

# Nkululeko/Freedom

## Free the Transvaal 22

To: All labour movement organisations,  
youth and community groups

Nkululeko/Freedom  
The campaign to free  
ANC political prisoners,  
PO Box 524, London, E9 5QX.

London, 28th April 1993.

Dear brothers and sisters,

On 1 May 1993 twenty-two political prisoners in the South African Leeuwkop prison will begin an indefinite hunger strike. They will not eat again until their demand for release has been met.

Despite an undertaking to free all political prisoners last year the government has not fulfilled its promise. The South African government has gained considerable publicity for the release of a number of political prisoners. This is to be welcomed. However, whilst the government has released the notorious racist mass murderer Barend Strydom as part of the amnesty, it refuses to accept that ANC activists arrested for organising self defence or for fighting for trade union rights for their fellow workers are political prisoners and holds them in the same cells as those convicted of criminal offences.

Some of these political prisoners have been imprisoned for organising the defence of their people against the murderous racist government which, through the state security forces and its hired thugs, particularly Buthelezi's Inkatha gangsters, has massacred 10,000 black workers and youth in five years. Others have been imprisoned for organising strikes.

The need for organised self defence has been reaffirmed not just by Buthelezi's moves to intensify the civil war against the ANC but also in the bloody repression of the mass protests at the assassination of Chris Hani. Hundreds of thousands of black South Africans surged onto the streets to express their outrage and frustration at the lack of progress towards one person one vote and black majority rule in an undivided South Africa. It is this goal that is seen as the only solution to the continuing state repression, mass unemployment and poverty-stricken conditions that the 30 million blacks in South Africa live under.

Once more the state security forces turned their fire on the defenceless crowds, killing and maiming the unarmed mourners. Just hours before the burial of Chris Hani three masked black gunmen shot dead 19 people in Sebokeng township outside Johannesburg. The hypocrisy of De Klerk and the government is revealed when such murders go unpunished yet those struggling for peace and security in their communities languish in prison. The South African government is holding these political prisoners hostage. They must be forced to release them.

The Transvaal 22 call on workers around the world to support their struggle and demand their immediate release and the release of all South African political prisoners. Given the serious dangers involved in a hunger strike we appeal to you or your organisation to take the following urgent action:

We call on all organisations to:

1. Send letters of protest to: De Klerk, Tuynhuys, Private Bag X1000, Cape Town, 8000 South Africa
  2. Send letters of support to: Leeuwkop political prisoners campaign, PO Box 53514,  
Troyeville, Johannesburg, South Africa.
  3. Adopt one of the prisoners below and write regularly to him, sending a copy of the letter to the campaign address in Johannesburg. These letters will be passed on to the prisoners and their families if those sent to the prison are blocked.
  4. Pass the enclosed resolution, and sponsor the campaign. Please inform the campaign that you have done this by sending information to: Nkululeko/Freedom, The campaign to free ANC political prisoners, PO Box 524, London, E9 5QX.
  4. Money is urgently needed to finance the campaign. Send donations to: Nkululeko/Freedom, The campaign to free ANC political prisoners, PO Box 524, London E9 5QX. Make cheques payable to "Nkululeko/Freedom".
- \* Support the Transvaal 22 hunger strikers!
  - \* Free all ANC political prisoners!
  - \* For the right of community and workers' self defence.

Yours in struggle,

Nimrod Sejake, Organising secretary, Soweto ANC veterans' league.

Dave Nellist, Former MP Coventry SE.

Roger Bannister, NALGO NEC (personal capacity)

Tommy Sheridan, Glasgow district councillor

HONORARY PRESIDENTS.

FREE ALL ANC POLITICAL PRISONERS. SUPPORT THE HUNGER STRIKERS.



# Wooing the west

*Nelson Mandela, president of the African National Congress, was in Britain on May 4-6 as a guest of the British government. Barbara Akakpo reports*

**T**HE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY will be invited to invest in South Africa once a date for the country's general election has been announced. This was promised by the ANC president, Nelson Mandela at a news press conference in London last week.

Speaking at London's Hilton, Park Lane, just hours after arriving on an overnight flight from Johannesburg, Mr Mandela said that his visit to Britain was in response to an invitation by Prime Minister John Major.

He said the invitation would afford him the opportunity to brief Mr Major on the current situation in South Africa and also to urge British businessmen to invest in South Africa.

Mr Mandela said that the ANC had "issued an investment code which provides that there will be no expropriation of property of investors."

"They will be allowed to repatriate their dividends and profits, and we think that this will go a long way to reassuring investors to invest in our country," he said.

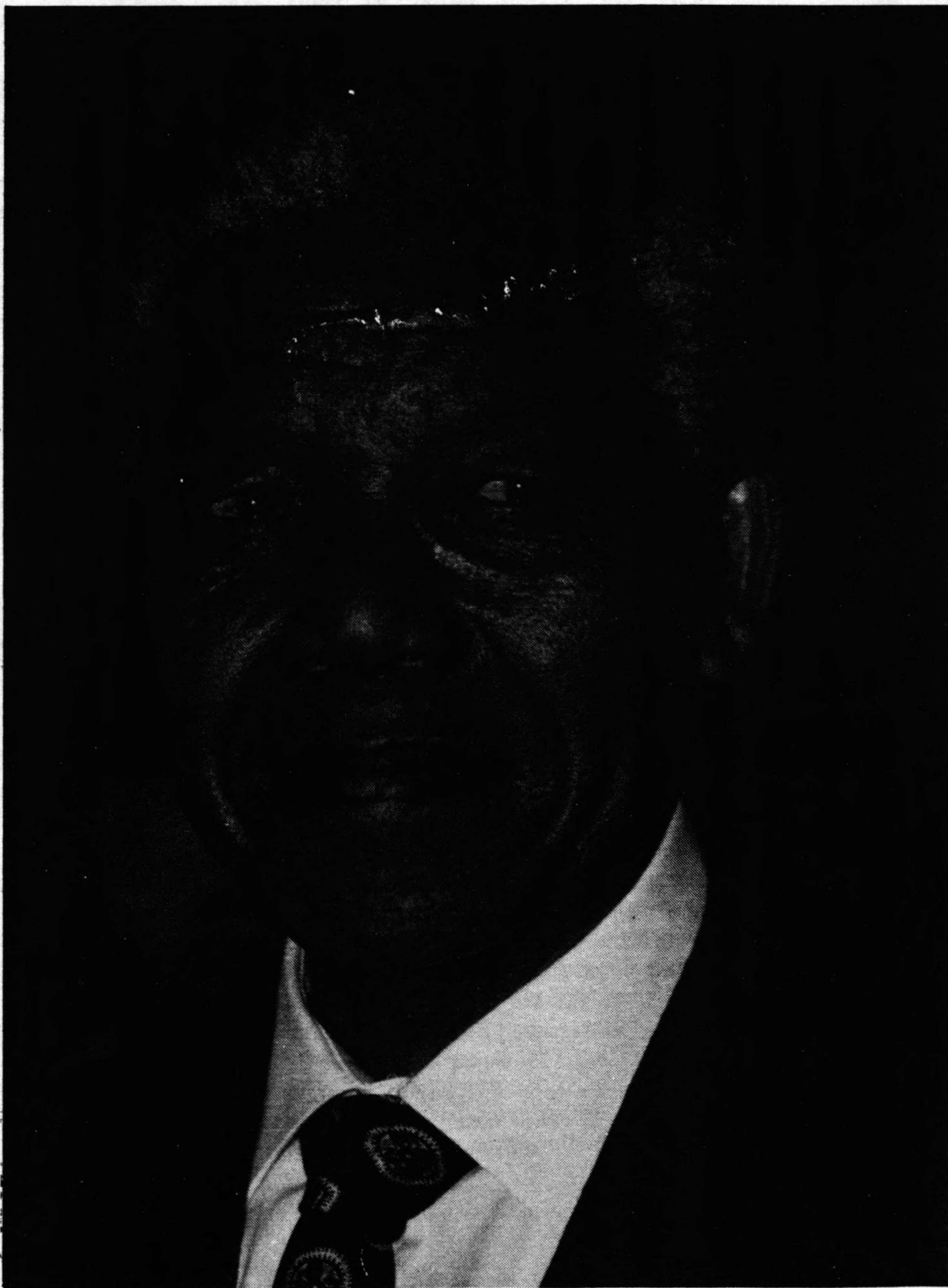
On the question of nationalisation, Mr Mandela said the ANC had shifted from their original position at a policy conference in May last year. He said nationalisation "is a question that will depend on evidence. We are exactly in the same position as the Federal Republic of Germany where they have in their constitution a clause which provides that in case of need they will resort to nationalisation".

He said that the ANC had requested for a government of national unity to be installed for the next five years. With the adoption of a democratic constitution any party which wins more than five per cent of the total votes cast in the election will be entitled to serve to serve in the government. In this situation parties with diverse economic policies will find themselves together in government.

"What is going to be important is that the declaration of any economic policy is by consensus. Where it is not possible for us to reach consensus, we will use the principle of majority to take decisions."

The ANC president acknowledged that the climate of violence in South Africa is not conducive to potential investors. "As long as this violence continues, it is going to be difficult for businessmen to have the necessary confidence to invest", he said.

Moreover South Africa would be competing for funds from the Far East and



Nelson Mandela: "The peace process must be supported"

Eastern Europe.

In the Far East conditions for investment are comparatively more attractive than those in South Africa. You have highly skilled labour force, you have high standard of performance because of the sophistication on the labour force. The cost of production is comparatively cheaper than in South Africa and quite importantly labour is stable."

Mr Mandela dismissed accusations that

black militants were responsible for the violence.

When questioned about his desire to see the British government put pressure on Buthelezi, he said: "Our concern is not with any particular individual. Our concern is that the peace process must be supported,

but this will depend on the collective leadership of all political organisations in our country. There are twenty six political organisations which are now discussing in the multiparty forum".

Mr Mandela blamed the right wing for the violence in South Africa, saying: "The greatest threat to the peace process is not with black surrogate organisations as Mr de Klerk and others are trying to convince South Africa, and the world. The greatest



threat to South Africa as we have been warning is from the right wing".

Mr Mandela explained that "black surrogates only have the capacity to derail the peace talks in so far as Mr de Klerk wants them to play that role. If Mr de Klerk said to the black surrogates that from tomorrow they should pay their bills that would end the threat from such surrogates".

On the other hand, "an organisation which has power on its own without relying on Mr de Klerk is the right wing and in particular the Conservative Party".

The Conservative Party, he said, "have got their men in the civil service, in the police in the army. They have structures. Their forces are deeply entrenched in government structures and that is where the threat to the peace process comes from, and not from black political surrogates".

In fact it was Dr Treurnicht, the late leader of the Conservative Party who said on countless occasions, that "if a government of the ANC takes power in South Africa, the whites will rise in rebellion".

Mandela observed that during the last general election they attracted no less than 400,000 white votes.

What put De Klerk in power was the English vote. Furthermore, in March last year the Conservative Party held no less

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than 800,000 votes.

According to Mr Mandela, the only way the violence can be tackled is to install a democratically elected government.

"There can be no solution to the question of violence unless there is a legitimate and credible government". The real reason why the current government cannot effectively address the question of violence is because it has no credibility. It is a corrupt government and has misappropriated billions of state funds.

"It (the violence) is a matter we can only effectively address when there is a new government which is a popular government". Mr Mandela said that the ANC supports the formation of a government of national unity because they see it as an effective way to curtail the violence. "We believe in a government of national unity, not just as a political strategy but as the best way to address our problems, political and otherwise".

Mr Mandela allayed fears that an ANC

government would favour any particular population group in South Africa. "We are a non racial organisation and we have long since stopped thinking in terms of colour". He said there was a growing recognition that the policy of the ANC offered the best hope to all population groups in South Africa.

He appealed to whites to stay in South Africa and said whites have the knowledge, the skills, and the techniques without which it would be difficult to address many of the socio-economic problems facing the country. The ANC president said John Major had shown "a great deal of interest" in what was happening in south Africa, and that he found his advice useful on a number of issues. He played down previous conflicts between the British government and the ANC over the role of sanctions.

"Sanctions is not the decisive issue in determining our relations with the British government. The important issue here is that the British government is against apartheid and in favour of the installation of democracy in South Africa. Although we have differed on the method of this struggle, they believe that sanctions is a powerful weapon, they do not subscribe to that view."

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## Appraising the economy

*The following is an edited version of a parliamentary speech given by the South African Finance Minister Derek Keys on April 27.*

POLITICAL EVENTS IN 1992 had led to a temporary halt in the strengthening of the public market in South African securities overseas. The rise in margins had been checked by the breakdown in negotiations, the call for mass action, and the direct appeal of the ANC to overseas banks not to take part in any actions which could assist this market.

International markets do not like to see the economy - or their business interests and prospects - being made the plaything of a political process, however noble the aims of such a process may be. Offers to lift sanctions - that is, to behave normally in economic terms - are entirely counter-productive in this sphere when linked to political demands. Far better for the reputation of the offeror in the markets to have said nothing, for he has only provided further illustration of the economy being used as a political football.

As parties got closer and closer in agreement with the government, the tests applied to them would become stricter and stricter. These simple arguments demand from all of us a response that will indicate an awareness - even a political awareness

- that the legitimate interests of business in the community now needs to be cherished. If this can't be convincingly demonstrated, then it is my duty to warn that realising the potential for economic growth will be definitely delayed.

The disastrous drought was the single biggest contributor to South Africa's waning foreign reserves. Whereas the country was usually a net exporter of agricultural produce, it had been forced to be a considerable net importer. I believe that the threatened rise in interest rates linked to drops in foreign reserves could be prevented. Another lesser variable which had contributed to the decreasing foreign reserves was oil, with the state not having made any net sales of its oil reserves in the past year. Instead there was an increasing tendency for greater commercial supplies to be carried in the private sector, for which foreign exchange reserves had to pay. State oil reserves would, however, eventually be reduced, with the development of appropriate applications playing the trigger-role.

It had to be noted that those factors which had weakened the balance of pay-

ments were purely temporary. The effects of fluctuations in international exchange over the past seven months was also temporary. Another short-term factor was the impact of interest rates in supplier countries compared to those in South Africa.

South Africa generally had three times more short-term credit on trade transactions than its clients overseas. Both legs of this relationship were sensitive to interest rates and, at times, for easily-accessible bank credit. Local interest rates dropped over the past nine months, and bank financing was increasingly more obtainable. These causes of the decline in reserves were cyclical and inherently temporary. Fluctuations had to be cushioned by reserves and the credit facilities to the Central Bank.

Our reserve bank's creditworthiness is highly respected overseas. This is one of our most valuable international assets - and the bank has considerable facilities from overseas banks.

I can also announce that the Reserve Bank recently succeeded in increasing the scope of these facilities - another sign of confidence. The Reserve Bank's gross and net reserves had shown a satisfactory and clear increase since April.



# Mandela visits the future

**"M**ANDELA CAME, he saw and he conquered" would be an apt summation of the ANC leader's visit to the UK at the start of a European tour last week. Looking every bit like the President-in-waiting that many assume him to be, Mr Mandela's arrival at the airport was reported on television, he addressed a well-attended press conference, met both the prime minister and the leader of the opposition, and spoke to members of both Houses of Parliament. He could not have hoped for a more successful British reception in a country where visiting African leaders are usually not acknowledged in the media.

Coming so soon after the deaths of Chris Hani and Oliver Tambo have raised concerns about Mandela's own health and the quality of leadership the ANC can provide, Mandela's virtuoso performance has done everything to dispel the doubts. Such fine fettle was he in that he even joked about the questions on his health at the press conference. The visit also re-affirmed his standing in the international community as the foremost black politician, emphasising his national stature and his grasp of the issues.

But it wasn't just style. Mandela sought to address two main concerns and he chose to do this in the UK for very good reasons. In the first place, he wanted British support for the ANC's campaign for an early date for elections, and secondly he wanted to assure the business community that post-apartheid South Africa would be a safe place for their investment.

Recent events back home in South Africa have helped strengthen the ANC leader's argument that the only way to stop the violence in South Africa is to set a date for the elections which will lead to democracy in the country. The attempt by the so-called Concerned South African Grouping (Cosag), which comprises Inkatha and some right-wing groups together with the "homelands" governments in Ciskei and Bophuthatswana, to impede the movement towards a transitional council, emphasises the need for urgency in the negotiation process and in setting a date for elections. The continuing violence also underscores the same point. The South African government itself is not unaware of the dangers inherent in prolonging the current impasse but it appears to lack the political will to isolate the rabid right wing and move on. What Mr Mandela is doing in Europe is to rally support for pressure on the government to do this.

But it was important for Mandela not only to seek to address the imperatives of the present moment, but to establish his and the ANC's devotion to democracy. There was no better place to do this than in the British Parliament, often described as the mother of parliamentary democracy. "These Houses of Parliament remain today living structures, because whatever the imperfections of your political system - and there must be many - these structures continue to provide a seat for the furtherance of the humane perspective that the natural conflict of interests, ideas and instinct among any people, can and should be expressed through peaceful struggle rather than through actions which are predicated on violence and death".

Coming from a country where political and other differences have caused thousands of deaths in recent times, Mandela was speaking to an issue very much on his mind, but beyond that was a plea for help from the British political establishment, especially that part which has traditional links with Inkatha and its allies in Cosag. In fact, he asked the parliamentarians to use their contacts "with political actors to persuade them to abandon their selfish and sectarian positions and stop blocking movement forward".

On the political front, Mandela has sought to concentrate the minds of the major actors in the international community on the agenda for the immediate future which he distilled into eight main points, all supportable by mainstream political opinion in every European country. The eight points deal with the need to set the date for elections; the creation of a climate conducive to free and fair elections, including the establishment of a multi-party transitional executive council; the holding of the first ever general elections; the formation of a constituent assembly to draft a democratic constitution; the formation of an interim government of national unity; the implementation of programmes designed to dismantle apartheid; the rebuilding and restructuring of the economy, and finally, the normalisation of South Africa's relations with the rest of the world. Given the world-wide condemnation of apartheid, these proposals should be adopted by the international community as the minimum requirement for South Africa to establish a democratic society and re-join the polity of nations.

The second thrust of the Mandela campaign was to convince investors of the wisdom of investing in post-apartheid South Africa, a task made more difficult for him by the continuing violence in the country. Predictions of a massive influx of investment into South Africa followed the release of the ANC leader and other political prisoners and the unbanning of political parties by President de Klerk in 1990. But these forecasts have been replaced by a rather gloomy outlook following the spate of political violence in the country since those auspicious times. As Mandela himself acknowledged, the situation has been made more complicated by the emergence of stiff competition from the Far East and Eastern Europe, but the main point he emphasised was that getting the political agenda right will set the scene for the economic take-off after apartheid.

The important point which Mr Mandela will do well to emphasise is the expectation that post-apartheid South Africa will act as a catalyst for the economic development of the Southern African region and thereby defuse the tension in one of the most volatile places in the world today. The instability in Southern Africa is itself a product of apartheid and this must be recognised as a factor by the international community. To right the wrongs of apartheid demands more than fine words.

By common agreement, Nelson Mandela put on a masterful performance at the start of this European tour, but that will mean nothing if in the end his hosts fail to use their influence in whatever way they can to advance the cause of democracy and peace in South Africa.