

Squatters face the boot from land owned by KwaZulu MP

Sunday Tribune
TOMORROW is D-Day for more than 31 families squatting on land owned by KwaZulu MP for Umlazi, Winnington Sabelo.

They are threatened with eviction after being served an ultimatum to leave his property.

The dispute centres on a notice issued to the squatters and signed by Mr Sabelo, an Inkatha Central Committee member, on June 15 giving them seven days to comply, failing which they would be forcibly ejected by bulldozers.

In the interim, however, Mr Sabelo met a delegation of the squatters to inform them of a reprieve to July 2 "out of pity" and "to avoid confrontation".

Ed Tillett

However, a lawyer from the Legal Resources Centre, Peter Rutsch, who is handling the case, said: "It's clear Sabelo is being unsympathetic despite critical overcrowding."

The pocket of land in question — in Section H, Umlazi — is home for about 150 squatters who face a bleak future if Mr Sabelo carries out his threat to demolish their shelters.

Mr Sabelo, the landlord of the property, said verbal notices were given to the squatters more than three months ago informing them of the decision to build a housing project on the plot and requesting them to vacate the land by

the end of June.

He said the squatters had moved on to his property without permission.

Mr Sabelo said he was in a dilemma because a contract had been signed with the developers and house buyers: "Bonds and title deeds have already been approved. If I renege on the contract I will be sued for breach of contract."

Mr Sabelo said he had referred the matter to the deputy township manager of Umlazi, RM Mkhwebane, who had informed the KwaZulu government where "the matter was receiving attention". To date, however, the community is still awaiting a response.

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1 July 1990

Vasantha
Angamuthu

SINCE February two of the most strident voices in extra-parliamentary politics have been remarkably silent.

Both the United Democratic Front and the Mass Democratic Movement have seemed content to be out of the public eye.

Their future has looked decidedly unsure as the African National Congress moves towards a consolidation of its forces

inside the country — forces that since 1983 had rallied behind a UDF and an MDM banner.

The ANC now talks of a tripartite revolutionary alliance — the ANC, the South African Communist Party and the Congress of South African Trade Unions. Nowhere is the UDF or the MDM mentioned.

ANC and UDF spokesmen have stressed that there should be no debate about the future of the MDM since it was never formally constituted.

And the UDF has already come clean with a stated position regarding its future, saying most of its organisational work has been overtaken by the ANC.

UDF publicity secretary and ANC Southern Natal regional committee convener Terror Lekota said the UDF had taken a decision to transform itself into a civic umbrella with all local civic associations as its affiliates.

He said civics, trade unions and the health sector among others would have to remain separate from the mainstream political organisation — the ANC — specially if the ANC became the government.

The future of the MDM, however, is less clear; some say it will remain while others say it will be overtaken by a new broad anti-apartheid front.

With the unbanning of the ANC, the argument has been that there is no need for a front within a front. However, Mr Lekota stressed that should the ANC become part of the Constituent Assembly or even the government, it would need

UDF and MDM shift into a silent strategy

to have organisations that would ensure it practised the democratic principles which were the basis of its existence.

"The ANC wants to remain a mass organisation and be a political party. We cannot assume that should the ANC come to power then the work of mobilising the people so that they have a direct role to play in drafting the laws of the country ends.

"People would still need to remain organised in the civic structures, the youth organisations, the trade unions and the various other organisations," Mr Lekota said.

UDF conditions that affiliates should support the Freedom Charter would not necessarily be a pre-requisite for organisations in the new front.

An ANC official said a broad front was needed to facilitate mass action.

Nonetheless, as a new front took shape there would be no logic in maintaining the UDF or even the MDM in their present forms.

The official also anticipated the incorporation into the ANC of UDF political affiliates, such as the Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee, the Transvaal and Natal Indian Congresses.

For now the UDF and the MDM remain silent partners of the ANC. In the next few months, or even weeks, the transformation of the UDF will be complete and the MDM will take on a new character as a broader front of all organisations — fundamentally opposed to apartheid while not necessarily sharing the same policies as the ANC.

16/11/11

ANC slams State over fugitive right-winger

VETERAN ANC leader Alfred Nzo yesterday slated the Government for not doing enough to bring right-wing fugitive Piet "Skiet" Rudolph to justice.

"They claim to have the best police force in the world but they can't bring him to justice," said Mr Nzo, secretary-general of the ANC, on his first visit back to his hometown of Alexandra, near Johannesburg.

He urged President De Klerk to disarm the right-

By VICTOR KHUPISO

wing "for the sake of peace" and warned there was no chance of the ANC halting the armed struggle if the Government failed to do this.

"The State allows whites to have arms and bases — not to defend the country, but to kill innocent blacks. So the ANC has to defend itself against possible attacks. In the new South Africa there won't be any place for such people."

"There would be no need for us to have AK47 rifles if the Government disarmed the right-wingers."

At the impromptu media conference, Mr Nzo also made it clear that disputes between the Government and the ANC over the term "political prisoner" were in the offing.

According to Mr Nzo, the Government defined political prisoners as members of banned organisations or convicted of politically motivated acts.

Challenge

He said: "The ANC definition of political prisoners included thousands of so-called security prisoners."

He challenged the statement made by the State President that the ANC was dragging its feet on negotiations.

He said the ANC was ready to talk, but there were still obstacles, such as the release of political prisoners and the lifting of the state of emergency in Natal.

● An unidentified man was shot outside the stadium shortly after the rally began. Speakers claim he was shot by a policeman, but this could not be confirmed yesterday.

Distressed at report on charity school

I WAS most disturbed to read Liz Clarke's piece (Sunday Tribune, June 17) about the investigation into the Brown's School for handicapped children in Pine-town.

This school, to my knowledge, has been and is being funded with Natal Cerebral Palsy Association money which has been generously given by people like me.

The school should be run by staff who have only the best interests of the children at heart. It is therefore rather disturbing to read that there is talk of mismanagement and professional misconduct.

Surely the public has a right to know what the findings are that followed the investigation by top officials of the Natal Education Department and Department of Education and Culture? The allegations must have been pretty serious for a top-level investi-

gation of this magnitude to have been called.

Unfortunately the delaying tactics now serve only to illustrate that the findings were so serious that — as Liz Clarke has put it — they have ramifications in organisations and structures far beyond the actual school.

Does this mean the Natal Cerebral Palsy Association is involved?

I like to assume that most of every rand that I give goes towards the children.

I suggest the authorities in the Natal Cerebral Palsy Association clear up the Brown's School mess before asking for any more public money to fund other projects.

Glenwood

"Up in arms"

Hope after ANC reaches out

ON Wednesday last week, the African National Congress came to the white heartland of Berea.

The 63 people who arrived at our home — not "the 30 or so" Insider mentioned in the Sunday Tribune of June 24 — listened and questioned and the fears and ignorance of decades began to evaporate.

It was not a big thing to do, but the hope for reconciliation lies in other "tupperware" par-

ties spreading across the Berea, across Umbilo, across Durban North, Yellowwood Park, the Bluff, Chatsworth, Phoenix and Amanzimtoti.

Reconciliation will remain a slogan unless the strangers that apartheid has made of all of us get together and talk.

It is easy for the ANC to pack rallies of supporters in soccer stadiums in Soweto and elsewhere, but to move out of its natural constitu-

ency and talk person-to-person with those who might still be sceptical, even hostile, is right.

South Africa has always lauded its pioneers and the new South Africa demands that each of us takes on the challenge of exploring the unknown. Viva le Tupperware!

Incidentally, we invited 30, 62 came — 23 of whom were turned away for lack of space.

Cheryl Johnson

Berea

Why does South Africa negotiate with terrorists?

Sunday Tribune 1/7/90



Odile Harrington: why still in jail?

LIKE many other concerned South Africans, I have some serious questions.

☐ Why are South Africans like Odile Harrington and Isaiah Moyo — sentenced for spying — still in jail in Zimbabwe and Zambia?

☐ Why did our government not insist on their being released as a condition for its freeing Nelson Mandela and other African National Congress members?

☐ Why does our government make concession after compromise without ever gaining anything substantial in return?

☐ Why are those terrorists convicted of bombings, arson and necklacing murders called "political prisoners"? They are not in jail for their political opinions but for violence and terrorism.

☐ Why are the cowardly ANC assassins who set

landmines in farm roads, limpet mines in shopping centres and car bombs in public streets called "the military wing" of the ANC? Surely those who throw grenades and petrol bombs into bedrooms at night are not involved in an "armed struggle" but in terrorism?

☐ What does "negotiating" with men like Joe Slovo have to do with reform?

"The Israelis don't negotiate with the Palestinian

Liberation Organisation, the British don't negotiate with the Irish Republican Army; the Germans don't negotiate with the Baader Meinhof; the French don't negotiate with the Red Army Faction; the Spanish don't negotiate with the Basque terrorists.

Surely our government can make all the reforms its voters mandate without abrogating the rule of law or "negotiating" with terrorists?

Surely the continued unrest, strikes, terrorism, crime wave and sanctions show us the inevitable result of doing what is popular and not what is right.

The result of appeasement and compromise is chaos. May our country seek to please God and not America. May we go to the Bible for our solutions — not to terrorists.

Peter Hammond
Newlands

Wayward

SUNDAY TRIBUNE
1 JULY 1990

Winnie, queen of the might



Marching to different drums... Nelson and Winnie Mandela in the United States.

Ramsay Milne and Deon Delpoit

THE contrasting militancy of Winnie Mandela against that of husband Nelson has spoilt the stage-managed presentation of the ANC's leading couple to the United States.

Her controversial comments this week have been condemned in South Africa and observers are surprised she has been allowed to speak at all.

It is 11 days since the Mandelas arrived in the United States. Mr Nelson Mandela, tall, regal, seemingly restrained and "moderate," with wife, Winnie, riding beside him in the garish "Mandela-mobile" that carried the couple through the New York.

The tour has easily met the ANC's objectives, in thanking the US public for their solidarity, keeping up pressure by getting legislators to maintain sanctions and also netting some R27 million for the struggle.

But much of the orchestrated New York and Boston euphoria that projected the Mandelas as deities without blemish has since dimmed.

It is their flaws rather than their images that

are now being examined.

Mr Mandela is under close scrutiny, as much in Congress as elsewhere, where it matters, as a persistent adherent of "armed struggle", a grateful admirer of three of the world's worst remaining terrorist thugs — the PLO's Yasser Arafat, Cuba's Fidel Castro and Libya's Muammar Ghaddafi — and a man still strongly suspected of being a 1950s doctrinaire communist.

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But more than anyone, Winnie Mandela has ruined the show.

Mrs Mandela told a US television audience black schools were "legitimate military targets" because they were Government facilities and provided inferior education.

She totally believed in the armed struggle and said she harboured a great deal more bitterness toward the "Afrikaner ruling class" and had no reason to trust the integrity of President FW de Klerk.

Her remarks are in sharp contrast to those of Mr Mandela who has emphasised repeatedly that he believes in the integrity of Mr De Klerk and the present leadership of the National Party.

The ANC deputy president has also said overseas he believed he should hold talks with Inkatha president and Chief Minister of KwaZulu Mangosuthu Buthelezi while Mrs Mandela told

Americans that Inkatha worked hand in glove with the SA Government to kill opponents of apartheid.

Mrs Mandela's instructions from the ANC were to be the decorative wife and do nothing more than "smile and wave".

But, to the potential embarrassment of the ANC, platforms have been offered to Mrs Mandela in the US that would not be available in South

Africa — and she has made use of them.

Elsewhere on the super-star tour, Mrs Mandela, has at times been playful. An exuberant Mrs Mandela wowed her hosts and her entourage when she went to a New York boutique on an hour-long shopping spree. Choosing three expensive outfits, she emerged from the change-room clad in one and whooped and jumped.

An ANC aide then asked the boutique owner if he would give Mrs

Mandela a "consideration" for her purchases. The owner pointedly obliged.

Mrs Mandela got all three dresses free. The bad taste was not hers. But she had no difficulty in accepting the gratuity.

But Mrs Mandela's militancy was never far removed. On her second day in the US, she urged a Harlem audience to "be there with us when we go back to the bush to fight the white man".

A day later she repeated the exhortation, assuring another group that "if anything goes wrong in South Africa, I will be the first to go back to the bush, take up arms and fight" — a statement likely to be taken into account when Americans, the euphoria of the Mandela visit over, evaluate Mr Mandela's refusal to forego violence as a means to the ANC's ends.

Not all the attention has been adulatory, among the criticisms came from a New York newspaper soon after the Mandelas arrival: "Nelson Mandela shares the same political philosophy as Yasser Arafat. He also has close ties to Libyan

madman Muammar Ghaddafi. "Winnie Mandela's bodyguard is found guilty in the death of a black teenager in her house. Witnesses have testified that Mrs Mandela was

present when this young man was murdered. She is alleged to have taken part in the beating. "Now we will be giving the Mandelas a ticker-tape parade. God help us."

Stayaway raises fears of violence across SA

POLICE and the public are bracing for expected clashes between rival political groups during this week's Cosatu-inspired marches and work stayaway.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok warned yesterday that incidents of intimidation had already begun — despite all parties having endorsed a “live-and-let-live” charter drawn up by the SA Council of Churches.

The ANC, Cosatu and the UDF have called for demonstrations to pressurise the Government into “ending the violence” in Natal, disbanding the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly and suspending the KwaZulu police.

But the PAC and Nactu, a trade union federation, have opposed the stayaway.

Outrage

They say they weren't consulted and that the protests will merely deepen divisions.

Some Inkatha members, outraged by what they see as an attempt to isolate them, are reportedly girding themselves for trouble.

Police fear the factional violence in Natal could spread countrywide as rival groups pick sides during the stayaway.

Mr Vlok warned yesterday that it was now clear there was a real threat of serious confrontation and violence this week.

“According to information, incitement and intimidation of innocent workers to obey the call for the stayaway have already started.

“This in itself could lead to renewed violence and bloodshed. Should this happen, the responsibility will surely rest with the organisers,” he said.

Earlier this week the SACC, using a fax machine, won the endorsement of all parties for a statement promising there would not be

Sunday Times Reporters

intimidation of people with opposing views.

The “fax pax” came after talks between SACC general secretary Frank Chikane and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi in Johannesburg.

Natal police commissioner General J C Van Niekerk has assured workers that the security forces will do all in their power to protect people wishing to go to work.

Policemen and troops will be stationed on major transport routes and helicopters will be used to monitor possible disturbances.

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Inkatha sets out to put on a bold new face

THIS BURE 1-07-90

Deon Delpont

INKATHA intends turning itself into a powerful non-racial political party that will have wide appeal to Natal's whites.

At a time when the African National Congress and Congress of South African Trade Unions have been trying to isolate Inkatha president Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the movement is going on a public relations offensive.

The stayaway organised for this week is part of an acknowledged strategy by the ANC to force President FW de Klerk to rein in Inkatha and disband their only rival powerbase, Inkatha's impis and the KwaZulu Police who fall under Dr Buthelezi as the homeland's Minister of Police.

But the launching comes only a few weeks after the potentially damaging departure from the Inkatha camp of former secretary general Dr Oscar Dhlomo, a much liked politician with credibility in extra-parliamentary circles and in Pretoria and a skilled negotiator.

Inkatha is to hold a "workshop" at Johannesburg's Carlton Hotel on July 12 with editors and senior journalists in an attempt to sell the image of the "New Inkatha."

Dr Buthelezi has said Inkatha is in the process of "transforming itself from a liberation

tions ahead of us and their outcome reflect, ultimately, the genuine feelings, aims and aspirations, of all people and therefore must be truly representative of the wishes of the whole population."

It claims to have a membership of 1,7 million, but this is disputed by observers who point out civil servants in KwaZulu are pressured into becoming members.

Observers claim Inkatha is losing support partly because Natal's black population is moving from rural areas to urban areas and as their values change from traditional to modern, people are more likely to support the African National Congress.

Studies show the younger people are also likely to support the ANC, and in the greater Durban area about 40 percent of the people are below the age of 14.

Admiration

Within Natal business circles there has long been admiration for Dr Buthelezi for his pro-free enterprise and anti-sanctions approach and the ANC's chief salesman in the area, Mr Terror Lekota, whose is governor of the Southern Natal region, has a difficult job trying to sell the ANC view.

An indication of how business feels came this week when it was reported that Natal Chamber of Industries president Brian Walleit described the politicisation of the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu) as representing the biggest threat to business.

He told business leaders at a lunch in Durban this week that he believed Cosatu had grown tired of acting as a "front" for the ANC while the political organisation was in exile and now was feeling the muscle it derived from its worker support.

"They have developed their own agenda and there is a school of thought which maintains that the strings are being pulled by the communists," said Mr Walleit.

The business leader said some people were arguing whether the business community was right to back Dr Buthelezi and questioned whether he was not another Bishop Muzorewa of Rhodesia. People had to make up their own minds, he said.

Having quietly dropped previous preconditions for negotiation over the violence with the ANC and basking in the approval of many in the business community for opposing the stayaway, Dr Buthelezi can expect at least some financial support for his campaign from big business.

LIVE LETTERS

Box 1090 Johannesburg 2000

SUNDAY TIMES

Lessons for the ANC in Zambia

1 JULY 1990

ZAMBIA's civil unrest is the result of economic strains. According to the Zambian Central Statistics Office, the country's inflation rate rose to 122 percent by the end of last year.

This was largely due to the lifting of price controls and devaluation of the kwacha.

President Kenneth Kaunda has finally admitted to his people the great deterioration in their standards of living, health and educational institutions, rising unemployment, a formidable crime rate, rampant black-market trading and acute shortages of consumer goods.

Thirty years of Kaunda's state socialism and humanist ideology has brought about this regression. According to the Financial Times, "Zambia's peasants are heading back into history".

Can the ANC not learn from Zambia's disastrous internal policies? — ECONOMIST, Pretoria.

A volatile cocktail

SUNDAY TIMES
1 JULY 1990

HOW can a work stayaway possibly contribute towards stopping the violence in Natal? It is much more likely to exacerbate the situation.

It is hard to escape a suspicion that the whole thing has more to do with a contest for political turf than with a sincere wish to reduce tensions in a riven province.

Promoters of the stayaway are the ANC and its affiliate, Cosatu. Opposed to it are Inkatha, the PAC and Azapo. It is a volatile cocktail which has highly explosive potential. Non-aligned Natalians — white, Indian and black — are re-

duced to the role of apprehensive bystanders.

To say, as Mr Walter Sisulu did this week, that a stayaway is "the only weapon at our disposal" is nonsense. The ANC should explain why Natal's problems have not been taken to the negotiating table. Admittedly, it takes two to tango — or not to, as the case may be — but one way and another there has been little constructive tango-ing.

The ANC and Cosatu will not be able to escape blame if matters go tragically wrong this week.

movement to a powerful political party".

The public face of the new image will be presented at the Inkatha annual conference at Ulundi two days later when the party will be opened to all South Africans.

One of the selling points will be that Inkatha is already assured of a place at the negotiating table.

Whites who are jittery about the African National Congress view that some assets should be nationalised and that the armed struggle should continue will find Inkatha has some appeal.

"Inkatha and its leadership are deeply committed to a multi-party, non-racial, pro-enterprise, lasting democracy for South Africa. We seek peace, unity and reconciliation," Dr Buthelezi said.

Inkatha was "determined that the crucial negotia-

SUNDAY

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1 July

1990

By PATRICIA CHENEY
Washington

The Mandela road show is running into a bumpy patch

FOR some Americans, it seems, Nelson Mandela stopped walking on water this week and sank to the muddy bottom of mere mortality.

The loveable "moral leader of the world" is now seen, in the words of one commentator, as "a very militant, aggressive, tough guy."

It's not that Mandela has changed, but the perception of him — and perception is everything in the United States — definitely has.

After the ecstatic media coverage afforded the road show in New York, Washington's newspapers were much more sober, even irreverent.

The conservative Washington Times suggested tongue-in-cheek that while Mr Mandela was in the capital he should "go to the 9.30 Club to hear that hot new skinhead group, Dead Baby in a Blender," and that he should go to the Department of Motor Vehicles and wait in line for a driver's licence.

"The advantage is that by the time he's through, he will be President of South Africa," the Times chortled.

Winnie and Nelson Mandela also found themselves sharing the limelight

with Mayor Marion Barry, whose alleged sexual and drug-related antics were being recounted in a local courtroom even as Mr Mandela was addressing Congress and lecturing the President.

On Tuesday night, people who had paid \$1 000 (R2 600) to shake Mandela's hand at a rally found themselves shunted aside when Barry decided to make a surprise appearance on the podium, clad in the by-now obligatory Kente scarf and brandishing a clenched fist.

They were not the only ones disappointed. A hastily arranged rally at lunchtime on Tuesday at Washington's Freedom Plaza fell flat when spectators gathered in the noonday sun had to be satisfied with a glimpse of their hero as his limo sped

from the Capitol to the Madison Hotel.

"I think I saw his grey hair," one stalwart boasted.

Wednesday's wreath-laying at Martin Luther King Jun's grave in Atlanta was attended not just by the invited, but also by a small clutch of Ku Klux Klansmen, who wanted to show that they were not impressed.

The International Freedom Foundation, a rightwing think-tank, ran a full-page ad in the Atlanta Constitution comparing King's words on non-violence with Mandela's words on violence.

"Mr Mandela," the ad trumpeted, "heed Dr King's advice!"

People gathered on the parade route waited not so patiently for Mandela, who was two hours late because, reportedly, Mrs Mandela

had yet to finish her lunch.

As the parched crowd waited in the heat, an activist exhorted them not to drink Coca-Cola, Seven-Up or Pepsi because these were all distributed in South Africa.

The nadir, however, was Miami, hotbed of anti-Castro feeling and retirement haven for Jewish America. No official greeting delegations here, no keys to the city. Just a cold shoulder by five Cuban-American mayors, including Miami Mayor Xavier Suarez.

A battle almost broke out between Mandela groupies and protesters carrying signs that read: "Mr Mandela, do you know how many people your friend Castro has killed just for asking for the right to speak as you are here?"

STARS ... actor Danny Glover and Nelson Mandela embrace at the ANC's Los Angeles dinner



But Miami was just a stopover for the Mandela circus. Almost before he could say "Amandla," Mandela was heading for Detroit aboard a plane chartered from that captain of industry Donald Trump.

By week's end the Mandela machine had reached Los Angeles, where a R2 600-a-plate dinner with Hollywood stars and a concert attended by 78 000 people raised around R3-million for the African National Congress.

The concert was Mr

Mandela's second-last major public appearance of a breakneck eight-city tour of the United States.

At the fundraising dinner there was an emotional moment when former world heavyweight boxing champion Muhammad Ali and Mr Mandela embraced, each somewhat ailed at meeting the other.

Stars such as Harry Belafonte, Sydney Poitier, Diara Ross, Richard Dreyfuss, Gregory Peck, Danny Glover, Quincy Jones, Cicely

Tyson and Jane Fonda were at the bash.

Mr Mandela's message to Los Angeles was familiar: maintain sanctions until apartheid has gone, keep the pressure up even though a united, non-racial, non-sexist democratic system is near.

"We shall establish an order on the southern tip of Africa which is democratic and humane in nature.

"In that new South Africa the great divide between our people will collapse ... there will be neither whites nor blacks, just South Africans, free and proud."

Mr Mandela and his delegation was due to leave Los Angeles early yesterday for Oakland, near San Francisco.

From Oakland, the 71-year-old leader will fly directly to the Irish capital Dublin, where he will be the guest of Prime Minister Charles Haughey's government.

Mr Mandela's extensive Irish itinerary is expected to be severely shortened to allow him as much rest as possible before meeting British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher early next week in London.

How to halt national suicide

WHAT I wish to propose is absurd because it is rational. It will be rejected because it could work, whereas most proposals for managing the country would not enable us to run even a medium-sized grocery store with success.

Indeed, the current practice is to allow countries to be taken over by mobs of gangsters who extract as much loot as possible from their victims before they are expelled by their rivals.

Anyone who doubts this need only look at the history of South Africa or of any other country with similar ethnic differences.

The fact that we acquiesce in this system of government is a wonderful illustration of our capacity

to deceive ourselves. It rests upon our belief that "the people" should govern and that there is such a thing as "the people".

If there were a homogeneous "people" this would be unassailable. We could then determine whether 51 percent supported this or that, and reject the views of the other 49 percent. It would also be impossible for

a homogeneous people to exploit itself.

However, the moment we recognise the division of "the people" into factions, classes, ethnicities or religions, this theory of government collapses into a mess of contradictions.

These are resolved by turning to one of the perverted ideologies of the age, in which it is claimed that

some particular faction is really "the people", "the folk", "the working class", "the chosen race", or whatever else is sanctified by the current theory of political murder.

Psychologist Peter du Preez of the University of Cape Town comes up with a novel idea for designing a government that could work in the new SA



It also followed from this that "the leader" should be strong. If we are about to wage war on other members of society, then we had better have strong leaders.

They comfort us. Their strength is our strength. We experience exaltation when they are present. Like wolves, we howl in joy at the moon.

What I am proposing is that we leave these things behind as soon as possible. First, we should abandon our notion of "the people".

Diversity

What we have instead is society, made up of many different people doing many different things, belonging to many different organisations, and adopting many different points of view.

Recognition of this fact must be the basis of government. Instead of believing in uniformity or antagonism, we begin to recognise diversity and complementarity. That is the true basis of society; it distinguishes society from a mob.

Second, we should look for "weak" leaders. Any signs of "strength" in a leader, such as demands for unquestioning obedience, an inclination to tell us what to believe, or a vision of folk destiny, should immediately lead to the disqualification of that leader.

This will be difficult. There are few things we long for as much as obedi-

ence, being told what to think, and a part in destiny. Rejecting strong leaders will mean that we finally recognise our position, which is that in a world of nuclear, chemical and biological methods of mass killing we have to sacrifice glory if we are to survive.

This is immensely painful to a species whose first impulses on hearing martial music is to march off to heroic death. We will sacrifice anything if we can keep our strong leaders. Can we be ruled by weaklings? The answer is that if we can't be ruled by weaklings then we must be destroyed by the strong.

Scepticism and cowardice are our way to survival. It is almost impossible to imagine people having the moral strength to accept these new virtues when there are so many invitations to glorious suicide.

Without much hope, therefore, I wish to propose a scheme of government that will enable us to live as sceptically and ingloriously as, let us say, the Swiss. We cannot adopt their constitution, but we can look for solutions "in the Swiss spirit". Perhaps that sounds better.

In designing a constitution, let us accept that "the people", "races", "ethnic groups" etcetera are unacceptable foundations for government. Then what is?

Quite obviously, to those unblinkered by prejudice, people engage in a variety

of occupations and belong to a variety of organisations. They contribute to society in different ways.

If we were managing a large company, we would find it more useful to hear from representatives of the different functions, departments, or divisions of the company than from representatives of the different "races" or "ethnic groups".

The basis of a new constitution for South Africa arises from this. Purely for purposes of representation, we should vote according to

or affiliation. Thus, parliament should include representatives of the trade unions, professions, media, agriculture, employers, and whatever other affiliations seem necessary.

Each functional affiliation will elect representatives to a single-chamber parliament that will in turn elect the prime minister. Parliament could operate according to Westminster rules in all but its mode of election.

Let me spell out the concept at risk of repetition.

Each voter will have one, and only one, functional affiliation. The main affiliations (as we might term them) will be determined by negotiation.

The sole proviso is that these affiliations be based on function or contribution to the economy, and not on race, religion, ethnicity, gender or any other invidious distinction.

Uninspiring

Each affiliation will elect the same number of representatives to parliament. The prime minister, elected by parliament, will form a cabinet of its members and be responsible to it.

We can easily include a written constitution, a bill of rights and entrenched clauses to ensure that no temporary majority can tamper with the constitution.

What are the advantages of these constitutional proposals? Obviously, it reduces ethnicity and other invidious distinctions to their truly negligible role. Furthermore, they are uninspiring and not likely to lead to heroic massacre. Equally important is the fact that no faction could dominate permanently.

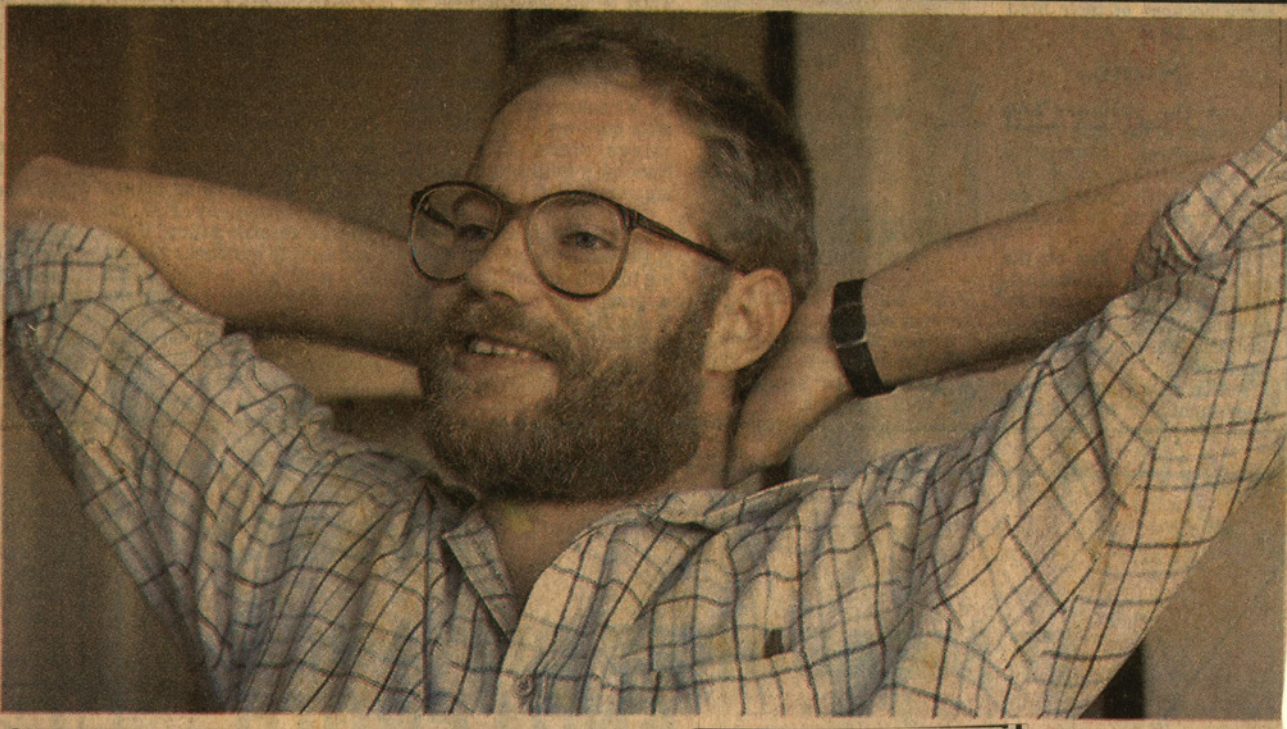
Dare one hope that we will prefer this system to all the emotionally satisfying but disastrous alternatives on offer?

ETHNIC SOLUTIONS ARE
A RECIPE FOR DISASTER

SUNDAY Times
1 JULY 1990

EXCLUSIVE: THE SUNDAY TIMES TALKS TO HEIN GROSSKOPF

ANC's Afrikaner soldier says: I want to go home



SMILING IN LUSAKA ... wanted man Hein Grosskopf, who says he regrets that 'people got hurt more than necessary'

HEIN GROSSKOPF wants to come home — and speak to the families of victims of the Krugersdorp bomb blast.

Yet the tall, intense, young Afrikaner who joined the ANC's armed struggle more than four years ago, remains enigmatic about whether or not he played a part in placing the bombs that killed and injured many people in the late 80s.

Grosskopf told the Sunday Times he would only admit or deny his involvement in the attacks once he was back in South Africa.

"When the struggle is over, I would have no problem in telling what I did and did not do," he said in Lusaka this week.

Inside his house in Zambia's troubled capital, Grosskopf (ANC codename "Aquino Stein") said he was a trained soldier and he appeared unconcerned about the price on his head.

Linked

After an explosion at the Krugersdorp Magistrate's Court in March 1988, which claimed three lives and injured 20 people, the police offered a R50 000 reward for his capture.

They also linked him to two other terrorist incidents — the May 1987 blast at the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court (four dead, 14 injured) and the bombing of Wits Command in July that same year (68 injured).

Grosskopf said he had no regrets about his life in exile, but he had an intense longing to return home.

He insisted that the photographer and I be blindfolded before we were taken by taxi to the safe house he occupies near Lusaka.

With us was Abraham Cilliers, a friend from his schooldays in Linden, Johannesburg, who was also blindfolded at the ANC's insistence. Like Grosskopf, Cilliers is a member of a distinguished Afrikaans literary family.

Accused

Inside his home, Grosskopf said that in all the time he had corresponded with his parents (his father Johannes is a professor at Stellenbosch University), they had never asked whether he had been responsible for the bomb attacks.

"After I was accused by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, one of my parents — I'm not sure which one — wrote and said I

should not even bother to confirm or deny his allegations."

Grosskopf has one fear about returning home — that his presence in South Africa might provoke right-wing attacks on him.

"My father wrote to me and said they very much wanted me to come home, but more important, only if I came back safely," he said.

He admitted he was scared by right-wing talk of revenge against him.

"I take what happened to Anton Lubowski in Windhoek very seriously. It scares me — I'd be a fool not to be."

Amnesty

In May AWB member Leonard Veenendal, who is being sought by Namibian police in connection with two murders, threatened that if Grosskopf was granted an amnesty to return to South Africa he would be eliminated by "special units".

Grosskopf said: "I'm aware that I'll be at risk when I go home. I'll have to protect myself and the people around me."

"I would like to meet Veenendal. I would not like to spend the rest of my life looking over my shoulder — not

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GROSSKOPF HOME SICK

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only for myself, but also for friends around me whom my presence may endanger.

"I like to think there will be a time when all the fighting will stop."

He warned, however, that it was not only his life that was at risk. "If friends at home think that Veenendal is a risk to me, they must realise that they would also be in danger. And their friends and their families."

Looking back over the last four-and-a-half years, when he fled South Africa without

word or trace, then did time in a Botswana jail and underwent military training in an ANC camp in Angola, Grosskopf said he had some regrets.

"I am sorry about the way things were done. People would have got hurt anyway. But this way people got hurt more than was necessary. I could have done everything differently," he said.

But Grosskopf has no second thoughts about his life in exile.

"If I was put in the same position as I was in 1986, I

would do the same things.

He abhors attacks on soft targets, like the Wimpy Bar bomb blasts.

"That has never been ANC policy," he said, but added: "If there had been 10 policemen in the Wimpy at the time, it would be different."

He foresaw a bloodbath if the aspirations and expectations of the ANC and its followers were dashed.

"If the negotiations fail, there is a real possibility that extremists on both sides will be uncontrollable — and we don't need that."

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Simon Barber

CREDIT is due to President George Bush and his Secretary of State James Baker for their handling of ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela. They refused to get swept up by the tidal wave. Albeit politely, they were even prepared to use the word "no".

Credit is also due to Mr Mandela for his reaction. With Jesse Jackson, Randall Robinson and company itching for an opportunity to savage the US administration — Robinson has already been insisting that, on SA, Mr Bush is merely Ronald Reagan warmed up — a lesser man might have been tempted to egg them on. Instead, he thanked the President for his support.

Mr Bush is a remarkable politician. Not even his announcement (on the day of the Mandela visit, as it happened) that he was ready to break his central 1988 campaign pledge and raise taxes is likely to dent his sturdy popularity. The manner in which he welcomed the ANC leader was a small but good example of how he does it.

THE standard procedure would have been for Mr Bush and his guest to make a few anodyne remarks before getting down to business. The meat is generally left for departure statements. Mr Bush reversed things, according to Mr Mandela the honour of a welcoming ceremony on the White House lawn and then using it to make publicly almost all the major points he intended to deliver later in private.

Stripped to its essentials, his technique was to offer Mr Mandela a slice of all-American apple pie and challenge him to reject it.

Contrary to the ill-chosen words of Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Herman Cohen, there was going to be no tilt towards the ANC. President F W de Klerk deserved applause,

DATELINE WASHINGTON



Mandela beats about the Bush — in vain

too. "We here in America walk in solidarity with all South Africans who seek, through non-violent means, democracy, human rights and freedom."

Therefore, if it expected full US solidarity, the ANC had to renounce violence and commit itself to "the concept of free markets and a productive private sector". It had also to demonstrate a convincing belief in multi-party democracy.

Finally, the organisation was making a big mistake if it believed that it could dictate US policy. The president was firm in his support for the US corporate presence. As for the

comprehensive Anti-apartheid Act, its maintenance or easing was the responsibility of the administration and Congress, and not to be commanded by the ANC.

Mr Mandela was evidently taken aback. Hitherto, he had encountered nothing but fawning pushovers like New York's mayor David Dinkins and governor Mario Cuomo.

HIS initial response was to get cute and accuse the free world's leader of being improperly briefed. He was about to learn that the put-down might have been more correctly applied to himself.

In private, Messrs Bush and Baker asked tough questions and spelt out clearly where they stood. They were not overly impressed by the calibre of the ANC delegation. This had an effect. Mr Mandela emerged clearly concluding that it would be wiser to accommodate these men than call in the cavalry of sycophants.

In subsequent remarks he sought to reassure them where he could, and where he could not — the armed struggle was not entirely his to renounce, after all — he tried to show a willingness to meet them halfway.

THE most obvious demonstration of this came in his speech to Congress the next day. The president had been especially adamant that the idea of a constituent assembly effectively replacing the SA Government while it drafted a new constitution was a non-starter.

Mandela told Congress the issue of how a constitution was to be drawn up should now be seen as negotiable.

After months of timorous indirection on SA, it looks as if the Bush administration is finally getting back into the game.

IT'S MADNESS!

Ken Vernon
Africa News
Service

... says Kaunda after he survives
lone military officer's coup attempt

LUSAKA: Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda yesterday survived a coup attempt by a lone military officer, but many Zambians remained convinced his 27-year rule is almost at an end.

"Once we had respect for our leader, but now that respect is gone," said one person spoken to after it became clear yesterday's coup had failed.

Reacting to the coup

attempt, Dr Kaunda, speaking from Ndola in central Zambia, called it "madness".

He said he had not returned to Lusaka upon hearing news of the attempted coup because he was not a coward. "I said let them go ahead, all they will do is kill me."

Yesterday's drama began in the early hours of the morning when Lieutenant Mwamba Luchembe singlehandedly took over the state-run radio station in Lusaka.

For more than three hours he was able to transmit announcements that the "army" had taken control of the country before security forces reacted, storming the station and arresting the lone rebel.

Since then there has been no news about Lt Luchembe's fate.

News of the coup bid spread like wildfire through the capital yesterday morning, bringing thousands of singing and chanting Zambians con-

verging on central Cairo Road to celebrate Dr Kaunda's "overthrow".

The crowds occupied parts of the city centre until about 9am, when police ordered them to disperse and fired bursts of automatic rifle fire into the air to back their orders.

Last night the city was holding its collective breath, fearing that nightfall would unleash the tremendous frustrations built up by the coup announcement, and its

subsequent collapse.

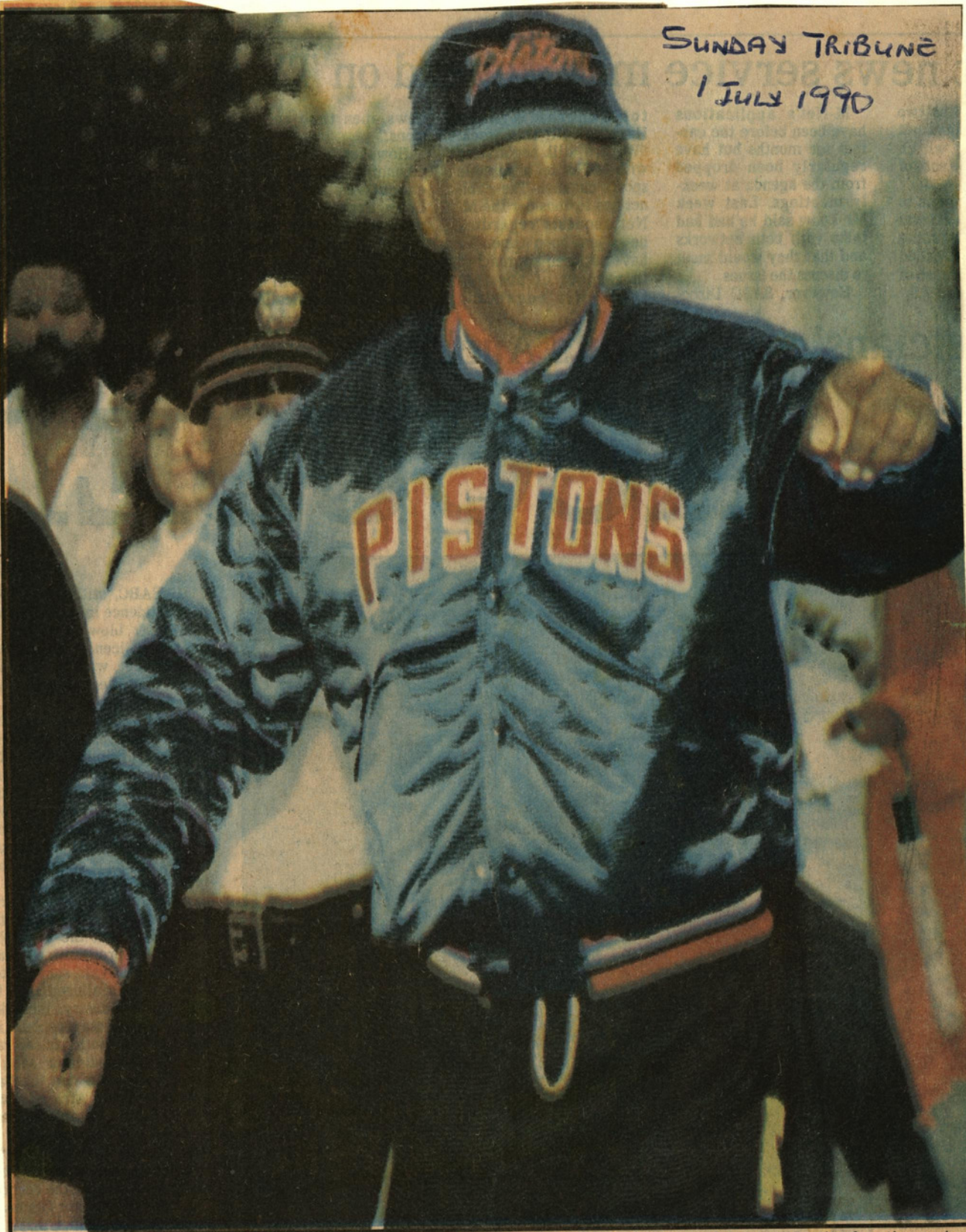
The feeling on the streets was that the coup attempt was not just the work of one man and that the unrest that began with riots on Monday over a doubling of the maize meal price would continue.

Yesterday's coup attempt was the second by Zambian military personnel in less than a year.

Another former officer, Lt-Gen Christon Tembo, and four other men are at present on trial for allegedly plotting to overthrow the government last year.

SUNDAY TRIBUNE

1 JULY 1990



Nelson Mandela — wearing a Detroit Pistons jacket and cap — takes a morning stroll in the fog through Hart Plaza on the Detroit River on Friday.

still shouting 'troops o:t'. The fact is the SADF represents the biggest obstacle in the way of an ANC-backed take-over by force."

Mandela given tough warning

Deon Delport
and David Braun

AS the highly successful US tour of the ANC's Nelson Mandela ends he has been given a tough warning by Minister of Defence Magnus Malan to end the armed struggle.

It was time for Mr Mandela and the ANC to "face reality" General Malan said at a military parade in Pretoria.

In the US Mr Mandela has enjoyed enormous fame and success and the tour's achievements include:

- ☐ ensuring sanctions are maintained.
- ☐ raising some \$10 million for the ANC
- ☐ a "good" meeting with Soviet Jewish dissident and former political prisoner Nathan Sharansky in a bid to begin a serious dialogue between the ANC and Jewish leaders angered at his support for the PLO and Yasser Arafat.

Mr Mandela arrives in Ireland today as the guest of Prime Minister Charles Haughey's government and later in the week meets Mrs Margaret Thatcher.

Gen Malan said it was not the SADF's task to assist one group against another

or to make political peace as this was a purely political initiative.

"In this connection, a few words on Mr Mandela who trots the globe.

"In the Groote Schuur Minute of May 4 he and his ANC agreed on a common commitment towards resolving the existing climate of violence and intimidation, as well as to work for stability, and therefore a climate for eventual negotiations."

Umkhonto weSizwe chief of staff, Mr Chris Hani, had said the MK would continue with recruitment and training, as well as continue briefing its units to carry out operations.

"These are strange and dangerous words, coming from a man whose fellow leaders have committed themselves to creating a peaceful climate," Gen Malan said.

While Mr Mandela travelled abroad violence continued in Natal and it was only the presence of SADF troops in the region that had dampened the conflict. "Only the ANC and its supporters are

Street. From the redoubtable Mrs Thatcher he is unlikely to obtain much more than tea, admiration and a homily on the virtues of a market economy.

Thus, the deputy president of the ANC will be able to look back with only qualified satisfaction.

In publicity terms his tour

was a stunning success. But even in this respect some of the triumph rubs off on Mr De Klerk; many Americans with only a modest grasp of complex foreign issues will have interpreted the very fact of his high-profile presence in their country as a sign that the "SA problem" is well on the way towards being solved — and tick it off on their list of crisis spots.

In the cold light of day Mr Mandela, a not unskillful man, will also realise that his arguments in favour of sanctions were conceded (in some cases reluctantly) almost as a mark of respect to him personally. It is, therefore, a brittle achievement that could crumble quickly.

There are also a number of items to be entered on the negative side of Mr Mandela's balance sheet.

Rash

The respect, fitting as it was, that was shown to him as a man does not necessarily imply uncritical support for Mandela the politician. Thus, many Americans were surprised to discover that their new hero — unlike Dr Martin Luther King whose reincarnation they believed him to be — still advocated violent struggle.

Moreover, socialistic talk tends to bring Americans out in a rash. The collapse of communism has placed them in triumphalist mood and many were surprised to hear references to nationalisation.

Then there was the championing of Messrs Gaddafi, Arafat and Castro, hate figures to large sections of American opinion.

Mr Mandela may well find that his somewhat naive loyalty towards men who helped him during tougher times comes back to haunt him.

Message

On balance, then, a heady tour with some tangible benefits. However, there was also an implied message to him from the statesmen of the West: We've given you the honours you deserve, but now it's time to get home and start talking in earnest to that other interesting South African, De Klerk.

In the words of the Times of London, the ANC cannot rely on external pressure alone to win them the keys to the South African kingdom.

Thus, as the applause dies down and the Madiba-jet finally touches down at Jan Smuts, its star passenger might start thinking about a return trip.

When he travels again to Zurich or Wall Street it may

well be to use his formidable talents and his international stature to persuade investors of the economic viability and political stability of the new South Africa he will, and must, now construct in concert with that other emerging celebrity, FW de Klerk.

It is a return ticket for which all sensible South Africans would happily help pay.

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Change course now or face a storm of anger

Harald Pakendorf argues that the ANC should change its policy on sanctions before change is forced on it

THE ANC'S continued insistence on sanctions and the armed struggle is causing increasing anger among whites.

They are disappointed because they had thought Nelson Mandela would have brought to an end at least the violence in the country and that, with sanctions gone, the economy would begin to recover.

Their disappointment is beginning to turn to dismissive anger: how silly, they say, to ask for sanctions to put pressure on the economy and at the same time talk of the redistribution of wealth, of higher wages, of wiping out the discrepancies between white and black living standards.

Structures

The ANC does have an explanation why it is not — yet — giving up what it sees as vital elements in its struggle.

The message is not communicated, though, because the ANC does not have structures on the ground with which it can get at its followers, and the media simply do not put its point of view across.

Certainly not the SABC.

Not being properly organised means the ANC cannot just move off former policy positions — and begin to look more realistic in white eyes — as it cannot prepare its followers for the change.

Whites, after all, are not its power base.

The ANC also still won-

ders whether the Government does not have a hidden agenda and therefore pressure must be kept up so the negotiation process becomes truly irreversible.

Over and above this, the organisation still needs foreign support — morally, but increasingly, financially — and thus has to give the impression that the struggle is intense and nowhere near completion.

Yet, when all is said and done, the very real danger exists that the ANC will be caught with egg on its face.

Western leaders might have told Mr Mandela they will stand by him, but it is a fair bet sanctions, as an effective instrument, are on the decline.

This highlights a problem the ANC will have to face — its very success in talking to the Government undermines sacred ANC positions.

Look at Umlazi. It was far from being a vote against the National Party and thus

the herald of a Conservative Party take-over.

It was a protest against the ANC views on sanctions and its inability to stop violence.

But foreigners see Umlazi as a sign that the De Klerk Government needs some show of support, some positive message. And this undermines the ANC's stance on sanctions.

Solution

The ANC has to learn it is no longer a liberation organisation which, by definition, has right on its side.

It is just another political party, fallible, struggling and with the sudden new responsibility of being part of the solution and not the problem in the country.

It might well be wise for the ANC to change its sanctions views ahead of the collapse of sanctions — a collapse which is not imminent, although the slide has begun.

If Mr Nelson Mandela — or his wife — say anything which shows them in a bad light, it is becoming more and more difficult to find out about it.

Examples from the Mandelas' recent visit to the United States are only now emerging. As has been reported, at a rally in Mr Mandela's honour in Harlem, VIP seats were accorded to three Puerto Rican nationalists who served 25 years in an American prison for firing shots from the gallery of the United States House of Representatives in 1954 — hitting five Congressmen. (The three were pardoned by President Carter in 1979.) Another Puerto Rican nationalist, who took part in an attempt to assassinate President Truman four years earlier, and who was also imprisoned, was invited to the Mandela rally as well, but was too ill to attend.

What was hardly reported in the American press — and not at all in the British — was Mr Mandela's attitude to those guests. Asked for a comment by a reporter, he apparently replied: "We support the cause of anyone who is fighting for self-determination, and our attitude is the same, no matter who it is. I would be honoured to sit on the platform with the four comrades whom you refer to."

Mr Mandela was approving of men who had shot up an institution which was about to honour him. A few days later he was granted the rare distinction, for a non-American, of addressing a joint session of Congress. His remarks about the three Puerto Ricans appeared in *The New York Times* first edition — in the front-page story about his visit — which can be bought in the centre of New York city from about 9.30 in the evening. But they disappeared from the story in all subsequent editions.

This did not seem to be for space reasons. The later story on the Mandela visit was just as long as in the first edition.

The Mandela news that's not fit to print

MANDRAKE

But different material and a larger expanse of white space between the lines replaced that quotation. By morning, most readers of *The New York Times* (slogan: "All The News That's Fit To Print") would not have known Mr Mandela's views about those who open fire on their country's legislature.

I suspect someone at *The New York Times* decided that Mr Mandela's words were bad for his reputation with Americans, and quietly arranged for them to slip into oblivion. Perhaps whoever did so thought that they were acting in the best interests of America's — particularly New York's — race relations. For, as with so many things in America today, race is probably at the heart of it.

Mr Mandela believes in violent nationalism. So did those Puerto Ricans. He is therefore being consistent in approving of them. But he is also black. So his approval of violent Puerto Ricans is assumed to harm the cause of American blacks, for whom he is the only hero since Martin Luther King (the Rev Jesse Jackson being too much of a politician to be heroic). As for what three retired Puerto Rican terrorists were doing in the first place at a rally for Mandela, that is probably to do with the black organisers wanting to keep in with New York's more militant Puerto Ricans. It is all a warning of the sort of ethnicity-crazed politics which will come to Britain if that deadly combination of black and brown militancy, and white liberalism, has its way in this country, which to some extent it already has.

At the same rally, Mrs Mandela reportedly said: "We know

you will be there with us when we go back to the bush and fight the white man." Needless to say, that did not find its way into any edition of *The New York Times*. I tracked it down in the international edition of *USA Today* — a newspaper much mocked by the lofty minds of *The New York Times* — for last Saturday. Neither it, nor the earlier quotation about the Puerto Ricans, appeared in any of the reports from British correspondents in the United States.

I suppose that one of the problems is that, being sophisticated souls, plenty of newspapermen — British correspondents in America and otherwise — do not think it particularly interesting when someone says he, or she, is in favour of political violence, or do not think they really mean it. I, on the other hand, think that — if someone is the subject of hero worship on an intercontinental scale — his views on these matters, and those of his wife, are rather newsworthy. Perhaps, in order to know anything interesting about the Mandelas, it will be necessary to become a full-time newspaper archivist.

On Tuesday, after the Carlton Club bombing, the front page of *Today* newspaper roared: "IRA BOMB 20 MPs". "Sir Geoffrey escapes as blast rocks Tory club", screamed the paper, though as Sir Geoffrey was not in the building or even the street at the time it could just as well have said "Mrs Thatcher", "the

Queen" or "the Pope". But perhaps the most unforgivable piece of invention was the line that "Enoch Powell was also dining nearby". To support this, there was a picture of the Sage of Wolverhampton, no doubt to alarm his admirers.

The truth — which I have from Mr Powell's own lips, with the corroboration of Mrs Powell — is different. Not only was Mr Powell not dining nearby, he was not dining anywhere. Some weeks ago he tripped over and mildly injured himself. Despite his robust constitution, his doctors felt such an incident should not be treated lightly by someone of 78. They ordered him to cancel all engagements and to rest for a month.

Last Monday evening was therefore like any other these days for Mr Powell. He spent it alone with his wife at home. He retired at nine o'clock after the lightest of suppers, obeying his doctors' orders to the letter. Mr Powell is aggrieved by *today's* fabrication because, having cancelled many speaking commitments, he would not want his prospective hosts to think that he had done so simply to go out on the town in the evenings instead. I am glad to put the record straight, because *today* shows no intention of doing so.

The Carlton Club bombing confirmed American suspicions that the British ruling class still contains plenty of decadent, perhaps aristocratic playboys. America's national public radio, which nobly aspires — without the aid of a licence fee — to be the BBC of the United States, identified the Carlton club as

"a night spot frequented by members of the ruling Conservative Party".

Mr Craig Brown, writing in *The Times* the other day, triumphantly pointed out that I had described the British author Douglas Sutherland as Donald Sutherland. (I apologise to both, and to my readers.) Mandrake, he said, "lies on its back and wriggles its little legs in delight when listing the errors of others". I cannot quarrel with that. Not the errors of "others", though, but mainly of *The Times*. Errors by "others" are not as important as those by what is supposed to be a national institution.

I suspect that there is no convincing some people, but I shall explain once again: I do not reproach *The Times* for making mistakes. I reproach it for making, these last five years or so, mistakes which suggest crassness, or ignorance of a kind for which it was not previously noted.

For example, on the very day (June 12) on which the sorely-tried new editor, Mr Simon Jenkins, wrote a piece introducing stylistic changes, a report about businessmen's language — cross-referred to the editor's article on style — describes people "bemused as rules of grammar are flaunted". This suggested that, not just the reporter who wrote that story, but everyone in authority who saw it through all the night's editions, thought flaunt meant flout.

It is not a question of errors — we all make them. Mr Brown asked rhetorically: "Is Donald Sutherland not the hound-dog American actor?" No. He is Canadian. Mr Brown's lack of knowledge of Canadian entertainers does not indicate wider ignorance, any more than did my slip about the other Mr Sutherland (I hope). The still new editor of *The Times* should be given six months to restore order. For that period, I shall be silent on the matter — barring emergencies.

A magician casts a spell

NELSON Mandela's royal progress across America has stirred the hearts of millions of blacks and a great many whites, but he has disappointed those who wanted to know how he intends to solve the South African conundrum — or how Americans can help him solve it.

Beyond the singer Harry Belafonte's proclamation that Mandela is "one of the greatest leaders in the history of the world" is the slowly dawning realisation that the creation of a post-apartheid South Africa, where blacks have the main say and whites are genuinely guaranteed civil and political rights, is fraught with appalling complications — whatever Mandela's greatness and however craftily F. W. de Klerk persuades his white brethren to surrender power.

"He might have spent less time and energy making black America feel good and taken more trouble to convince the president that the ANC are democrats," said one expert close to the Administration, which remains suspicious of the preponderance of Communists (Mandela not among them) within the ANC leadership.

For sure, in all but the most jaundiced eyes, Mandela has cut an impressive figure: supremely dignified and unembittered, proud yet humble, humorous but no scorer of cheap laughs, articulate and quick-witted, though sometimes a shade ponderous and legalistic. Eschewing the teleprompters and speech-cards American politicians seem reliant upon, he speaks clearly and cogently, often without notes.

When he had the nerve, in front of the White House, to scold Bush for being "misinformed" about the ANC's attitude towards violence, he managed to sound more honest than rude. The ANC argument that America has given aid to guerrillas in Afghanistan and Nicaragua (so why chide the ANC for resorting to arms?) was hard for the Administration to rebut. Mandela's insistence on keeping "armed struggle", currently suspended, as an option until changes are "irreversible", seemed tough and shrewd rather than bloodthirsty — though bound to increase the scepticism on Washington's hard Right.

Americans have been unable to spot a shred of anti-white feeling: by every account, both before and after his 27 years in prison, his devotion to non-racialism has been utterly genuine. Only Mandela's wife, Winnie, with her clenched-fist Harlem threat to "go out and fight the white man" if talks break down, struck an ugly racial note. Mandela never assails whites. His enemy is always apartheid.

It was tactically a big error, then, to allow his hosts to run his tour essentially as a black American celebration, with a touch of Hollywood fund-raising and a bare two days' powerbroking in Washington.

Nobody seems to know what the ANC really stands for. When the far

Nelson Mandela's US triumph left crucial questions unanswered. Xan Smiley reports from Washington

less glamorous de Klerk, perhaps in a few weeks' time, comes to explain his awkward position and to tout complex constitutional possibilities, he may well start a more worthwhile debate and gain a more thoughtful response in Congress.

During the 12-day extravaganza, Mandela was barely required to spell out his beliefs or his constitutional ideas. At a ceremonial joint session of Congress he invoked Jefferson, Lincoln and Washington and praised the glory of the American

constitution, its Bill of Rights and the independence of the judiciary. Earlier he declared that the ANC had no fixed ideology and a politically diverse membership. He promised a multi-party system, a mixed economy ("but we have no blueprint as to the makeup of that mix") and a proper return on foreign investment. All pretty mild capitalistic stuff.

So has he dropped his earlier views, when, as head of the ANC in Transvaal, he inveighed against "the falsity of the argument that American investments in Africa will raise the standards of the people of this continent" and asserted that "the Communist bogey is a stunt to distract the people of Africa from the real issue facing them, namely American imperialism"? Perhaps. But he was given no chance to explain why, or to clarify Communist strength or aims within the ANC.

While his American admirers were adulating Mandela the man, he carefully stressed he was bound by the ANC's collective leadership, and only half-jokingly told the congressional Black Caucus: "I have to obey my bosses behind me."

ABC Television's Ted Koppel, in front of a wildly partisan Harlem audience, allowed himself to be sidetracked into a discussion — endlessly rehearsed by Mandela's detractors — of the ANC's comradeship with Arafat, Gaddafi and Castro. With old-fashioned loyalty to past friends, he refused to disavow them. He would have looked hypocritical and weak had he done so. But his rather prim explanation that the "internal affairs" of other countries were "no business" of his, while he expects his American hosts to busy themselves with the "internal affairs" of his own homeland, went down less well.

More significant was his refusal to "wash our dirty linen in a foreign country" when asked, in a television message from one of his chief political rivals, the Zulu Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, to "ring up and say hello". Mandela's repeated assertion that the black-on-black factional and tribal killings in Natal are entirely the fault of the government also seemed hollow.

The question of group rights is at the nub of negotiations over the emerging South African constitution. The irony is that while Mandela and the ANC are still committed to "one person, one vote in a unitary state", America is strongly federal (with an "undemocratic" bias in favour of less populous states) and enshrines separate group rights in law so racial groups can be guaranteed representation.

The ANC's (and its allied South African Communist party's) conversion to multi-partyism is recent. America is genuinely shocked by apartheid. As they begin to seel out the latest news on Africa, they are equally shocked to discover that, though a handful of African leaders have voluntarily stepped down, not a single one (except on the tiny Indian Ocean island of Mauritius) has ever been peacefully removed by the ballot-box in the past 30 years.

Why, they may ask, should Mandela or the ANC and its Communist party friends break that mould? It is that sort of probing question which Mandela might have answered magisterially — but America forgot to ask it.

Mandrake — P17

SUNDAY TELEGRAPH

1 JULY 1990 LONDON

Two-chamber Parliament in Nat blueprint for SA

SUNDAY TRIBUNE JULY 1990

FINISHING touches were put this week to the blueprint for the new South Africa which the Government proposes placing on the negotiating table.

Government constitutional planners regularly meet their African National Congress counterparts behind the scenes and believe their constitutional plans are growing closer.

Different aspects of the Government's plans have been spelt out in detail in recent weeks and State President FW de Klerk's chief negotiator, Minister of Constitutional Development Gerrit Viljoen, added the final details this week.

Mr De Klerk's blueprint involves drastic changes to central and to local government.

At central government level, the Nat Government envisages a two-chamber system to replace the present tricameral Parliament.

The lower house will be chosen, as in the case of the American House of Representatives, on a one-person-one-vote common voters roll, probably on the basis of proportional representation. Inevitably this would mean a simple black majority.

The upper house will be chosen on the basis of "cultural" groups who will vote for their own representatives.

David Breier

People will be able to decide for themselves which group they belong to, and the definition will be non-racial. For example, there could be a group defined as Afrikaner to which both dark-skinned and light-skinned Afrikaners could belong if they choose.

This two-chamber model for South Africa has been strongly influenced by the proposals of the Natal-kwaZulu Indaba.

Important decisions would have to be passed in both chambers, to enable minorities to exercise a strong say on Government policy.

A major dispute between the Government and the ANC could be over whether any one group in the upper house will have veto powers. The ANC would strongly oppose any minority veto.

At local government level, the Government envisages a drastic devolution of power, not only to existing municipalities, but also to even smaller neighbourhood units as is the case in the USA.

Local authorities would obtain new responsibilities such as control of schools, health and even police which are at present controlled by central government or the provincial authorities.

Their new powers will have to be exercised, by law, on a nonracial basis. But each local authority will be able to set its own standards.

If a city, town or neighbourhood authority elects to maintain exclusive standards, it will have the power to impose exacting by-laws. But attempts to exclude people on the basis of race would be outlawed.

This local system could be implemented even before negotiations are completed, if the Government carries out its undertaking to scrap the Group Areas Act next year.

Although the Government is investigating various models of local government, nonracial municipalities — on a very intimate level — are likely to be the order of the day, with co-operation between neighbouring authorities.

For example, if a small, traditionally white town has a black township on its doorstep, each would have its own voters roll open to all races. In practice this would make little difference at first, but if other races moved in, the change would show after some time.

The Government believes that this system of central and local government will meet the test of non-discrimination while at the same time prevent majority domination.

Winnie: The fly in the ANC ointment

KING Solomon would have had sympathy for Mr Nelson Mandela. It is quite obvious from his Book of Proverbs that he had trouble in his harem. "A nagging woman is like water dripping on a roof," he wrote.

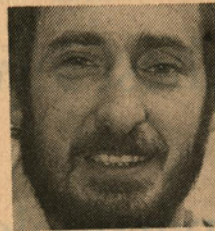
But, then, Solomon had 400 wives. Mr Mandela only has Winnie.

This week, again, the walking, talking lightning-rod of political controversy stole some of the headlines from her celebrated husband.

While he was out smooth-talking American congressmen and canvassing financial aid for the ANC she threatened "to return to the bush" to fight the white regime. In doing so, she neglected to give an account of her past experiences "in the bush", adventures that have hitherto gone unrecorded.

And while Mr Mandela was soliciting aid for the

Dries van Heerden looks at the firebrand at the side of ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela on his grand tour of Europe and the United States



educational upliftment of his followers, she blurted out that black schools were legitimate military targets.

One way and another, the "Winnie Factor" is fast developing into a headache for the ANC.

It is one thing having her parade her somewhat unorthodox personal opinions while she merely has the status of an opposition politician's wife. But if it ever comes to the stage where she starts measuring the curtains at, say, Libertas, her personal conduct will become a matter of pro-

found public interest.

Future voters, black as much as white, have an intense concern with the political influences exercised on leaders within their intimate circle. They like to know what mothers of their nation are up to.

Long regarded in some circles as an "unguided missile", there are increasing worries that Mrs Mandela's bellicose remarks could jeopardise ANC efforts to broaden its international support base and draw moderate South Africans into its fold.

The ANC's problems with Mrs Mandela have a long history. However, senior figures in the movement were reluctant to express their misgivings because of her surname and because of the high regard in which her long-jailed husband was held.

In private conversations they have not been as reticent. Irritation towards her boils over easily and is not infrequently expressed by drawing pointed comparisons with the family of Mr Mandela's fellow Robben Island prisoner, Mr Walter Sisulu.

Muzzle

"You know what is so good about Walter," ANC people would point out. "During all the time that he was in jail his wife (Albertina) and his children behaved impeccably and were active in the struggle."

"And then..." they would sigh, "... there is Winnie and Zinzi (a Mandela daughter)."

In April 1986 the ANC leadership did try to muzzle her after her now notorious remark — recorded on videotape — about achieving liberation through the use of boxes of matches and burning tyres.

This week she insisted that her remarks about necklacing were quoted out of context, but one is left to wonder what context could conceivably have made such a statement sound reasonable.

Nevertheless, for a few months it seemed as if the ANC had effectively gagged the stormy petrel in its midst.

That was until the Stompie Moeketsi case hit the headlines.

The Mandela United soccer team, which also served as Mrs Mandela's personal bodyguard, had for a long time been a source of concern.

Reports abounded that the track-suited young men threw their weight around and that they had become a law unto themselves in Soweto.

The Stompie case revealed many uncomfortable facts about the "football team" that lived so closely to the Mandela family.

A 14-year-old boy was abducted and severely assaulted by members of the Mandela XI. His bruised and battered body punctured with stab wounds was later found in Soweto. In a sensational trial, "coach" Jerry Richardson was found guilty of murder.

But of even more concern to the ANC was the finding of Mr Justice B O'Donovan that Mrs Mandela was present on the night four ab-

ducted youths were assaulted and tortured at her home in Diepkloof.

Long before judgment was delivered, the ANC-allied Mass Democratic Movement tried to put some distance between itself and the "Mother of the Nation".

It accused Mrs Mandela of abusing the trust placed in her, of violating the "spirit and ethos" of the democratic movement and called on Sowetans to disassociate themselves from Mrs Mandela while re-affirming their "unqualified support" for her husband.

Guilty

Mr Mandela himself was quick to come to the support of his wife. He accused the authorities of "persecuting" her.

But the attempts at damage control may have come too late. Mrs Mandela's remarks during the American tour suggest that her fiery spirit has been anything but subdued.

In male-dominated South African politics there is no great tradition of strong women rising to political prominence. In white politics it took 80 years for the first woman to be promoted to the Cabinet.

The spouses of political leaders tend to play a supportive role in the background. There is no tradition of strong-willed women acting as the power behind the

throne. No Eleanor Roosevelts, Edith Wilsons or Evita Perons — let alone Margaret Thatchers, Indira Gandhis or Golda Meirs.

In a sense, Mrs Winnie Mandela has tried to break out of this mould. In the 28 years her husband spent in detention she kept a high profile which led to numerous run-ins with the authorities.

The 56-year-old Winnie Madikizela was the country's first black medical social worker when she met the ANC's rising star in 1957.

Recently divorced from his first wife Evelyn, he fell in love with the beautiful firebrand and married her soon afterwards. Three months later she was arrested for the first time for her role in the anti-pass campaign.

In 1959 she was arrested, charged and found not guilty under the Terrorism Act but the Government banned her and restricted her movements to the Orlando township.

Lively

In the 60s and 70s she was charged on numerous occasions with contravening her banning order, and in 1977 she was banished to the Phakahlale township near Brandfort in the Free State.

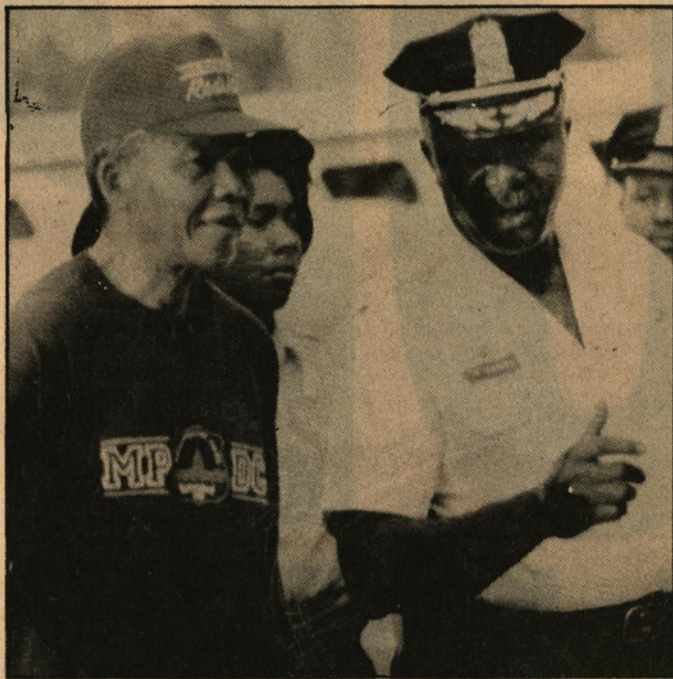
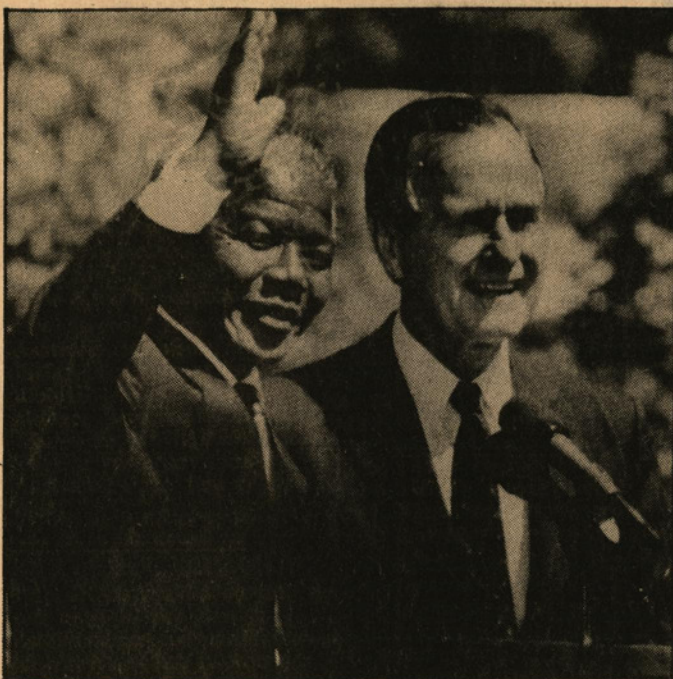
It was a hard school for a lively, vivacious woman.

And it is a paradox of the new politics in South Africa that these days it is the ANC hierarchy — rather than the authorities — who are seeking ways to keep her quiet.



Winnie Mandela ... back to the bush?

MANDELA'S MORNING AFTER



THE AMERICAN WAY ... on his US tour, Nelson Mandela meets with presidents (left), goes strolling with police chiefs (centre) and even faces demos (right)

NELSON Mandela still has a few calls to make on his way home, but he will have much to reflect upon during the hours he spends in a succession of southbound jets.

He would be less than human if he did not tilt back his first-class seat and smile inwardly at the recollection of the heady pleasures of life as a living legend; the grand ceremonial in great capitals, the adulating crowds and the comparisons with Moses and Martin Luther King.

The experience of super-celebrity status is given to few people on earth; for a South African, it is unprecedented.

Unhinged

The manner in which he handled most situations — especially when Americans seemed to become almost unhinged by his presence — redounds to his credit. Unfailingly dignified, he kept his head while all around seemed to be losing theirs.

But Mr Mandela is nothing if not an astute politician. So, as he wends his way home, he will be drawing up a list of his hard achievements beyond the Hollywood glitz.

He must know that he has enjoyed an unrepeatable lap of honour. Hereafter, he will be judged as an ordinary mortal, the breadth of his vision and his statescraft measured like that of any other politician's.

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Mr Mandela went abroad with one, overriding message to his hosts: Keep up sanctions until I tell you to stop.

As Nelson Mandela prepares to wing his way back to the harsh realities of SA, Tertius Myburgh tots up the credits and debits of his triumphal tour



How has he fared on this score? Was he able to undo the gains made by President De Klerk on his safari just a few weeks before?

In Europe, the contest between the two men must probably be adjudged a draw. The EC statement from Dublin this week was aimed at mollifying both of them but, upon close analysis, it tilts towards Mr De Klerk. It amounts to a licence for governments to let sanctions shrivel on the vine. In its pragmatism, it is classically European.

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However, Mr De Klerk can draw satisfaction from the fact that Mr Mandela did not succeed in having the sanctions screw tightened.

Nor does Mr De Klerk have much to fear about Mr Mandela's last major call on the way home, at Downing Street. From the redoubtable Mrs Thatcher he is unlikely to obtain much more than tea, admiration and a homily on the virtues of a market economy.

Thus, the deputy president of the ANC will be able to look back with only qualified satisfaction.

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was a stunning success. But even in this respect some of the triumph rubs off on Mr De Klerk; many Americans with only a modest grasp of complex foreign issues will have interpreted the very fact of his high-profile presence in their country as a sign that the "SA problem" is well on the way towards being solved — and tick it off on their list of crisis spots.

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Message

On balance, then, a heady tour with some tangible benefits. However, there was also an implied message to him from the statesmen of the West: We've given you the honours you deserve, but now it's time to get home and start talking in earnest to that other interesting South African, De Klerk.

In the words of the Times of London, the ANC cannot rely on external pressure alone to win them the keys to the South African kingdom.

Thus, as the applause dies down and the Madiba-jet finally touches down at Jan Smuts, its star passenger might start thinking about a return trip.

When he travels again to Zurich or Wall Street it may well be to use his formidable talents and his international stature to persuade investors of the economic viability and political stability of the new South Africa he will, and must, now construct in concert with that other emerging celebrity, F.W. de Klerk.

It is a return ticket for which all sensible South Africans would happily help pay.

16/1/11

AFTER MANDELA, WHO? ALFRED NZO HEADS THE HEIR

-APPARENTS

SUNDAY FOCUS

SUNDAY TRIBUNE, JULY 1, 1990

Mdu Lembede

NELSON Mandela has wooed the world and won. The eulogies have been chanted from New Brighton to New York and still the praise rings out.

His statesman-like figure has filled the world's stage as few have managed before him, yet his staggering success, both as a fighter for freedom and ambassador for the ANC, brings into focus a critical question.

Who, in the ANC, can fill his boots?

There have been rumours that the ageing deputy president of the ANC has health problems. Even if they are false, at 72 he has embarked on the kind of hectic political globe-trotting with which few men half his age would be able to cope without running the risk of impairing their health.

Should the stress of his many overseas engagements lead to a fatal heart attack or stroke the ANC would lose its biggest international attraction and perhaps its most potent weapon.

At this point in South Africa's political history, the thought of the ANC without Nelson Mandela, is inconceivable to many inside and outside his organisation.

So who are the contenders should the deputy president, for whatever reason, have to stand down?

First choice is possibly Alfred Nzo, secretary general and third in line. He has been an influential figure in the upper echelons of the ANC for a long time.

His biggest disadvantage is that he has always kept a low profile and al-

lowed himself to remain one of the backroom team.

His leadership qualities still need to be tested, and much needs to be done to boost his image internally.

Thomas Nkobi, the fiery treasurer general who is ranked fourth in the organisation, would be considered for the



top job simply because of his seniority. Outside ANC circles in exile, however, little is known about this former Johannesburg accountant.

At 77, age is no longer on the side of Walter Sisulu, who heads the ANC's internal leadership core. The same goes for Govan Mbeki, 78, and Dan Tloome, 75, the auditor general, whose position as chairman of the South African Communist Party would count against him.

Internally, there is Archie Gumede,

co-president of the United Democratic Front. He has two counts against him: his age, 75, and his perceived ineffectual leadership of the UDF.

At 58, Joe Modise, commander of Umkhonto we Sizwe, falls between the old guard and the younger generation of possible leaders. His portfolio places him in a difficult position in the leadership race.

As the commander of the ANC's armed forces, Mr Modise might not be acceptable to many sympathisers who have not yet joined the movement as they cannot accept the armed struggle policy.

A person who has been widely tipped as the next possible leader, even by those who hold no brief for the ANC, is Thabo Mbeki, the urbane director of in-

ternational affairs. However, at 47, he is regarded as politically "too young" to lead the ANC effectively.

In the inner circles of the ANC, Mr Mbeki is regarded as a man who could become the power behind the throne, yet few believe he is ready or capable of filling Mr Mandela's shoes.

The 47-year-old Chris Hani is a military man and probably unacceptable to the pacifists in the ANC.

Finally, another serious contender is Cosatu strongman, Cyril Ramaphosa. He is well-known internally, has strong worker support and is well connected at a grassroots level as general-secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers.

Organised labour will most likely throw its weight behind the ANC. This would put Mr Ramaphosa in a strong position to head a "labour" government.

ANC opponents close ranks over stayaway

From page 1

stayaway as unilateral and said it would lead to greater conflict in Natal and the country.

The Pan-Africanist Congress, which is emerging as the major rival to the ANC at national level, has come out strongly against the stayaway, saying it will aggravate conflict.

A spokesman for Cosatu's smaller rival union federation, the National Council of Trade Unions, said people would "definitely go to work" tomorrow, although they were aware there would be intimidation. He said the young lions (comrades) were saying people should stay away for the week.

"The ANC is not in control of those people. Our members will protect themselves, but we fear there will be violence."

The Azanian People's Organisation said stayaways had contributed in part to the 3000 deaths in Natal. It accused the ANC of "seeking to fan emotional support for itself at the expense of black life".

Chief Buthelezi strongly condemned the planned stayaway and appealed to Inkatha members to act responsibly.

The ANC responded to the criticism by calling a press conference on Friday to clarify the reasons for the stayaway, saying a "climate of hysteria" had been created by forces seeking to undermine the week of action.

"The planned action represents a

last-ditch attempt by the people of Natal and the rest of South Africa to draw attention to the intolerable killings taking place in this region," spokesman Terror Lekota said.

He called on all sides to exercise discipline and refrain from intimidation in the interests of a "dignified and peaceful protest".

An 11th-hour meeting was called yesterday to explain the reasons for the stayaway to Natal business leaders. Businessmen have criticised the stayaway as "unhelpful" to the peace process and economically damaging. They have adopted a hard-line "no work, no pay" policy.

In a move to defuse the situation, the South African Council of Churches announced a code of conduct for the Week of Action.

The code calls for all to be allowed the freedom to choose whether to join the protest action. The SACC also said it was sponsoring a new peace initiative in the region.

The stayaway call has also aggravated tensions within the Mass Democratic Movement, a number of whose members oppose it.

The UDF's president, Archie Gumede, has questioned the wisdom of the stayaway.

"If those who called the stayaway are really interested in peace, then it is not going to produce the result they want. It will have the opposite effect — it's going to increase the violence."

He said that no matter how successful the stayaway, it would not help the cause of peace. "The only solution is for the political organisations to come to an agreement — their presidents should meet — and to carry that agreement to the people."

Azapo, Nactu and the PAC have rejected the stayaway and the issue, which does not enjoy priority outside Natal, might be seen as a ripe occasion to challenge the ANC's political dominance.

"This has been a major miscalculation by the ANC," said University of Cape Town political scientist Robert Schrire.

"The last thing they need to do is take risks which indicate a weak support base and bargaining position."

The national president of the South African Black Taxi Association, James Ngcoya, said there was confusion in Cape Town and Johannesburg about the stayaway. "They say, why should there be a stayaway? It's not work that is causing the violence — leaders must get together and sort it out."

The director of the Inkatha Institute, Gavin Woods, said Inkatha members had mobilised opposition to the stayaway, telling people to go to work.

"The situation has been primed for conflict."

At least two Inkatha leaders — in Pietermaritzburg and Durban — intend leading a convoy of workers in defiance of the stayaway.

SUNDAY FOCUS

A protest for peace

The state's inaction spawned the Cosatu stayaway

The labour stayaway called this week by the Cosatu and supported by the ANC has been criticised by other unions and extra-parliamentary groups as being undemocratic and potentially increasing the risk of violence.

Labour law and jurisprudence expert REAGAN JACOBUS, a senior research officer at the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, gives his view of the background and the issues leading to the stayaway call.

A MAJOR wrangle is developing over the Cosatu/ANC call for a national stayaway on Monday. The Pan Africanist Congress slammed the call saying it refuses to "take sides" in the war in Natal. The

National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu) stated it could not support the stayaway because Nactu had not been consulted, and believed that COSATU/ANC should enter into dialogue with Inkatha to find peaceful solutions to the carnage in Natal.

Major employers on Friday warned that workers who stayed away risked disciplinary action.

Aim of call

The aim of the stayaway call is, according to Cosatu, a part of its week-long campaign against the ongoing carnage in Natal, to put pressure on President FW de Klerk to put an end to the war, to isolate KwaZulu Chief Minister Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi and pressure the South African Police into acting against Inkatha.

Natal has since 1987 been the site of the most gruesome, unrestrained and extensive violence in South Africa in decades. The ostensible protagonists in the conflict have been members of Inkatha, the political party which holds power in the bantustan government of KwaZulu, and members/supporters of organisations and trade unions associated with the African National Congress.

Violence

The pervasive nature of the violence and the failure of the South African Government and its law enforcement agencies to effectively intervene in the conflict, now threatens the process of peaceful resolution of South Africa's political conflict.

Yet, the domestic and foreign media have ignored the extent of the violence in Natal, or have described it simplistically and incorrectly as "black on black" violence, thereby deepening the "conspiratorial" silence and inaction

that has been a distinct feature of the Natal conflict.

The town of Edenvale, outside Pietermaritzburg, has more widows than any other valley in South Africa — it is now known as the "Valley of Widows". The killing that started in this valley, and has now spread to other parts of Natal, holds whole communities in captivity and penetrates almost every township dwelling between Durban and Pietermaritzburg.

Homeless

By June 1990, it has been estimated, more than 3 300 people have died since 1987. About 50 000 people have been rendered homeless, and countless thousands have endured injury and damage to their person and property.

Schooling has been disrupted in other areas affected by the violence, including Sobantu,

Edendale, Slangspruit, Ashdown, Imbali, Mpu-mulanga, Nhlalakahle, Mpophomeni, Kwa-Mahkatha, Umlazi, Clermont, the townships near Richards Bay and Empangeni, Bishopstowe and Table Mountain, Port Shepstone and Newcastle.

Gangsterism

In the contest of regional high employment, the disruption of schooling has inevitably led to gangsterism and the township and urban areas are now experiencing a dramatic increase in ordinary crime. It is not possible to estimate the psychological and social stress that communities have suffered as a result of the death of loved ones, the division of families, the disruption of neighbourhoods and the daily terror of imminent attack.

In 1988, 312 people died in the ongoing violence in Beirut, and in the same year 682 per-

sons died in the Natal conflict. Yet, in 1988 South African television viewers regularly exposed to the tragedy of Lebanon, saw little footage of the Valley of Widows.

The label "black on black" implies certain assumptions about the causes of the violence. It suggests that the foundation of the bloodshed is an antagonistic, internecine tribalism.

The label disconnects the conflict from apartheid structures, from apartheid rule, and indeed purports to justify white fears about black majority rule. The label has prevented an understanding of the nature of the conflict.

Not tribal

The conflict in the first place is not tribal, it is profoundly political. It is not between Zulus and other tribes, but a conflict between groups associated with the apartheid structures, and those opposed to its role within the structures.

Secondly, the label has obscured the way in which the ongoing conflict has served apartheid: it has justified the detention and emergency rule over residents of black townships; it has seen the elimination of large numbers of activists and members of anti-apartheid organisations.

The KwaZulu Police have come to play a major role in the conflict, not as police but as the armed wing of Inkatha. The KwaZulu police were, according to evidence before court, required to be members of Inkatha, are responsible to Dr Buthelezi (he is also Minister of Police), and to former South African security policeman Brigadier Jack Buchner, now Commissioner of KwaZulu Police.

Warlords

Apart from the KwaZulu Police, known warlords have operated in the area since the mid-1980s with impunity.

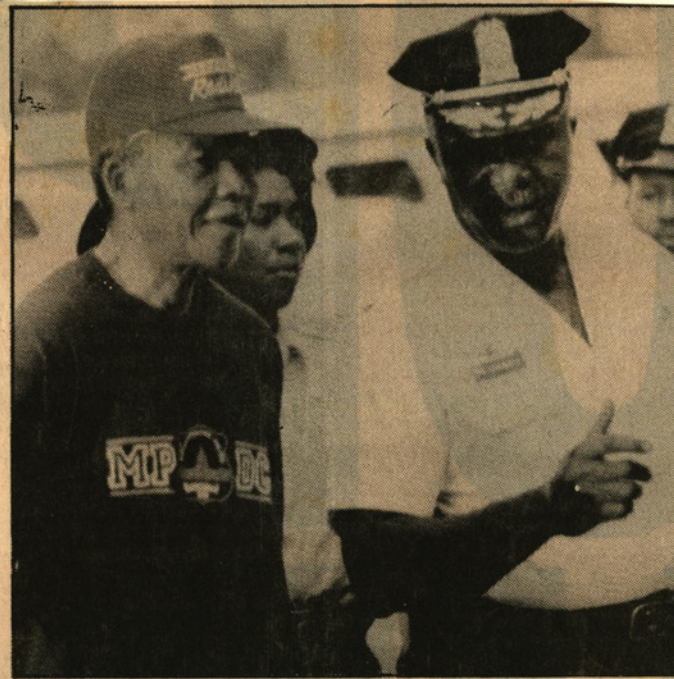
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MANDELA'S MORNING AFTER

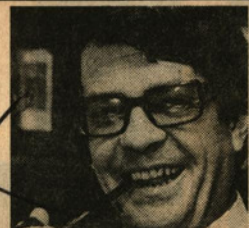
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Change course now or face a storm of anger

THE ANC'S continued insistence on sanctions and the armed struggle is causing increasing anger among whites.

They are disappointed because they had thought Nelson Mandela would have brought to an end at least the violence in the country and that, with sanctions gone, the economy would begin to recover.

Their disappointment is beginning to turn to dismissive anger: how silly, they say, to ask for sanctions to put pressure on the economy and at the same time talk of the redistribution of wealth, of higher wages, of wiping out the discrepancies between white and black living standards.

Structures

The ANC does have an explanation why it is not — yet — giving up what it sees as vital elements in its struggle.

The message is not communicated, though, because the ANC does not have structures on the ground with which it can get at its followers, and the media simply do not put its point of view across.

Certainly not the SABC.

Not being properly organised means the ANC cannot just move off former policy positions — and begin to look more realistic in white eyes — as it cannot prepare its followers for the change.

Whites, after all, are not its power base.

The ANC also still won-

Harald Pakendorf argues that the ANC should change its policy on sanctions before change is forced on it

ders whether the Government does not have a hidden agenda and therefore pressure must be kept up so the negotiation process becomes truly irreversible.

Over and above this, the organisation still needs foreign support — morally, but increasingly, financially — and thus has to give the impression that the struggle is intense and nowhere near completion.

Yet, when all is said and done, the very real danger exists that the ANC will be caught with egg on its face.

Western leaders might have told Mr Mandela they will stand by him, but it is a fair bet sanctions, as an effective instrument, are on the decline.

This highlights a problem the ANC will have to face — its very success in talking to the Government undermines sacred ANC positions.

Look at Umlazi. It was far from being a vote against the National Party and thus

the herald of a Conservative Party take-over.

It was a protest against the ANC views on sanctions and its inability to stop violence.

But foreigners see Umlazi as a sign that the De Klerk Government needs some show of support, some positive message. And this undermines the ANC's stance on sanctions.

Solution

The ANC has to learn it is no longer a liberation organisation which, by definition, has right on its side.

It is just another political party, fallible, struggling and with the sudden new responsibility of being part of the solution and not the problem in the country.

It might well be wise for the ANC to change its sanctions views ahead of the collapse of sanctions — a collapse which is not imminent, although the slide has begun.

BWB's fighting a 'Jewish money conspiracy' to hand Boer land to 'black terrorists'

Brendan Seery

BIBLE in one hand and gun in the other, Andrew Ford is prepared to fight to the death to prevent the white "Boer State" from falling into the hands of blacks or communists.

The "hoof leier" of the newly-formed Boerevreesbeweging (BWB) a breakaway group from the AWB, Mr Ford shoots from the lip when angrily attacking the "Jewish money conspiracy" which is plotting to hand over the land of the Boers to "black terrorists like Mandela".

Sitting at the dining-room table of his home in the Free State farming town of Bethlehem, Mr Ford vows: "We won't let them get us and our women and children again" — a reference to the Boer nationalists' belief that thousands of their women and children were deliberately exterminated by the British in concentration camps during the Boer War.

Against a backdrop of the Boer republic and BWB flags, he adds: "I will never give up my country to be ruled by a black man."

Eddy Von Maltitz, a Ficksburg farmer who calls himself a "right-wing radical" and is the BWB's secretary-general, chips in.

"The black man is a destroyer. I believe God is on the side of the people who build and collect, not on the side of the people who destroy."

Mr Von Maltitz, who was once involved in a verbal slanging match with Anglo American supremo Harry Oppenheimer at Bloemfontein University, has had a colourful history on the ultra-right.

AND NOW:

THE BOER FREEDOM FIGHTERS

He has been kicked out of the reserve army — having had paratroop, weapons and unarmed combat training — and has been suspended by his church for his extremist views.

He has led one-man demonstrations in Bloemfontein, has fired on security police snooping on his property, and "declared war" on the Government and anti-right newspapers like Bloemfontein's *Volksblad*.

The BWB, which believes Eugene Terre'Blanche is too much of a moderate, has aligned itself with the Boerestaats Party (BSP) of Robert van Tonder, to fight for the restoration of the old republics of Transvaal, Free State and Vryheid which they say were "stolen" from the Boer people by the Vereniging treaty at the end of the Boer War in 1902.

The organisation is training its members, and women and children (some as young as four years) in firearm handling and shooting, karate, knife-throwing and baton-charge drill. Members are also reminded of the history and culture of the Boer folk.

Mr Ford says the BWB may be an armed wing, but that it is defensive in nature. "We will wait till the day we see them handing over our country and then we

will take action."

When will the BWB consider that the "sell-out" occurs?

Mr Ford will not be drawn: "We will know that time when we have to pick up our guns."

Mr Von Maltitz adds: "We say that time is getting very short."

With his 10-year-old son Hendry looking devotedly at him, Mr Ford remarks: "We are not like you English. We have nowhere else to go. I can't go overseas. Who is going to accept me, my son, my wife, my daughters?"

Both men are cagey about their relations with the AWB and Mr Terre'Blanche.

Mr Ford says he was one of a number of AWB members suspended from the organisation back in 1986 — a time of "great sadness" for him. He says he believes the AWB had leadership problems, although he professes the greatest respect for Mr Terre'Blanche as "a fighter for the freedom of the Boer".

Both he and Mr Von Maltitz believe the AWB could have become an organisation with real teeth, but is now far less effective than it should be.

They feel the Conservative Party is not the answer, either.

"The CP dug its own grave with that meeting at the (Voor-

trekker) Monument in Pretoria" says Mr Von Maltitz.

Mr Ford says he was at the Voortrekker Monument meeting, and could not believe it when Dr Treurnicht suggested the right-wing should look for allies among like-minded blacks, such as Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

"How can you go begging to Dingaan to ask for help? The blacks must come crawling to us if they want help," he says.

It angers both men intensely that Dr Treurnicht did not come out in support of fugitive Piet "Skiet" Rudolph, and instead condemned the use of violent extra-Parliamentary means to bring a halt to President FW de Klerk's programme of change.

Of Mr Rudolph, Mr Ford says: "He is no terrorist. He is no criminal. He is just a man fighting for his country, and we regard him as a hero."

"A Boer freedom fighter," adds Mr Von Maltitz.

The BWB and the Boerestaats Party have started a fund to help Boer compatriots like Mr Rudolph who may get arrested for anti-government activities.

"The way things are going, they are using the jails we built for the ANC to put our people in" says Mr Von Maltitz.

Boer unity, they concede, is still some way off, and they admit there is considerable fractiousness in the ranks.

Mr Von Maltitz believes the time is ripe for a leader of stature who could unite the squabbling Boers into a cohesive force.

Both men are animated in their scathing comments about the "Jewish money conspiracy" which they believe is a plot by Jews and communists to seize the wealth of South Africa.

They point out with alacrity the Jews in left-wing ranks — the Goldbergs, the Sachs, the Slovos — and those Oppenheimers, Blooms, Schwarzs and Kerznars who are all working to deprive the Boer of his homeland, just as they did in 1902.

But this time, vows Mr Ford, "the Boer people will not be a pushover".

"We are telling De Klerk that he is breaking the sacred vow we made to God at Blood River that we, his chosen people, would keep this land He had given us for our children and our children's children."

"We have a message for De Klerk: Don't tell us that things cannot be turned back now. Nothing is irreversible. Only death."



Praise the Lord and pass the ammunition: Boereweerstandsbeweging (BWB) chief Andrew Ford (left) and the organisation's secretary-general Eddy von Maltitz.

Picture: Kevin Carter

(2)

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(3)



The new flag of the BWB.



The emblem worn by followers of the Boerestaat philosophy.

1-67-90

THE

CITY PRESS 1 JULY 1990

STAYAWAY:

PLEA FOR

PEACE

10 192

Political tension over national protest week

By S'BU MNGADI and CONNIE MOLUSI

PEACE is the watchword for tomorrow's controversial stayaway.

Amid continuing tension between supporters of the ANC/Cosatu/UDF alliance – which called the stayaway – and those of rival political organisations and trade unions, some parties yesterday pledged to adhere to a South Africa Council of Churches nine-point code of conduct.

The stayaway is part of the alliance's "week of national protest action" to force the government to end the continued fighting in Natal.

Before going into a briefing session with captains of commerce and industry in Durban yesterday, Patrick "Terror" Lekota said the ANC would not tolerate intimidation of workers who wished to go to work tomorrow.

"We want the protest to be dignified and peaceful. We are therefore calling for discipline from everyone."

The protest action has been condemned by the PAC, Nactu, Azapo, Inkatha and big business.

They feel the stayaway is divisive and will increase confrontation. They favour dialogue between the ANC and Inkatha.

Buthelezi told a KwaZulu Police passing-out parade in Ulundi on Thursday there had never been a stayaway that had not been forced on people and that it was "criminal to mount the kind of programme which will inevitably degenerate into a violent programme".

At a Press conference in Johannesburg this week, Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo said the intention of the protest was to press State President FW de Klerk to end the war in Natal.

Naidoo said the State had the capacity to end the conflict if it could find the political will. "The national mass action is designed to encourage it to find that will."

The ANC has called on the PAC "even at this late stage, to withdraw its opposition to the mass action and contribute towards pressing the regime to end the violence in Natal".

Most employers said they would apply the "no work, no pay" policy, but questioned why they were victimised by stayaways.

Spokesman for the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and Industry Ken Mason said any absenteeism not negotiated with employers would be regarded as an unpaid holiday.

The Natal Chamber of Industry, the SA Chamber of Business and big business in general feared the stayaway would cost hundreds of millions of rands in lost production.

The fighting in Natal has cost about 5 000 lives since 1982.

When tension over the proposed stayaway threatened to erupt into violence, the SACC this week drew up a code of conduct for political behaviour.

It was signed by the ANC, Nactu, Inkatha and the Natal Chamber of Commerce, among others.

The points of principle are:

■ Those who choose to stay away from work must be allowed to do so without interference;

■ Organisers of marches or other protest actions must publicly declare their plans. (This will facilitate monitoring of such action);

■ Those who choose to take part in such marches or other protest actions

■ To Page 2

Stayaway peace plea

■ From Page 1

must be allowed to do so without interference;

■ Those who choose not to take part in such actions must not be forced to do so;

■ Organisers of any protest action must ensure that it is peaceful;

■ All organisations must condemn attacks on people's homes and families

as criminal behaviour;

■ The security forces must uphold the right of people to protest peacefully and must not interfere with meetings, marches, rallies and stayaways. Their duty is to protect all people equally, both those who take part in such protest action, and those who choose not to.

01/07/1990

THE WASHINGTON

Crowds Flock for Last Glimpse of

MANDELA, From A4

heid's hallmarks, but who was willing nonetheless, he said, to "let bygones be bygones."

Mandela the unwavering freedom fighter told of his hope for peaceful change in South Africa, but said the ANC must reserve the right, if the talking fails, to again wage war.

Mandela the loyal comrade refused to disavow those whose leadership appears to many too contradictory to the cause of human rights.

Mandela the diplomat spoke of the kinship of blacks in the United States and South Africa, but outlined stark differences in their separate struggles and refused to be fdrawn into the American racial debate.

He was the Mandela of unrelenting clarity, who came to the United States seeking moral and financial support, but not at the expense of political convictions. Despite appearing weary at turn t

Congress has approved \$10 million in aid to groups promoting democratic institutions in South Africa, but such groups must renounce violence or agree to a suspension of violence while negotiations occur—something Mandela, much to the administration's displeasure, refused to do.

However, Mandela agreed to announce a "cessation of hostilities" once remaining obstacles to full talks with the government of President Frederik W. de Klerk are overcome.

That could be enough to qualify the ANC for assistance, Assistant Secretary of State Herman J. Cohen said.

"We thought Mandela came with very good news," Cohen said. "He told us that they are very close to an agreement on talks [with the government]. The evolution of his views on economic policy was very favorable, much more pragmatic and much less ideological."

Cohen said Mandela told the ad-

times, Mandela's health held. Shortly before his departure from Johannesburg, he had undergone surgery to remove a benign cyst from his bladder. A physician traveling with him in the United States examined him daily, said Essop Bahad, an ANC member and Mandela speechwriter. "The doctor is satisfied."

Wherever he went, Mandela, along with his wife, Winnie Mandela, stirred emotions. Throngs of supporters pushed and shoved and shrieked to get a glimpse of him. Politicians and personalities jockeyed to be in his presence, in front of the cameras, by Mandela's side.

So powerful were his words that they elicited goose bumps and tears, although in one case, Miami, his words motivated protest by Cuban Americans angered at Mandela's praise of Cuban President Fidel Castro.

Some Jews also were rankled by Mandela's utterances, in this case about Palestine Liberation Organ-

ization leader Yasser Arafat. Mandela praised Arafat for the PLO's support, details of which Mandela refused to divulge, for the South African liberation struggle.

This rift was in part the subject of a half-hour meeting Friday between Mandela and Natan Sharansky, a Soviet Jew and former political prisoner.

Sharansky is just over five feet tall. Mandela stands more than six feet. The two former prisoners joked, said Sharansky, about the relative benefits of each other's stature. "You know it's much better to be short in prison," Sharansky said after the meeting. If a prisoner is tall and his uniform is too small, he will be cold. But if the prisoner is short and the uniform long, "it's warmer."

Jokes aside, Sharansky left the meeting saying he and Mandela found common ground despite their "objective disagreement" on the PLO.

The Mandelas and members o

have seen a lot of joint sessions," Wolpe said, "and none where my colleagues responded more enthusiastically. They have a deeper respect now for the kind of leadership he is providing."

Wolpe said that, as a result of Mandela's visit, there was "a growing sensitivity of the need to apply the same standard of analysis to South African sanctions as that applied to Poland as it moved toward democracy. We applauded but we refused to lift sanctions entirely until democracy was irreversible. We took our lead from Walesa, not Jaruzelski."

Rep. Jim Leach (R-Iowa) said Mandela "did his cause an enormous quantity of good, presenting himself in the philosophical tradition of Jefferson and Martin Luther King."

Mandela's speech to Congress, Leach said, was "exceedingly reassuring" and "gave greater credence to his assurances of protection for property rights."

But some members of Congress were upset by Mandela's support for Marxists and the Palestine Lib-

Mandela

the ANC delegation left Oakland late today afternoon en route to Dublin. Before leaving, Mandela told a brief but packed press conference at the Hyatt Regency Oakland Hotel that he felt his trip had been a success.

"I and my delegation are extremely excited about the manner in which we have been welcomed by the people of this country . . . black and white, from all sections and from people of different political affiliations," Mandela said.

Mandela came face to face with an American public, especially its black segment, more supportive of his cause than he had anticipated.

It was "an exceptionally pleasant surprise," Bahad said. "Nobody knew this until Mandela arrived. It was impossible to determine the scale and the scope of the feeling."

The ANC also counts as a success Mandela's meeting with President Bush, in which Mandela argued the case for continued U.S. economic sanctions against South

Africa. After the meeting, Bush said the sanctions, for now, would remain in place.

The ANC, banned for 30 years in South Africa until last February, came to the United States seeking money to finance the rebuilding of the organization. By trip's end, no one had yet tallied the checks and pledges received by the group, but several profitable fund raisers will likely place the total in the millions. "So we are happy, but we want more," Bahad said.

So single-minded in purpose is Mandela that those who traveled with him said he was rarely swept up the moments that so deeply affected Americans who saw him.

"His reactions to things convey to me a sense of serenity that comprehends a much longer span of time than most of us live in," said Wilkins. "So I think that although he is surely aware of the moment, his emotional and spiritual context is so vast that no moment seems to engulf him."

But for Wilkins, some of the moments were priceless.

At a \$2,500-per-person fund-raiser at actor Robert De Niro's Tri-

BeCa Film Center and Grill in New York, Mandela's often serious face broke into a huge grin when boxer Joe Frazier walked up to the Mandela table, Wilkins said.

"'Smokin' Joe! Smokin' Joe!'" Wilkins remembered Mandela saying. The ANC leader was a boxer in his youth.

Mandela's joy at Frazier's appearance "was pure ecstasy. His face was as if the sun came out."

What most struck Harry Belafonte, another tour organizer, was that Mandela never veered from his course.

"He has not lost his identity," Belafonte said. "He's not lost his focus. He's not lost his sense of purpose and no matter how broad the canvas, he always defines himself in terms of the cause of liberation."

And Mandela said today that his cause will bring him back to the United States in October. At that time he will take up the cause of American Indians, he said, adding that he had received letters from Native Americans describing their situation, and "I can assure you they have left me very disturbed."

SALE

PREMIUM BEDDING



Mandela Attains Chief Goal: Keeping U.S. Sanctions

South African Eases Some Concerns on Economic Plans, but Fails to

By Al Kamen and Ann Devroy
Washington Post Staff Writers

African National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela accomplished his primary goal during his four-day stay in Washington last week—ensuring U.S. economic sanctions will not be lifted any time soon against the minority white government of South Africa.

Although his remarks supporting Moammar Gadhafi, Fidel Castro and Yasser Arafat sparked substantial criticism, Mandela's pledges of a mixed economy and a major role for private investment in a democratic South Africa assuaged some concerns about the ANC's support for Marxism, widespread nationalization of industry and income redistribution.

But Mandela made little immediate progress in obtaining U.S. aid for the ANC or for housing ANC political prisoners and the more than 20,000 exiles expected to return to South Africa.

Congress has approved \$10 million in aid to groups promoting democratic institutions in South Africa, but such groups must renounce violence or agree to a suspension of violence while negotiations occur—something Mandela, much to the administration's displeasure, refused to do.

However, Mandela agreed to announce a "cessation of hostilities" once remaining obstacles to full talks with the government of President Frederik W. de Klerk are overcome.

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"We thought Mandela came with very good news," Cohen said. "He told us that they are very close to an agreement on talks [with the government]. The evolution of his views on economic policy was very favorable, much more pragmatic and much less ideological."

Cohen said Mandela told the ad-

ministration that "the most important element in the future economic system of South Africa is the private sector. We couldn't ask for more than that."

But Secretary of State James A. Baker III also turned down Mandela's request for housing assistance for the exiles, according to one official, because U.S. law forbids federal assistance for segregated housing.

Although he failed to secure U.S. aid commitments, Mandela's triumphant tour and the extraordinary force of his personality appear to have energized his supporters and scuttled any thought of lifting sanctions.

"Prior to his arrival, some individuals in the administration were talking about lifting sanctions as a way of reinforcing de Klerk," said Rep. Howard E. Wolpe (D-Mich.), chairman of the House Foreign Affairs subcommittee on Africa. Wolpe and other lawmakers called Mandela's address to Congress an "extraordinary" performance. "I have seen a lot of joint sessions," Wolpe said, "and none where my colleagues responded more enthusiastically. They have a deeper respect now for the kind of leadership he is providing."

Wolpe said that, as a result of Mandela's visit, there was "a growing sensitivity of the need to apply the same standard of analysis to South African sanctions as that applied to Poland as it moved toward democracy. We applauded but we refused to lift sanctions entirely until democracy was irreversible. We took our lead from Walesa, not Jaruzelski."

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But some members of Congress were upset by Mandela's support for Marxists and the Palestine Lib-

eration Organization and by his refusal to renounce violence.

Rep. William S. Broomfield (R-Mich.), ranking Republican on the House Foreign Affairs Committee, said after the speech that he was impressed by Mandela's "eloquence and by his determined resistance for so long to the persecution of his people."

Still, Broomfield said: "Mandela has been given plenty of opportunities to renounce violence. He has not. Nor has he renounced his lifelong commitment to Marxism. I had hoped Mr. Mandela would ease some of the fears we have had about his tactics and alliances in this speech before Congress. He has not, and I, for one, was very disappointed."

Brass Beds I

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S. Sanctions

Garner Aid for ANC

But Sen. David L. Boren (Okla.) a key conservative Democrat, said that while "there are some strong disagreements" about Mandela's comments on Gadhafi and others, "I believe that he left a favorable and lasting impression with Congress by his sincere desire to establish a non-racial democracy in South Africa ... without recrimination for past injustices."

Boren said that Mandela, in a number of appearances, "made particular progress ... by making it clear that he understands he will need large increases in private investment in the South African economy in the future, and that to attract outside investment, he must allow for a strong element of free enterprise. ..."




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PREMIUM BEDDING



Weary Mandela Stirs California Crowds

(12)

Patrician ANC Leader Serenely Sticks to His Message of Hope

By Lynne Duke
Washington Post Staff Writer

LOS ANGELES, June 30—After 11 days and six cities, the Nelson Mandela tour had reached the Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum. A crowd of 75,000 had come Friday to hear from this former guerrilla fighter and political prisoner who has become for many the embodiment of universal hope.

And what they saw is what Americans may remember best: the extraordinary stately bearing of a man driven, sometimes to near exhaustion, by a mission he has declared unstoppable.

Mandela spoke slowly. His voice sounded strained. He removed his silver-rimmed glasses, revealing eyes more puffed than usual and a face more deeply lined. Although the night was cool, his brow was sweaty. He mopped it slowly with a cloth. It was clear that he was weary. But ever the statesman, clear of his purpose, his carriage remained erect.

Today in Oakland, the last stop on his tour, Mandela declared himself rejuvenated. "I feel," he told a crowd of some 50,000 in the Oakland Coliseum, "like an old battery that has been recharged . . . It is the people of the United States of America that are responsible for this."

Mandela's impact on those who saw him, who heard him, who traveled with him was, with some exceptions, profound. Each morning on his American tour, he greeted members of his delegation as if he were seeing them for the first time. Roger Wilkins, who helped organize the tour and traveled with the ANC delegation, said in an interview this week.

"He will greet each one. 'Hello,

Zwelakhe. Hello, Tommy. Hello, Barbara.' He greets each one and touches each one and smiles. . . . It seems to be saying you're valuable and I'm glad you're here with me."

Mandela seemed always serene—not stoic and detached, but crystal clear about his place in history, Wilkins said.

"I've never met anyone like him, and I'm 58 years old," said Wilkins, a professor at George Mason University. "This man eclipses anybody I've ever seen."

Mandela, 71, deputy president of the once-banned African National Congress, was, he said, not pleading his own case, but the case of the

millions of black South Africans who live under the suffocating repression of the white minority government. His personal stature, he insisted, was simply a reflection of his organization, and nothing he deserved credit for himself.

From Boston to Miami, Atlanta to Oakland, in a schedule that would have worn on a man half his age, Mandela spoke on. "We cannot lose, we cannot lose," he said. "The people of the world will not allow us to lose."

He was the Mandela of forgiveness, railing against the oppression and death that have been apart-

See MANDELA, A5, Col. 1



African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela talks to dissident Soviet emigrant Natan Sharansky in Los Angeles.

A magician casts a spell

NELSON Mandela's royal progress across America has stirred the hearts of millions of blacks and a great many whites, but he has disappointed those who wanted to know how he intends to solve the South African conundrum — or how Americans can help him solve it.

Beyond the singer Harry Belafonte's proclamation that Mandela is "one of the greatest leaders in the history of the world" is the slowly dawning realisation that the creation of a post-apartheid South Africa, where blacks have the main say and whites are genuinely guaranteed civil and political rights, is fraught with appalling complications — whatever Mandela's greatness and however craftily F. W. de Klerk persuades his white brethren to surrender power.

"He might have spent less time and energy making black America feel good and taken more trouble to convince the president that the ANC are democrats," said one expert close to the Administration, which remains suspicious of the preponderance of Communists (Mandela not among them) within the ANC leadership.

For sure, in all but the most jaundiced eyes, Mandela has cut an impressive figure: supremely dignified and unembittered, proud yet humble, humorous but no scorer of cheap laughs, articulate and quick-witted, though sometimes a shade ponderous and legalistic. Eschewing the teleprompters and speech-cards American politicians seem reliant upon, he speaks clearly and cogently, often without notes.

When he had the nerve, in front of the White House, to scold Bush for being "misinformed" about the ANC's attitude towards violence, he managed to sound more honest than rude. The ANC argument that America has given aid to guerrillas in Afghanistan and Nicaragua (so why chide the ANC for resorting to arms?) was hard for the Administration to rebut. Mandela's insistence on keeping "armed struggle", currently suspended, as an option until changes are "irreversible", seemed tough and shrewd rather than bloodthirsty — though bound to increase the scepticism on Washington's hard Right.

Americans have been unable to spot a shred of anti-white feeling: by every account, both before and after his 27 years in prison, his devotion to non-racialism has been utterly genuine. Only Mandela's wife, Winnie, with her clenched-fist Harlem threat to "go out and fight the white man" if talks break down, struck an ugly racial note. Mandela never assails whites. His enemy is always apartheid.

It was tactically a big error, then, to allow his hosts to run his tour essentially as a black American celebration, with a touch of Hollywood fund-raising and a bare two days' powerbroking in Washington.

Nobody seems to know what the ANC really stands for. When the far

Nelson Mandela's US triumph left crucial questions unanswered. Xan Smiley reports from Washington

less glamorous de Klerk, perhaps in a few weeks' time, comes to explain his awkward position and to tout complex constitutional possibilities, he may well start a more worthwhile debate and gain a more thoughtful response in Congress.

During the 12-day extravaganza, Mandela was barely required to spell out his beliefs or his constitutional ideas. At a ceremonial joint session of Congress he invoked Jefferson, Lincoln and Washington and praised the glory of the Ameri-

can constitution, its Bill of Rights and the independence of the judiciary. Earlier he declared that the ANC had no fixed ideology and a politically diverse membership. He promised a multi-party system, a mixed economy ("but we have no blueprint as to the makeup of that mix") and a proper return on foreign investment. All pretty mild capitalistic stuff.

So has he dropped his earlier views, when, as head of the ANC in Transvaal, he inveighed against "the falsity of the argument that American investments in Africa will raise the standards of the people of this continent" and asserted that "the Communist bogey is a stunt to distract the people of Africa from the real issue facing them, namely American imperialism"? Perhaps. But he was given no chance to explain why, or to clarify Communist strength or aims within the ANC.

While his American admirers were adulating Mandela the man, he carefully stressed he was bound by the ANC's collective leadership, and only half-jokingly told the congressional Black Caucus: "I have to obey my bosses behind me."

ABC Television's Ted Koppel, in front of a wildly partisan Harlem audience, allowed himself to be sidetracked into a discussion — endlessly rehearsed by Mandela's detractors — of the ANC's comradeship with Arafat, Gaddafi and Castro. With old-fashioned loyalty to past friends, he refused to disavow them. He would have looked hypocritical and weak had he done so. But his rather prim explanation that the "internal affairs" of other countries were "no business" of his, while he expects his American hosts to busy themselves with the "internal affairs" of his own homeland, went down less well.

More significant was his refusal to "wash our dirty linen in a foreign country" when asked, in a television message from one of his chief political rivals, the Zulu Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, to "ring up and say hello". Mandela's repeated assertion that the black-on-black factional and tribal killings in Natal are entirely the fault of the government also seemed hollow.

The question of group rights is a the nub of negotiations over the emerging South African constitution. The irony is that while Mandela and the ANC are still committed to "one person, one vote in a unitary state", America is strongly federal (with an "undemocratic" bias in favour of less populous states) and enshrines separate group rights in law so racial groups can be guaranteed representation.

The ANC's (and its allied South African Communist party's) conversion to multi-partyism is recent. America is genuinely shocked by apartheid. As they begin to seek out the latest news on Africa, they are equally shocked to discover that, though a handful of African leaders have voluntarily stepped down, not a single one (except on the tiny Indian Ocean island of Mauritius) has ever been peacefully removed by the ballot-box in the past 30 years.

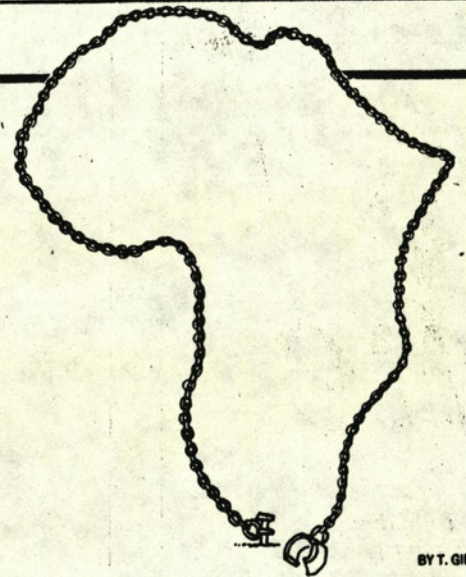
Why, they may ask, should Mandela or the ANC and its Communist party friends break that mould? It is that sort of probing question which Mandela might have answered magisterially — but America forgot to ask it.

Mandrake — P17

SUNDAY TELEGRAPH

1 JULY 1990 LONDON

Africa



BY T. GIBSON

J. Brian Atwood

Help the ANC

JUL. 1 1990

And strengthen its democratic elements.

Nelson Mandela had no difficulty last week convincing official Washington that sanctions against South Africa should not be lifted now. But on the issue of whether direct assistance should be given to Mandela's African National Congress to encourage the democratization process, the signals were mixed, Congress saying yes, the administration no.

In March, Secretary of State James Baker said the United States should encourage non-racial democracy in South Africa "... the way it did in Nicaragua, if you will, where it [the assistance] went through the National Endowment for Democracy." The African National Congress, he said, "will have a major role." Congress recently obliged by appropriating \$10 million for a democratization program in South Africa, a large part of which the sponsors intended as direct assistance to the ANC.

This reflected a sensible approach, but strong opposition within Baker's party forced a change of position inside the administration. New concerns about aiding the ANC were raised when Mandela remarked favorably about three old allies, Yasser Arafat, Moammar Gadhafi and Fidel Castro, all of whom are justifiably on most people's short list of most-despised leaders. Nevertheless, we cannot attempt to work on democratization with other groups in South Africa and leave the ANC out of our assistance efforts, however troubled we are by some of its alliances.

Mandela has made it clear that his recent meetings with Arafat and Gadhafi and his statements of appreciation stem from the support they and Castro gave the ANC when many governments remained silent about apartheid. Nonetheless, Mandela undoubtedly returns home with a better understanding of the costs of this reciprocal loyalty. He should also see clearly the contradiction of urging world intervention in South Africa while suggesting that terrorism and

gross human rights abuses by the PLO, Libya and Cuba are "internal" and beyond comment.

None of this changes the fact that Mandela has repeatedly called for a nonracial democracy in South Africa. This has been a principal tenet of the ANC since its founding in 1912.

The ANC is a large, complex organization with radical elements as well as more moderate ones. No one knows whether the formal ANC commitment to a nonracial, presumably multiparty democratic system will in the end be a stronger force than the desire of some for a single-party, socialist state. That is precisely why we should work with democratic forces within the ANC.

Those who want to block any democratic development assistance to the ANC because it has leftist tendencies risk creating a self-fulfilling prophecy. Avoiding involvement with the ANC may keep these critics ideologically pure, but this is not a prescription for a viable democratization strategy or for preserving American influence in a fast-changing situation.

Opponents of aid to the ANC raise the legitimate concern of its refusal to abandon publicly the "armed struggle." This is of course troublesome, because recourse to violence is never the preferred path to democracy. This is why Mandela's White House confirmation that the "armed struggle" is suspended so long as peace negotiations are underway is so significant. What he did not say is that the ANC abandoned this tactic almost two years ago. What is left is to transform a de facto condition into a formal declaration; this Mandela says he will do after the state of emergency is ended and ANC "prisoners of war" are released. This delay may trouble advocates of a strictly nonviolent approach, but it is certainly understandable in the circumstances.

Ironically, the de Klerk government has shown greater understanding for Mandela's position vis-à-vis his constituency than the American critics of the ANC. After all, de Klerk

chose Mandela as his interlocutor precisely because he hopes the ANC can deliver support from South Africa's anti-apartheid forces for a negotiated settlement, even from those most reluctant to forgo the armed struggle.

The ANC is now embarking on a political strategy to achieve a nonracial democracy in South Africa. We should not only welcome this policy, but actively support it. We can promote this peaceful course by helping provide the infrastructure the ANC requires to be politically engaged. Just as did the opposition "UNO" forces in Nicaragua and the Solidarity movement in Poland, the ANC needs material aid—vehicles, regional and local offices, telephones, FAX machines—to pursue the struggle for non-racial democracy. We should help other South African groups as well, but we cannot ignore the needs of the one organization the white government itself has recognized as its most influential prospective negotiating partner.

South Africa is at a crucial transitional stage. Just as Mandela today remembers his friends during the early days of his internment, so too will he and his ANC colleagues remember those who offered help during this historic period. The United States can either engage in a meaningful democratization effort in South Africa or leave the playing field to forces beyond our influence.

The writer is president of the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs.

JUL. 1 1990

Mandela immediately takes a place in the hearts of black Americans (6)

JUL. 1 1990

By Arch Parsons

Washington Bureau of The Sun

WASHINGTON — Not since the days when Joe Louis was the heavyweight boxing champion of the world have black Americans offered a hero's crown to any living black as enthusiastically as they handed it to Nelson Mandela last week.

That was the estimate of, among others, Roger Wilkins, the national coordinator of the black South African leader's trek across the United States, a civil rights activist and a leader of the national black community.

Mr. Wilkins was only a teen-ager when Louis was champion — 1937 to 1949 — and when nearly all of Harlem would pour out of its tenements into the streets to celebrate his victories. But he said last week that he remembered black America's adulation of Louis well enough to conclude that no living black since Louis — not even the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. — has been so

warmly received.

The impact of Mr. Mandela on this nation's black community will be "quite profound," predicted Mr. Wilkins, a senior fellow of the Institute of Political Studies in Washington.

"He has reawakened African-American pride. American culture teaches blacks to be ashamed of their African heritage, but here was this splendid African who became the first black to address a joint session of Congress. He brought to reality the African legend, the history of kings and golden eras."

Mr. Wilkins said there were black Americans who "didn't like" Dr. King, who thought his style was "too aggressive."

"It is a sad thing to say, given Dr. King's great accomplishments, but he did not become a hero to many African-Americans until he was assassinated," he said.

While Mr. Wilkins was at Mr. Mandela's side throughout his visit, many of the nation's best-known

black leaders never got much closer to Mr. Mandela than to stand on the platform at one of several stadium rallies that were held in his behalf or to sit on the dais at one of the dinners that honored him.

But they reacted much in the same way as black Americans in the crowds did.

Representative John R. Lewis, a Democrat from Atlanta, one of the stops on Mr. Mandela's visit, was once one of Dr. King's most fiery colleagues — in fact, he had been asked to tone down his speech at the Lincoln Memorial on the day in 1963 when Dr. King spoke of having "a dream."

Last week, when Mr. Mandela spoke before Congress, Mr. Lewis said he was "deeply moved — almost to tears." Afterwards, he said somewhat sheepishly, he asked Mr. Mandela for his autograph, and got it.

Richard G. Hatcher, who as mayor of Gary, Ind., was one of the first black mayors in the United States, remains one of the nation's key

black leaders in the civil rights movement.

As Mr. Hatcher was preparing to fly into Washington to attend one of the dinners for Mr. Mandela, he said that all he hoped to do was to shake hands with the black South African leader. He got his wish.

Dorothy Height, president of the National Council of Negro Women, met Mr. Mandela at the airport in New York, attended one of the luncheons for Mr. Mandela's wife, Winnie, and managed to get into the Atlanta church when he received a human rights award from Coretta Scott King, Dr. King's widow.

Ms. Height, who walks with a cane or uses a wheelchair, met Mr. Mandela, but never really got beyond the pleasantries of the introduction.

But she said of him: "His impact is tremendous. He is rekindling a desire for action among African Americans. Somehow, he gives us a tremendous surge of energy."

The most visible black leader in the Mandela entourage was the Rev.

Jesse L. Jackson. But Mr. Jackson, too, found that Mr. Mandela's schedule was inhibiting.

Mr. Jackson had been scheduled to have an early-morning, one-to-one breakfast with Mr. Mandela in New York. It was canceled; Mr. Mandela already was feeling the effects of an overcrowded itinerary.

Instead, Mr. Mandela went for a walk, more or less alone except for security guards. These walks turned out to be his favorite relaxation.

Mr. Wilkins was asked how Mr. Jackson seemed to manage to be everywhere Mr. Mandela was. Mr. Wilkins replied, at first a bit stiffly, that after all, Mr. Jackson was on the official executive committee for the trip.

Then Mr. Wilkins reminded a reporter that Mr. Jackson had been on hand in South Africa when Mr. Mandela was released after 27 years in prison.

"You know Jesse," Mr. Wilkins said with a laugh. "He's always going to be where the action is."

Mandela completes voyage into popular heroism



ASSOCIATED PRESS

Nelson Mandela gets a goodbye hug from Joi Addison in Los Angeles.

New York Times News Service

OAKLAND, Calif. — Nelson Mandela ended his triumphant visit to the United States yesterday, saying that he had been "inspired beyond imagination" by the American people and announcing that he would return in October.

Departing from his prepared speech, the South African anti-apartheid leader disclosed that American Indians had appealed to him for support and that he would visit them during his next trip, which is expected to include Philadelphia and Chicago.

The 71-year-old deputy president of the African National Congress closed out his eight-city, 11-day U.S. visit with a rousing rally at Oakland Coliseum yesterday.

"We cannot turn back, we shall not turn back, you have inspired us beyond imagination," he told a cheering crowd of 70,000.

He said despite his grueling schedule he felt "like an old battery that has been recharged."

"And if I feel so young . . . It is the people of the United States of America who are responsible for this," he said.

Earlier yesterday, Mr. Mandela landed at the Oakland airport and was greeted by Representative Ron-

ald V. Dellums, the California Democrat who has for years pushed legislation for sanctions against the South African government.

Mr. Mandela then thanked the Bay area for its support of his goal of "one person, one vote" and "a democratic, non-racial, non-sexist" society.

The area was a mandatory stop on Mr. Mandela's trip, organizers said, because the cities of Oakland, Berkeley and San Francisco have ordinances calling for divestment of stocks in U.S. companies that do business in South Africa, and regional longshoremen have refused to unload South African goods.

[Mr. Mandela, seemingly buoyed by the warm and celebratory welcome on his final stop in the United States, nonetheless canceled a fund-raising dinner last night, the *Los Angeles Times* reported. His wife, Winnie, skipped an engagement in Berkeley as the Mandela entourage left for Ireland roughly 12 hours ahead of schedule.

[Mr. Mandela took about 10 people with him on a charter flight out of the country. Others in his entourage were to leave on commercial flights. Word of his abrupt departure came as the staff at the Oakland Convention Center were setting up tables for what was to be his final

appearance on the U.S. tour.

"The conflict is that he promised to be in Ireland," said Roger Wilkins, national coordinator of the U.S. tour. "He also promised to be here."

Aides said the trip to Ireland was to thank the Dublin government for its support in the European Community's recent decision to maintain sanctions against South Africa.

Mr. Mandela's U.S. tour has been instant history, a televised pageant that riveted audiences in New York, Boston, Washington, Atlanta, Detroit, Los Angeles and the Bay area.

Over and over again, people along the way gave the same answer when reporters asked why they had turned out for the former political prisoner from faraway: "This is history."

Boarding Mr. Mandela's rented plane in Los Angeles yesterday morning, Mr. Wilkins said: "The purpose of the trip was for him to get his message about the current state of politics in South Africa and the nature of the African National Congress' struggle to the American people."

"I think that he has succeeded brilliantly because he is such an extraordinary human being and such an able politician."

Mr. Wilkins declined to say how much money had been raised at fund-raising events, along the way,

including a \$5,000-a-place reception and dinner for film stars and other celebrities in Los Angeles on Friday night. The trip's total appeared to run over \$5 million.

For Mr. Mandela, who was released last year after 27 years in a South African prison, the trip was in some ways a revelation, too, close aides said.

"The political life of the U.S. is not so new, because, of course, he has been reading about it," said Zwelakhe Sisulu, editor of the South African weekly *New Nation*, who is accompanying Mr. Mandela.

It was the cultural experience that was new, Mr. Sisulu said, and Mr. Mandela particularly enjoyed meeting sportsmen and musicians.

"I think he was very surprised at the warmth of the American people; that was what was most striking," he said. "If anything, I think this was a humbling experience."

Reuters contributed to this article.

JUL. 1 1990

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ANC faces crisis over stayaway

ANC opponents close ranks over stayaway

Sam Sole

THE African National Congress faces its biggest crisis since its unbanning as tomorrow's stayaway threatens to prove a tactical blunder.

As tension mounts on the eve of the national stayaway, devised to call attention to the Natal violence, it appears the ANC might have bitten off more than it can chew.

The stayaway was conceived to induce the government — on pain of the ANC's scuttling of national negotiations — to pull Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's political teeth.

However, it has run into unprecedented resistance and given rival black organisations the opportunity to challenge the ANC's claim to pre-eminence.

Instead of isolating Inkatha, ANC forces have temporarily isolated themselves. Other black political and trade union groupings, as well as organised business, have condemned the stayaway and the ANC has had to fight a rear-guard publicity action in defending the call.

The joint Cosatu, ANC and United Democratic Front national programme of action — which, in addition to tomorrow's stayaway, includes national marches and rallies on July 7 and local protests through the week — was intended initially to "isolate" Inkatha leader Chief Buthelezi and place "the apartheid war in Natal" on the national agenda.

The ANC said it had become obvious that peace initiatives at regional level would continue to be "doomed to failure" until the government had established the "conditions for peace".

These "conditions" included disbanding the KwaZulu police — perceived as Chief Buthelezi's "private army"; the lifting of the state of emergency in Natal; the arrest and prosecution of identified "warlords"; and the appointment of a commission of inquiry to examine the role of the police in the Natal conflict.

The ANC said its constituents had been consulted thoroughly about the stayaway and fully endorsed it.

However, during the week a growing number of organisations and individuals condemned the decision to call for a

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stayaway as unilateral and said it would lead to greater conflict in Natal and the country.

The Pan-Africanist Congress, which is emerging as the major rival to the ANC at national level, has come out strongly against the stayaway, saying it will aggravate conflict.

A spokesman for Cosatu's smaller rival union federation, the National Council of Trade Unions, said people would "definitely go to work" tomorrow, although they were aware there would be intimidation. He said the young lions (comrades) were saying people should stay away for the week.

"The ANC is not in control of those people. Our members will protect themselves, but we fear there will be violence."

The Azanian People's Organisation said stayaways had contributed in part to the 3000 deaths in Natal. It accused the ANC of "seeking to fan emotional support for itself at the expense of black life".

Chief Buthelezi strongly condemned the planned stayaway and appealed to Inkatha members to act responsibly.

The ANC responded to the criticism by calling a press conference on Friday to clarify the reasons for the stayaway, saying a "climate of hysteria" had been created by forces seeking to undermine the week of action.

"The planned action represents a

last-ditch attempt by the people of Natal and the rest of South Africa to draw attention to the intolerable killings taking place in this region," spokesman Terror Lekota said.

He called on all sides to exercise discipline and refrain from intimidation in the interests of a "dignified and peaceful protest".

An 11th-hour meeting was called yesterday to explain the reasons for the stayaway to Natal business leaders. Businessmen have criticised the stayaway as "unhelpful" to the peace process and economically damaging. They have adopted a hard-line "no work, no pay" policy.

In a move to defuse the situation, the South African Council of Churches announced a code of conduct for the Week of Action.

The code calls for all to be allowed the freedom to choose whether to join the protest action. The SACC also said it was sponsoring a new peace initiative in the region.

The stayaway call has also aggravated tensions within the Mass Democratic Movement, a number of whose members oppose it.

The UDF's president, Archie Gumede, has questioned the wisdom of the stayaway.

"If those who called the stayaway are really interested in peace, then it is not going to produce the result they want. It will have the opposite effect — it's going to increase the violence."

He said that no matter how successful the stayaway, it would not help the cause of peace. "The only solution is for the political organisations to come to an agreement — their presidents should meet — and to carry that agreement to the people."

Azapo, Nactu and the PAC have rejected the stayaway and the issue, which does not enjoy priority outside Natal, might be seen as a ripe occasion to challenge the ANC's political dominance.

"This has been a major miscalculation by the ANC," said University of Cape Town political scientist Robert Schrire.

"The last thing they need to do is take risks which indicate a weak support base and bargaining position."

The national president of the South African Black Taxi Association, James Ngcoya, said there was confusion in Cape Town and Johannesburg about the stayaway. "They say, why should there be a stayaway? It's not work that is causing the violence — leaders must get together and sort it out."

The director of the Inkatha Institute, Gavin Woods, said Inkatha members had mobilised opposition to the stayaway, telling people to go to work.

"The situation has been primed for conflict."

At least two Inkatha leaders — in Pietermaritzburg and Durban — intend leading a convoy of workers in defiance of the stayaway.

TO go or not to go to work tomorrow is a big question.

Millions of black workers throughout the country face this uncertainty tomorrow in response to a national stayaway call by Cosatu, endorsed by the ANC and UDF.

Unlike previous campaigns where most anti-apartheid movements were in agreement on stayaways, this time there is division among black political movements.

The PAC and its allies, the National Council of Trade Unions and affiliated student bodies, are opposed to the campaign.

So too are the Black Consciousness Movement, Azapo and its student affiliates. Tomorrow it will be business as usual for their members.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha movement, which gave rise to this campaign, are also opposed to the call.

According to Cosatu, the aim of the stayaway is to force

☐ **MY WAY**

With Khulu Sibiya

To work or not to work

City Press

1 July 1990



the government to take action against the KwaZulu Police who are accused of bias in handling the Natal strife, and against Inkatha warlords who they believe are responsible for the deaths of UDF and Cosatu members in Natal.

If tomorrow's national stayaway has succeeded in doing one thing so far, that is to widen rifts between black political organisations.

It will be interesting to see what kind of action is taken by those sympathetic to either the ANC, PAC, Azapo or

Inkatha, but who are not necessarily members.

The success or failure of the stayaway will not be a true reflection of support any political organisation enjoys. Whether we like it or not, there will be intimidation.

The target of tomorrow's action was meant to be the government and Inkatha, but it will turn out to be black versus black.

"The masses are behind us," our leaders have often said, but they are not interested in the opinions and emotions of the masses.

The organisers of

the stayaway say the aim is to force the government to intervene and stop the Natal violence.

Many people, especially the victims in that area, have no problems with this. They have always welcomed any suggestions that may bring the situation in Natal back to normal.

But will this stayaway achieve its aims? I doubt it.

Despite the South African Council of Churches' plea for political tolerance, past experience has proved that black politics is not about theory or communication through the media, it is very much

a bread-and-butter issue.

Tomorrow morning there will be uncertainty among people as to whether to go to work or not. Those who finally go may not experience problems in the morning, but certainly when they return in the evenings.

This is when the tsotsi element takes advantage of the confusion. We have seen people being robbed and molested using the cover of "sellout".

Transport will also pose a problem. Taxis and buses are normally withdrawn from the townships on such days, making it difficult for those who may want to go to work to travel safely.

I want to sound a warning to our political leaders: while stayaways and other forms of pressure are welcomed by the masses, these decisions should not be taken unilaterally.

We have fought hard for democracy in this country and we should be the people to hold this principle dearly.

Hidden faces: the ANC's secret friends

THE SUNDAY TELEGRAPH JULY 1 1990

and Mandela's mysterious bosses

TREWOR SAMSON

The IRA's Mr Fixit pays a visit

Have the links between the IRA and the ANC gone beyond mere rhetoric? Valerie Elliott and Simon O'Dwyer-Russell

In London and Fred Bridgland in Durban report

WITHIN days of the discovery before Christmas 1988 of an IRA bomb factory in a Clapham flat in south London, Nicholas Mullen, a 41-year-old former student agitator turned Provisional IRA quartermaster and general "fixer", took a flight from London's Heathrow airport to Harare, the capital of Zimbabwe.

His arrival not only set off a major alert concerning the safety of Mrs Thatcher but provided intriguing evidence that IRA links with the ANC might go beyond mere fraternal support.

The story of Mullen's mysterious visit to Africa, told here for the first time, could embarrass the ANC, which has been making strenuous efforts to dissociate itself from the IRA on the eve of Nelson Mandela's visit to London this week.

Mullen was jailed at the Old Bailey last month for 30 years after being found guilty of assisting an IRA active service unit with accommodation, cars and false driving licences. As a quartermaster, he arranged codes, transport to and from attacks and vital storage of IRA equipment and weapons.

A "hit list" of about 100 names of potential targets was found at the Clapham arms cache. Among them were the Prime Minister; several past and present Cabinet Ministers; the Lord Chief Justice, Lord Lane; the Lord Chancellor, Lord Mackay; and security chiefs. Other docu-

ments revealed codes for weaponry including SAM-7 missiles and rocket-propelled grenades.

These papers linked Mullen to the IRA active service unit on the run and a routine check of air and port logs revealed his departure for Africa. The result was an immediate international security alert. Worried anti-terrorist police realised Mrs Thatcher was due to visit Harare in March.

What was Mullen doing there?

That was the crucial question which prompted M16 officers attached to the British High Commission in Harare to contact the Zimbabwean Central Intelligence Organisation (CIO) for assistance in locating Mullen and placing him under close surveillance.

It was swiftly established that Mullen was staying with relatives in a house in Harare's suburbs on the very route which Mrs Thatcher would take from the airport to the city centre during her scheduled visit three months later.

Mullen told neighbours he was there to see relatives and to try to sell electronic office equipment and make new business contacts.

When CIO "watchers" tailed Mullen to a series of meetings with known officials of the African National Congress, alarm bells rang in London. Until then, police believed that the much-vaunted links between the IRA and the ANC were restricted to resolutions

passed at conferences in support of one another's causes.

But did Mullen's meeting with the ANC men imply a more ominous relationship?

The year before, the discovery of a plot by three known IRA terrorists to blow up a British Army parade in Gibraltar had been a rude shock to intelligence officers who now realised that the prospects of a sustained IRA campaign outside Britain was all too feasible.

Had Mullen fled to Harare simply to avoid the British police and disassociate himself from the Clapham cache, or was he there specifically to make contact with the ANC and to prepare some spectacular attack on the British Prime Minister during her high-profile tour?

Mullen, police noted, was not a bomber, but a man who cleverly managed to arrange safe houses, vehicles, bank accounts and false papers for IRA gunmen and bombers. Special Branch officers were sent out to Harare to work with M16 officers on the ground and to liaise with the Zimbabwean CIO.

When it became clear that Mullen was heading for South Africa, M16 contacted South African intelligence and told them that Mullen was wanted in Britain on bombing charges. When he arrived at Johannesburg's Jan Smuts airport, travelling on false papers, the South Africans arrested him.

It was the breakthrough that the anti-terrorist branch had needed. Mullen was placed on a flight back to Britain and arrested when he landed at Heathrow.

Subsequent investigations by the anti-terrorist branch and the security services in London established that stronger working links than had been hitherto realised existed between the IRA and the ANC.

However, there was insufficient evidence to support the theory that Mullen's presence in Zimbabwe was directly linked to any attack during Mrs Thatcher's visit.

"It was a plausible theory," one security source said last night, "but eventually we discounted it."

Nelson Mandela's visit to London, when the IRA has renewed its terror campaign on the mainland and the Continent, has brought the relationship between the IRA and the ANC under fresh scrutiny.

It has also led to a serious split within the ANC itself as it strives to gain credibility and project Mandela as a world statesman. **TO PAGE 2**

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During his current extended tour of Africa, Western Europe and North America, Mandela has made clear the ANC's support for such international bogeymen as Fidel Castro, Muammar Gaddafi and Yasser Arafat, who have provided funds and military training for the ANC-South African Communist party alliance.

Hardline revolutionary Communists in the ANC's National Executive Committee (NEC), such as

" THE IRA'S MR FIXIT PAYS A VISIT



Armed struggle? Militant ANC supporters brandish a model rifle at a Soweto rally in May To P92

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military intelligence chief Ronnie Kasrils and political education chief Reg September, would like the ANC to continue to make a principled stand alongside the IRA. But, with the movement busy re-establishing itself in South Africa as a respectable, legal party, others feel the need to establish maximum distance from the IRA before Mandela meets Thatcher.

Anticipating diplomatic quicksands for Mandela if he pays the same tributes to Gerry Adams in the British Isles as he has to Castro, Gaddafi and Arafat in the US, ailing ANC President Oliver Tambo is said to have sent a special envoy to America last week to warn Mandela he could face problems.

Tambo perceived the seriousness of the threat when Billy Macfethal, an ANC official in London, flew to Dublin before last week's EC sum-

mit to lobby for the continuation of economic sanctions against South Africa. While in the Irish capital Macfethal was interviewed by a Sinn Fein newspaper. He upset Sinn Fein leaders by branding the IRA as a terrorist organisation with whom the ANC sought no relations.

Sinn Fein anger was understandable since the movement has given strong support to the ANC through the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement (IAAM).

According to Andrew Hunter, the Tory MP for Basingstoke, who has written a pamphlet on IRA-ANC military cooperation, the first official contact between the two organisations — besides inevitable meetings since the early 1970s, in international guerrilla training camps in Libya, Lebanon, South Yemen, the Soviet Union and East Europe — was in Cork in January

1988. Hunter named the ANC envoy as Ronnie Kasrils and the Provisional IRA man as a Patrick McFleggharty.

Hunter said Kasrils and McFleggharty established a joint ANC-IRA working party which met for the first time in Thomas Street, Armagh, in February 1988. ANC representatives at that meeting were Kasrils and Muzai Piliso, also a member of the NEC of the ANC. The IRA representatives were named as Ciaran O'Maolain and Joseph Austen. In July of that year the *Observer* reported the ANC as saying it was willing to accept funds from the IRA.

Tambo's advice last week to his old friend Mandela was: "Make a choice between upsetting either Sinn Fein or Mrs Thatcher, but at this stage of our struggle the Iron Lady matters most."

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London

Mandela urged to denounce the IRA

by Fred Bridgland, Valerie Elliott and David Wastell

NELSON MANDELA flies into Britain tomorrow amid growing pressure to denounce the IRA publicly following his refusal to disavow other terrorist organisations during his visit to the United States.

The African National Congress is increasingly concerned that his visit will otherwise be tainted by allegations of links between some of its members and the IRA. It is believed that a senior ANC member flew from Britain to the United States last week to brief Mr Mandela on the risks to his diplomatic strategy if he does not issue an unqualified statement dissociating the black nationalist organisation from any hint of support for the IRA.

organised by the all-party Southern Africa group.

Mr Taylor said: "I think if Nelson Mandela wants respect in the UK, and to get the ANC regarded in any way as a serious political party, he must urgently, clearly dissociate himself from the IRA. He must make the clearest and most specific statement when he comes to London or I think it would be difficult for anyone with sympathy for the ANC and Mandela to take him seriously or have any regard for him."

But Mr Ivor Stanbrook, Conservative MP for Orpington and chairman of the all-party group, said he was concerned that South African intelligence services were involved in a deliberate attempt to discredit Mr Mandela on his visit to London.

His refusal to condemn Col Gaddafi of Libya during an American television programme last week caused a furore in the United States where his stance — based on previous help from Libya to the ANC — damaged his public standing.

ANC leaders have always denied any contact with the IRA and Mr Oliver Tambo, the ANC's president, has specifically condemned anyone forging links with the terror organisation.

But *The Sunday Telegraph* features a report today from Durban about a split within the ANC over its public position on the IRA and an account of how the convicted IRA quartermaster Nicholas Mullen met ANC officials in Zimbabwe last year.

Their meetings, shortly before Mrs Thatcher's visit to the country, were monitored by British and Zimbabwean security services who were on guard against a possible threat to the Prime Minister. Detectives had already uncovered documentation linking Mullen with the IRA bomb factory in Clapham, south London, discovered at the end of 1988.

Mullen was subsequently detained by South African police when he tried to enter the country on false papers. He was deported to Britain where he was arrested immediately on arrival at Heathrow.

This latest twist will encourage MPs who plan to press Mr Mandela to condemn the IRA during a meeting at the House of Commons on Tuesday. Last night Mr Teddy Taylor, Conservative MP for Southend East, said he intended to try to raise the matter at the meeting

"The ANC as such does not have any connection with the IRA and knows very well that to have one would kill its cause stone-dead. It does not deny that some people on the fringes of the African nationalist movement in South Africa may have been in touch with terrorist movements. But it has specifically condemned any such links."

He added that he was sure Mr Mandela would readily condemn the IRA if asked. "He is a democrat who believes that the proper way is to take action through the ballot-box."

Mrs Thatcher will press Mr Mandela to renounce the armed struggle in southern Africa during talks and a working lunch at 10 Downing Street on Wednesday — her first face-to-face meeting with the black nationalist leader. The ANC insists that it will only do so as the first step in actual negotiations with the South African government.

They are certain to clash over the issue of sanctions — a topic which occupied most of a 45-minute telephone conversation between the two leaders before the European summit in Dublin — and the Prime Minister is expected to urge him to adopt a more liberal economic approach to the ANC's current plans which depend on the intervention of a substantial state-controlled sector.

Mr Mandela will also have talks with Mr Hurd, the Foreign Secretary, and meet Mr Kinnock, the Labour leader, and the Shadow Cabinet in a half-hour session to which television cameras will be admitted.

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iph of US tour

No. 10 will apply friendly pressure on Mandela

MRS THATCHER will press Nelson Mandela, the leader of the African National Congress, to modify his constitutional demands when they meet this week in London, writes Nicholas Wapshott.

She will ignore the differences between them and concentrate instead on 'getting to know the man and how he works', according to a Thatcher aide.

Their meeting on Wednesday, followed by a working lunch, will build on a surprise telephone conversation between them two weeks ago, when Mr Mandela asked to see the Prime Minister at short notice.

There was no time to arrange a meeting then, but he appealed to her to avoid any moves to weaken sanctions at the European summit in Dublin last week.

The circumstances leading to their half-hour talk took Downing Street by surprise. Charles Powell, the Prime Minister's foreign affairs adviser, was in bed when the telephone rang at midnight.

It took him a while to realise that he was talking not to an aide, but to Mr Mandela himself, who was telephoning from Kent, where he was staying on his way to the United States.

Mr Mandela asked to see Mrs Thatcher before he left Britain at 10 the following morning. Mr Powell explained that it would be impossible as the Prime Minister was at Chequers, but suggested an early morning telephone call.

It was perhaps this unusual introduction that ensured that the two got on well and are determined that this week's meeting — their first — will be cordial. The sanctions issue and the ANC's continued endorsement of violent protest will be played down.

The Thatcher-Mandela meeting is seen by both sides as an important step on the road to a peaceful settlement.

Mrs Thatcher's influence with the South African president, F. W. De Klerk, has helped break the political deadlock, and she will tell Mr Mandela that continued progress towards democracy should be rewarded by a gradual relaxation of sanctions.

She expects the European Community ban on iron and steel and krugerrand exports to be lifted before long.

Mr Mandela flew to Oakland, California, yesterday on the last leg of the United States tour which he has called 'successful beyond our wildest dreams'. He arrives in Ireland today, where he will receive the freedom of the city of Dublin before flying to London on Tuesday.

However, although Mr Mandela's eight-city, 12-day visit to the US may have been an immense personal success, it has achieved only limited political results. He failed to reach any substantial agreement with the Bush Administration, and in their private talks at the White House last week gave Mr Bush an undertaking that he would only 'consider' denouncing violence by the ANC if the South African Government made further concessions on apartheid.

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