the country. I consider it regrettable that he should play a role which is regarded generally by blacks as that of a spoiler."

Asked about his own status as hero, Mr Mandela demurred at the tag, recalling a recent conversation "with a young lady". "She asked me: 'When were you born?' I said long ago. She said: 'But when?' I said: 'I have forgotten, but long, long ago.' And she said: 'Why did you go to jail?' I said they sent me there. 'Who sent you there?' I said: 'The people who don't like me.' How long did you stay there?' I said it was a very long time. 'Was it one or two years?' I said: 'No, it was more.' And she said: 'You must be a very stupid old man.' She said so without blinking an eyelid and after that she just continued conversing, as if she had paid me a tribute. She is about six years old."

© The South African government has declared two Victorian buildings on Robben Island national monuments. They were built in about 1893 and have been listed for their architectural and historical value.



Dogged diplomacy... The ANC president's personal style has changed the political landscape and pointed the way to a new South Africa

PHOTOGRAPH BY GUY LAWRENCE