

BOOKS

Josephine Baker - the courage to be outrageous

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# 

SATURDAY FEBRUARY 3 1990

### De Klerk ends ban on ANC and communists: Mandela freed soon

# South Africa begins trek to democracy

From Gavin Bell, Cape Town

President de Klerk of Mrs Margaret Thatcher called have the right to legal South Africa yesterday it an historic landmark and a representation. lifted the 30-year ban on vindication of Britain's non- Speaking alternately in Engthe African National Congress and announced the imminent release of butsaid further progress would violence and break through to Nelson Mandela in a be needed before sanctions peace and reconciliation. The speech that stunned the could be lifted. Both leaders silent majority is yearning for world with the extent of indicated that they invite both this. The youth deserve it. its reforms.

Restrictions on some 30 to their countries. other anti-apartheid organizations are to be lifted. political prisoners will be freed and the death sentence is to be suspended, :Mr de Klerk told the Cape Town.

Inviting the ANC to negotiate a new power-sharing and Nigeria's extrenal afairs cuses does not really wish to agreement, he said: "The sea- minister, Mr Rilwanu talk." son of violence is over. The Lukman, said: "We are sure Some reasons being adtime for reconstruction and this signals a genuine change vanced for refusing to negoreconciliation has arrived."

welcomed around the world.

TIMES

CROSSWORD

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JUBILEE

Final pieces

of the puzzle

The Times Diamond

Jubilee Crossword

reaches its climax today,

with the publication of

the full grid of this

fascinating brain-teaser,

and all the clues,

including those

published earlier in the

week

Also on page 34 are

details of how to enter

your solution, which

could win a holiday for

two in India plus £1,000

cash, or other valuable

prizes

sanctions policy, and Presi- lish and Afrikaans, Mr de dent Bush said he viewed Mr Klerk said: 'It is time for us to de Klerk's remarks positively, break out of the cycle of

Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela bia, where the ANC is based, agenda is open and the overall

Township euphoria......7 "There is no longer any

on the part of the South tiate were valid, but "others His speech was immediately African authorities and we are merely part of a political welcome it wholeheartedly." chess game, and while the

> said: "My gut-level reaction is able time is being lost. positive and I want to com- "I repeat my invitation with mend him. It is not all I hoped greater conviction than ever for, but it is a very consid- walk through the open door, erable part of it."

ernment wished to release Mr tiation has arrived." Mandela, the veteran ANC but more time was required. said he had asked the Law which his personal circum- safeguarded human rights. "It

the state of emergency as soon may be defined, shall be as possible, but the security favoured above or in relation situation required its reten- to any of the others." tion for the time being. In The essence of Mr de particular, he referred to vi- Klerk's shock tactics was to olent conflict between rival meet the ANC half-way in its black nationalist org- demands. While unbanning anizations in Natal townships, the organization, he mainand indications that radicals tained the state of emergency, were trying to disrupt the and while according its mempeace process.

place until Parliament had for those convicted or susconsidered proposals for broadening judicial discretion in imposing the death sentence and for automatic right of appeal. Detention under emergency regulations would be limited to six months,

during which prisoners would

"The table is laid for sensible leaders to begin talking President Kaunda of Zam- about a new dispensation. The offered "hearty congratula- aims to which we are aspiring tions for a job well started"; should be acceptable to all reasonable South Africans.

ANC cautious ......7 reasonable excuse for the conopening of Parliament in Leading article......11 tinuation of violence. The Gold shares soar......17 time for talking has arrived, and whoever still makes ex-

Archbishop Desmond Tutu game of chess proceeds, valu-

take your place at the negotiat-Mr de Klerk said his Gov- ing table. The time for nego-

Mr de Klerk reaffirmed his leader, without delay and long-term goal was equal would decide on a date soon, rights in every sphere, and "There are factors in the way Commission to consider demof his immediate release, of ocratic constitutions which stances and safety are not the is neither the Government's policy nor its intention that He also wished to terminate any group, in whichever way it

bers political freedom, he No executions would take stopped short of an amnesty pected of violent acts.

> The ANC leadership in exile reacted cautiously to the speech, welcoming the steps which had been taken, but insisting that negotiations could not begin as long as the Continued on page 7, col 3



People power: Mrs Winnie Mandela at the Cape Town rally: "We can't be happy just because the ANC has been unbanned."

### British policy proved right, says Thatcher

By Andrew McEwen, Diplomatic Editor

Mrs Margaret Thatcher yes- expand its academic cultural. Mrs Thatcher's invitation Klerk's decisions to legalize South Africa. as "bold and courageous" and internationally unpopular pol- South African leader's speech. said it showed that the British icy for years she had been Government's anti-sanctions proved right. policy had paid off.

an early meeting with her at isolating South Africa but immediate release. Chequers and said she would keeping contact with her is also invite Mr Mandela once now paying off. We believe in he was freed.

ly. However, Mr Douglas have been Hurd, the Foreign Secretary, constructive."

clares its independence. toria, and said Britain would would continue.

carrots as well as sticks."

said he hoped to visit the Mrs Thatcher said it was too "This must not be allowed country "before too long", soon to consider relaxing the to happen. We deplore Mrs possibly when Namibia de- mandatory sanctions agreed Thatcher's decision to invite through the United Nations, F.W. de Klerk to London. Mrs Thatcher undertook to but other measures might be This is not the time for try to persuade other Com- dropped. Britain's commit- carrots. Indeed, it is vital that monwealth leaders to relax ment to the Gleneagles Agree- we maintain and intensify their sanctions against Pre- ment on sporting contacts international pressure until

terday hailed President de and scientific contacts with to Mr de Klerk was condemned by the Anti-Apartthe African National Congress The Prime Minister clearly heid Movement, although the and release Nelson Mandela felt that after following an organization welcomed the

About 400 protesters staged a lunchtime demonstration "It means that the approach outside South Africa House, She invited Mr de Klerk to that Britain has taken in not calling for Nelson Mandela's

Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, the president of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, She made it clear that if She said the American pol- and its chairman, the Labour negotiations went well she icy of disinvestment in South MP Mr Robert Hughes, issued would like to visit South Africa had been a mistake. "I a statement accusing the Brit-Africa, though not immediate- think more investment would ish Government of seizing an more excuse to reduce pressure on the South African regime.

apartheid is destroyed."

### In today's 60-page Times

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BA brings work for 450 to Glasgow

### Jobs boost for west Scotland

By Kerry Gill

More than 800 jobs are to be created in the west of Scot-Home news ...... 3-5 | land. British Airways an-Overseas news ........... 7-9 | nounced yesterday that it is to Births, marriages, deaths 13 | bring work for 450 with a new Diary......10 | company's expansion in Inverclyde.

> cover increasing business Glasgow." north of the border and will force will be increased to 300

by next spring, with 250 more surance announced it was staff being employed by 1992. bringing 380 jobs to The airline now employs a Inverclyde with the establish-

open in September. Lord the biggest inward investment King, chairman of British in the Inverclyde area for Airways, said: "This move is more than 20 years. of great importance to the The £18 million British portant for the continuing attracted. The area was re-Airways facility is intended to commercial development of cently given Enterprise Zone

The project has been supalso provide a service for ported by a £1.4 million Crusader's administrative and other parts of Britain. The regional selective assistance processing centres in Living- He faces extradition to 100-strong Glasgow sales grant from the Scottish Office. ston, West Lothian, and Britain. Yesterday, Crusader In- Reigate, Surrey.

total of about 750 in Glasgow. ment of an office development The new office is due to on the edge of Greenock. It is

The district has had severe airline's business dev- problems over the past decade elopment plans for the 1990s as shipbuilding declined and and beyond. It is also im- little new investment was

The new offices will replace

### Arrest in computer plot case

By Nick Nuttall **Technology Correspondent** 

Federal Bureau of Investigation agents, acting on behalf of Scotland Yard, have arrested a man in the United States in connection with a multimillion pound Aids computer blackmail plot.

The man, named as Dr Joseph Lewis Popp, a medical computer expert from Willowick, Ohio, appeared in court at Cleveland, Ohio, yesterday.

Computer team, page 3

### Worst of Aids epidemic 'may be over'

By Thomson Prentice Science Correspondent

Only about a third as many people are likely to develop Aids in the next few years as was predicted a year ago, according to government forecasts.

The report by a Public Health Laboratory Service working party, published yesterday, offers the most optimistic prediction about the future spread of the disease yet produced.

It suggests that the worst of the epidemic among homosexuals in Britain Law Report......55 | may be over and says that Aids sufferers are living twice as long as was the case a few years ago because of improved drug treatment.

> However, the report, which examines the likely spread of the disease up to the

end of 1993, warns that the changing which forecast that by the end of 1992 pattern of the epidemic could mean that most new cases could be through heterosexual contact or intravenous drug

The report says that in 1990 there will be 1,300 new cases of Aids in England and Wales, and 750 deaths. In 1993 there will be between 1,175 and 4,825 new Aids cases, of whom 875-1,500 will be homosexual or bisexual men.

The latest Department of Health figures show that 2,830 people have contracted the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) infection, of whom 1,612 have died. By the end of 1993, it is predicted that there will have been 6,380

Aids deaths, and 4,980 people with Aids. The figures are an update on the Cox report, published at the end of 1988,

there could be up to 30,000 Aids cases and as many as 17,000 deaths.

Yesterday's report says research indicates that the spread of infection among homosexual and bisexual men dropped sharply in the mid-1980s. "The more pessimistic projections of the Cox report are no longer tenable," it says.

• Aids organizations welcomed the figures but warned against complacency in efforts to combat the spread of the disease, particularly among drug users and heterosexuals (Jill Sherman writes).

The Terrence Higgins Trust hailed the predictions as a victory for health education. "They show that safer sex and safe drug use campaigns launched in 1983 and 1984 did have a substantial effect on slowing the spread of infection."

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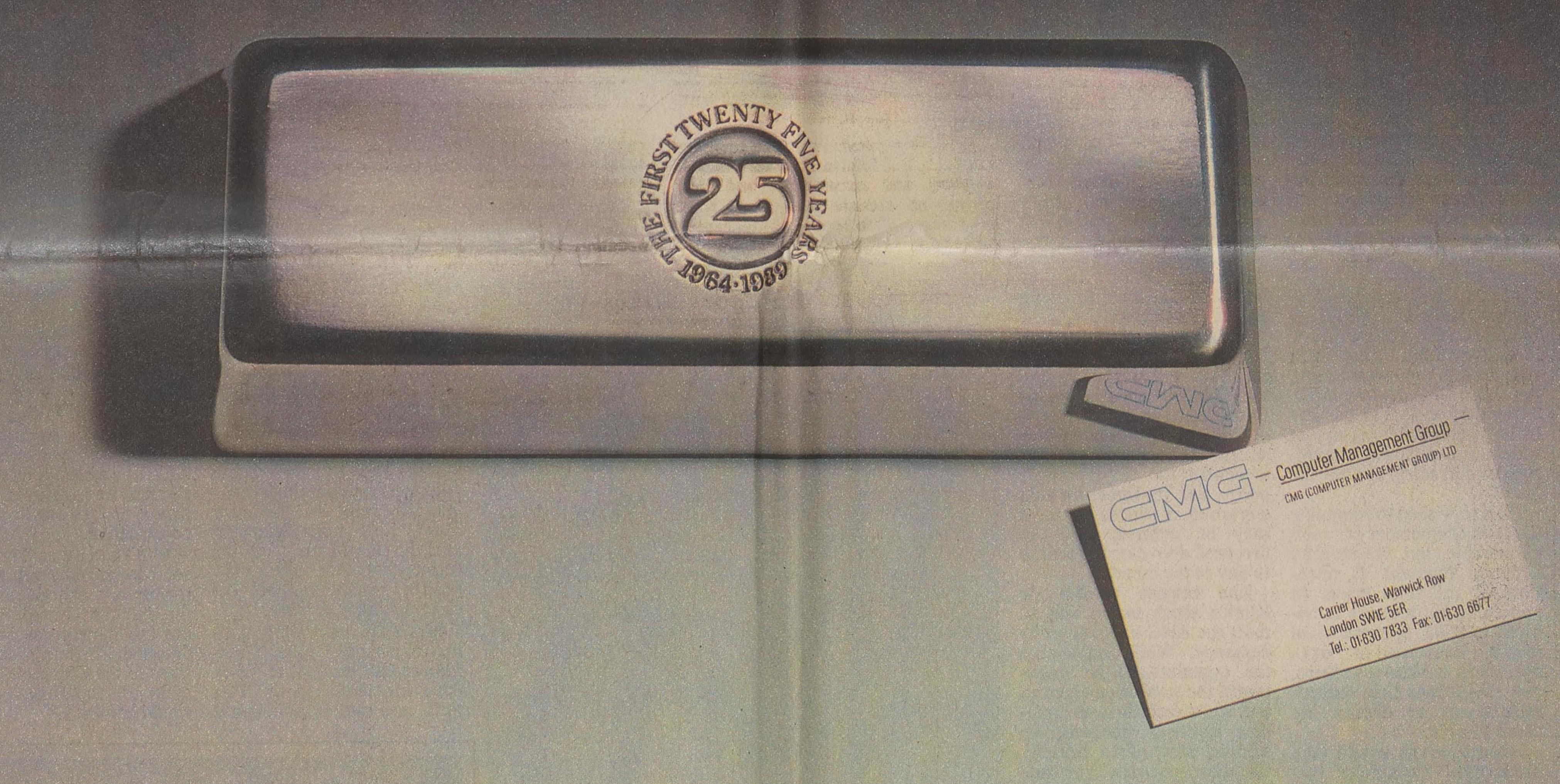
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## Joy sweeps through Riding a wave of reform ANC welcomes townships despite remaining doubts

From Gavin Bell, Cape Town

duced euphoria in black town- prisoners, irrespective of their place." ships throughout South alleged crimes. "The Government has not

from the African National package. De Klerk has taken stitute the pillars of the sys-Congress (ANC), and fury in pieces he likes, but there can tem." Mr Lekota said freedom the ranks of the white be no negotiations until he was in sight, but now more rightwing. addresses the package in its than ever before there was a A large crowd which had entirety." He declined to say need to "intensify the struggle staged an anti-apartheid dem- whether ANC leaders in exile on all fronts". onstration in Cape Town dur- in Lusaka would visit South Addressing the intering the President's address Africa soon, but said the national community, he said: broke into ululations of joy matter was now under "Now is the time to pressure and danced in the streets when consideration.

unbanned the ANC. president of the smaller but To this end, the sanctions Within the hour, a huge more radical Pan Africanist campaign must be intensified. cavalcade of cars flying ANC Congress (PAC), said the only To lift sanctions now would be flags formed on the outskirts significance of the announce- to run the risk of aborting the of the city for a victory parade ment was that it would make process towards democracy." through the surrounding it easier for his organization to The initial reaction of the townships. Unarmed police- operate. "To maintain the ANC and its supporters inmen adopted a low profile, state of emergency because of dicated that the euphoria in and did not intervene. the Natal violence is pure the townships may be short-

the rooftops of cars and publishes The Road to Robben, Klerk may have impressed flourishing newspapers with Island, an exclusive extract liberals on both sides of the banner headlines reporting Mr from the authorized biography racial divide, but clearly the de Klerk's announcement. of Nelson Mandela, which ANC wants more before it is Local newspapers were sold tells the story of the dramatic prepared to talk peace. out within minutes of hitting events leading to Mandela's Diplomats were encouraged the streets. life sentence — the huge by Mr de Klerk's speech, and The Rev Allan Boesak, the treason trial in which he was anticipated discreet pressure president of the World Alli- acquitted, his re-arrest and his by the African Frontline states ance of Reformed Churches imprisonment on other on the ANC to respond more and a fierce critic of the charges, and the final terror- positively. "The onus is on the Government, was evidently ism case that sent him to ANC now," a western dipcaught up in the general South Africa's fortress prison. lomat said. "They're going to

than we expected," he said. "If chicanery, because this con- end up looking like fools by he had given us any more, we flict was caused by an oppres- ranting up there (Lusaka) wouldn't have known what to sive system which divides and while they're free to operate do with it all at one time." rules our people."

more subdued, and made it flected at a press conference by Conservative Party was apclear there was no immediate the United Democratic Front, parent from angry mutterings prospect of negotiations with the organization's principal from the opposition benches the Government. A spokes- political surrogate in South which forced Mr de Klerk to man for the organization in Africa. Mr Patrick "Terror" briefly interrupt his speech Harare welcomed the lifting of Lekota, the publicity sec- before repeating his the ban as "an important retary, said: "Whilst we con- announcement on the ANC. A victory for the people", but cede the boldness of some of party member later shrugged said other preconditions for the steps, we insist on the total off journalists with the terse peace talks were unfulfilled. fulfilment of the conditions comment: "It's insanity". "Although several organiza- contained in the Harare Chief tions have been unbanned, Declaration."

repressive measures can still He said that as long as the conservative Inkatha move- Dr Zach de Beer, a co-leader majority Labour Party in the be deployed against them, state of emergency and related ment which is locked in a of the opposition Democratic because the capacity is there in security legislation remained bloody power struggle with Party, said he had listened to of Representatives, said Mr de the terms of statutes." He said in force, anti-apartheid ac- ANC supporters in Natal, said Mr de Klerk's speech with a Klerk had displayed courage.

Mr de Klerk's initiative pro- and the release of all political he said, "apartheid remains in

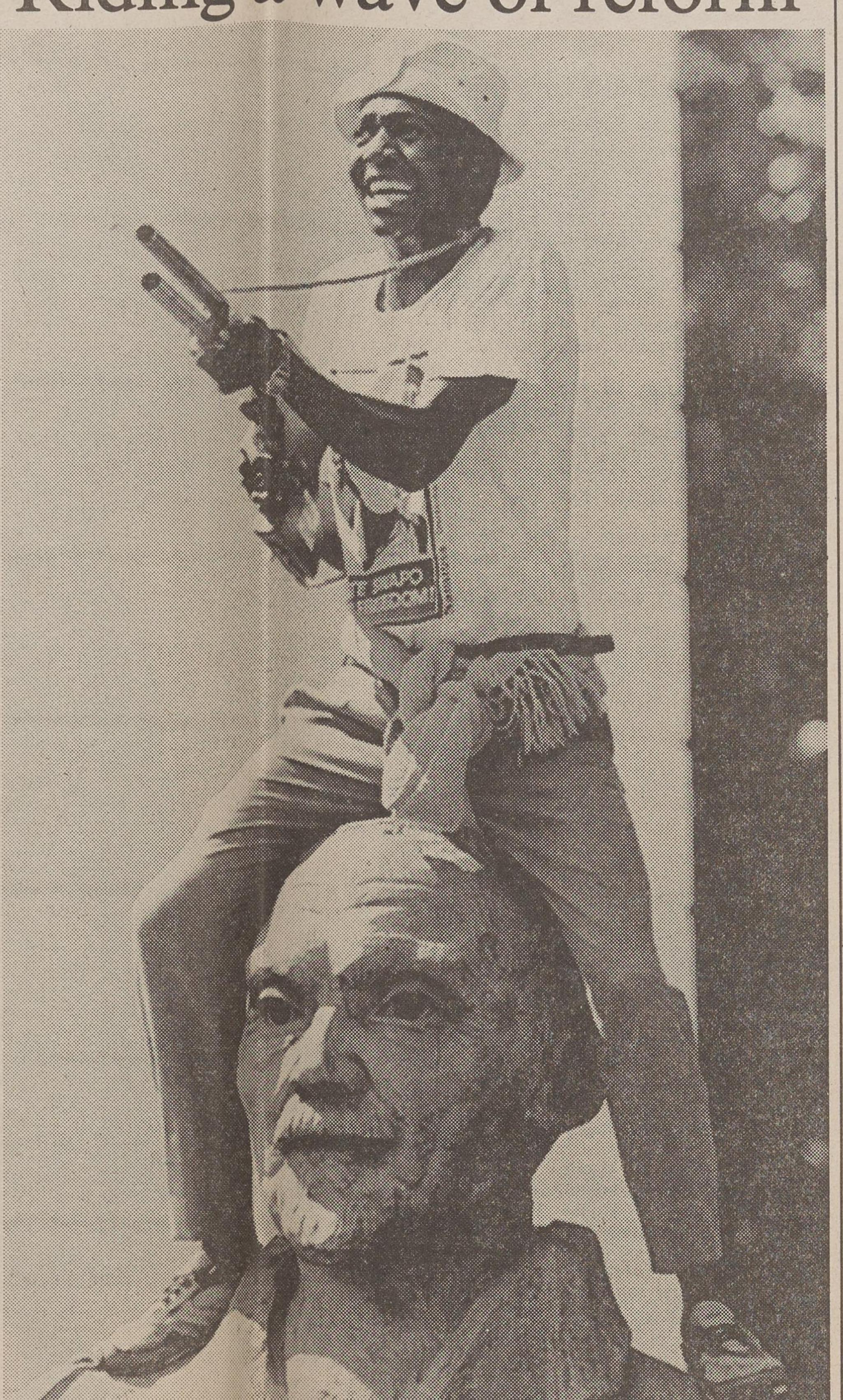
Africa, qualified approval "The declaration was a removed the laws that con-

the Government to move word spread that he had Mr Zeph Mothopeng, the rapidly towards democracy.

Several young whites joined \_\_\_\_\_ lived, and the anxieties of the in the celebrations, sitting on Tomorrow The Sunday Times white right premature. Mr de

enthusiasm. "It is much more have to be careful they don't down here."

The ANC response was The ANC view was re- The reaction of the far-right



An ANC supporter brandishing a wooden gun sits atop a statue of the statesman Jan Smuts.

Mangosuthu struggled for, they will only open." The Rev Allan persons now unbanned will Buthelezi, leader of the have themselves to blame." Hendrickse, leader of the come forward to assist him." coloured (mixed race) House remark came from Mr Mur-

demands in the Harare imprisonment, and many ex- toric importance. "If blacks There would be setbacks in the plates the President and will We do not know what the Declaration of last year for an iled "comrades" were unable now fail to bring about the future, but "the road to a non-support him ... it is hoped future portends." end to the state of emergency to return home. "Above all," radical change they have racial democracy looks to be that all organizations and

Perhaps the most telling

phy Morobe of the United Democratic Front: "Today is Mr de Klerk had ignored ANC tivists faced detention and the speech was of great his- "The Labour Party congrat- very different from yesterday.

Leading article, page 11

# reforms but demands more

From Christopher Mosey, Stockholm

terday welcomed President de on former detainees.

state of emergency and end system". detention without trial, mea- At the same time it emphasures of which he stopped sized that sanctions against short yesterday.

manded the immediate re- of relations between South lease of Mandela. "Questions Africa and the rest of the concerning his personal sec- world must continue to deurity cannot be, and are not, pend on ending the apartheid the exclusive concern of the system," it said. South African regime. They must be decided together with leader imprisoned in South his organization, the ANC," the statement said.

ceded, however, that Mr de proved by Mr Oliver Tambo, Klerk had gone "a long way the ANC's leader in exile, who towards creating a climate conducive to negotiations".

anti-apartheid organizations, tomorrow.

An African National Congress as well as the suspension of the delegation visiting Stockholm death penalty, the release of under the leadership of Mr some political prisoners, the Walter Sisulu, Nelson Man- ending of media restrictions dela's right-hand man, yes- and the lifting of restrictions

Klerk's speech, but said he The statement said the needed to go still further ANC would "take urgent meabefore the ANC would nego- sures to review the new situatiate with him. tion that has emerged, to A statement issued by the determine the steps we have to delegation called on the South take to move our country African President to free all further forward towards fipolitical prisoners, lift the nally ending the apartheid

South African should remain The statement also de- in force. "The normalization

Mr Govan Mbeki, the ANC Africa from 1963 to 1987 who read the handwritten state-The ANC delegation con- ment, said it had been apis recovering from a stroke at a nursing home near here.

It welcomed the lifting of The delegation is to attend a the ban on the ANC and other massive anti-apartheid rally

### Bush hints sanctions may be reviewed soon

From Martin Fletcher, Washington

President Bush welcomed move by the US ought to be. I hinted that he might review sanctions against South Africa if liberalization continues.

In his first reaction, given on board the presidential jet, Air Force One, he said he viewed the speech "positively, and I think most people around the world will".

He said he would have to discuss the lifting of sanctions with congressional leaders. "I want to see the development now of these policies and I want to talk to the various heard so far sounded to me leaders involved and I'm sure like celestial music but I hope we'll have a lot of debate and it is the beginning of a process discussion inside the Admin- which will lead to the end of istration about what the next apartheid."

President de Klerk's an- think when people move in nouncement yesterday and the right direction it is certainly timely to review all policy. We want to see the policy initiative go forward and the release of Mandela." • NEW YORK: Señor Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, the United Nations Secretary-General, likened the news of changes in South Africa to "celestial music," saying he hoped it was the beginning of the end for apartheid (Reuter reports).

> Questioned by reporters here he said: "What I have

### WORLD ROUNDUP

### Kurdish refugees allege poisoning

About 400 Iraqi Kurdish refugees were being treated yesterday for poisoning in Diyarbakir in the south-east of Turkey, according to local authorities (Hazhir Teimourian; writes). It was the third alleged instance of mass poisoning of Kurds since they sought refuge in Turkey after fleeing Iraqi chemical attacks in the summer of 1988. The Kurds said that 200 of their number in the Diyarbakir refugee camp became seriously ill after eating poisoned bread, and that another 350 needed treatment. They suffered severe stomach pain, headaches and vomiting, they said.

The Kurds suspect Iraqi agents of trying to force them to return home where they say they would face imprisonment, banishment and, in some cases, execution. Last June, when some 3,000 of the refugees were taken ill at the Mardin camp near the borders with Iraq and Syria, British scientists found traces of an organo-phosphate compound which is used in the manufacture of nerve gases. The results of their investigation are published today in The Lancet.

### Saudis execute three

Riyadh (AFP) - A Saudi and two Thai nationals were beheaded in Saudi Arabia yesterday after being convicted on charges of rape and robbery or murder, Saudi television reported. Badr Abdallah al-Anzi, the Saudi, was sentenced to death by the sword under Islamic law for several robberies and the rape of three women, the report said. The Thais were beheaded for murdering fellow Thais, either in a robbery or after a dispute over money. More than 120 common-law criminals were executed in Saudi Arabia last year, but only five have so far been announced in 1990.

### Liberian rebels killed

Monrovia (AFP) - Liberian troops killed eight rebels and captured a large quantity of arms, ammunition and documents between the rebel-held towns of Karnplay and Zogeway in northeastern Nimba County, a defence ministry statement said. The statement quoted Nimba troop commander Brigadier-General Moses Craig as saying the captured weapons were made in Eastern Bloc countries. But he did not name them. General Craig also said the documents seized indicated that rebels had undergone training in Libya for two years.

### Rust freed on bail

Bonn - Herr Mathias Rust, aged 22, who captured world headlines in 1987 when he flew a light aircraft to Red Square, was released yesterday on DM100,000 (£37,000) bail while awaiting trial for stabbing an 18-year-old student nurse who refused to kiss him last November (Ian Murray) writes). The incident occurred in the cloakroom of an old people's home where Herr Rust, a conscientious objector, was doing civil service. He has been in prison since the offence. Police now believe there is no danger he will abscond.

### Radiation leak danger

Toronto (Reuter) - A videotape of the Soviet nuclear submarine which exploded and sank in the Norwegian Sea last summer shows that it may be leaking radiation, according to the Canadian Institute of Strategic Studies. The stricken vessel was carrying two nuclear-tipped torpedoes and two nuclear reactors when it sank after an explosion and fire, killing 42 of the 69 crew members. The videotape, filmed by a Soviet mini-submarine and obtained by a Canadian underwater explorer, gives the West its first look at the Soviet Navy's most sophisticated submarine.

### Pirates kill policemen

Dhaka (AP) - A bandit disguised as a bridegroom, and his 24 accomplices, hijacked a river ferry, killed three policemen and escaped with their weapons, police said yesterday. The incident occurred on Thursday near Barisal, where the ferry began its night journey to Dhaka, 70 miles to the north, police said.

### Extracts from speech that could change a nation

### 'There is no time to delay the negotiating process'

The Government will accord the process of negotiation the highest priority. The aim is a totally new and just constitutional dispensation in which every inhabitant will enjoy equal rights, treatment and opportunity in every sphere of endeavour constitutional, social and economic.

The collapse ... of the Marxist economic system in Eastern Europe ... serves as a warning to those who insist on persisting with it in Africa.

Southern Africa now has an historical opportunity to set aside its conflicts and ideological differences and draw up a joint programme of reconstruction. It should be sufficiently attractive to ensure that the southern African region obtains adequate investment and loan capital from the industrial countries of the world. The Government believes that the obstacles in the way of a conference of southern African states have now been removed.

Hostile postures have to be replaced by co-operative ones; confrontation by contact; disengagement by engagement; slogans by deliberate debate.

I wish to urge every political and community leader, in and outside Parliament, to approach the newopportunities which are being created, constructively. There is no time left for advancing new conditions that will delay the negotiating process. The steps that have been decided are the following:

• The prohibition of the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress, the South African Communist Party and a number of subsidiary organizations is rescinded.

• People serving prison sentences merely because they were members

of one of these organizations or because they committed another offence which was merely an offence because a prohibition on one of the organizations was in force, will be identified and released. Prisoners who have been sentenced for other offences such as murder, terrorism or arson are not affected by this. The media emergency regulations as well as the education emergency regulation are being abolished in their entirety.

The security emergency regulations will be amended to make provision for effective control over visual material pertaining to scenes

The restrictions in terms of the emergency regulations on

> 6 The police are convinced they can combat violence without the aid of prohibitions 9

organizations are being rescinded. The organizations include the National Education Crisis Committee. South African National Students Congress, United Democratic Front and Cosatu.

• The conditions imposed in terms of the security emergency regulations on 374 people on their release are being rescinded and the regulations which provide for such conditions are being abolished.

The period of detention in terms of the security emergency regulations will be limited henceforth to six months. Detainees also acquire the right to legal representation and

a medical practitioner of their own choosing.

Implementation (of the decisions) will be immediate.

Events in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe weaken the capability of organizations which were previously supported strongly from those quarters. The activities of the organizations from which the prohibitions are now being lifted, no longer entail the same degree of threat to internal security which initially necessitated the imposition of the prohibitions.

The South African Police is convinced that it is able, in the present circumstances, to combat violence and other crimes perpetrated also by members of these organizations and to bring offenders to justice without the aid of prohibitions on organizations.

At the same time I wish to emphasize that the maintenance of law and order dare not be jeopardized. Violence from whichever source, will be fought with all available might. Peaceful protest may not become the springboard for lawlessness, violence and intimidation.

On the state of emergency I have been advised that an emergency situation, which justifies these special measures . . . still exists. It is my intention to terminate the state of emergency completely as soon as circumstances justify it and I request the co-operation of everybody towards this end. It is time for us to break out of the

cycle of violence and break through to peace and reconciliation. The silent majority is yearning for this. The youth deserve it.

The agenda is open and the

overall aims to which we are aspiring should be acceptable to all reasonable South Africans. Among other things, those aims include a new, democratic constitution; universal franchise; no domination; equality before an independent judiciary; the protection of minorities as well as of individual rights; freedom of religion; a sound economy based on proven economic principles and private enterprise; dynamic programmes directed at better education, health services, housing and social conditions for

In this connection Mr Nelson Mandela could play an important part. The Government has noted that he has declared himself to be

### 6 Mandela has declared himself willing to make a contribution to peaceful change

willing to make a constructive contribution to the peaceful political process in South Africa. I wish to put it plainly that the

Government has taken a firm decision to release Mr Mandela unconditionally. I am serious about bringing this matter to finality without delay. The Government will take a decision soon on the date of his release. Unfortunately, a further short passage of time is unavoidable. Normally there is a certain passage of time between the decision to release and the actual release because of logistical and administrative requirements. In the

case of Mr Mandela there are factors in the way of his immediate release, of which his personal circumstances and safety are not the least. He has not been an ordinary prisoner for quite some time. Because of that, his particular case requires circumspection.

The allegation has been that the Government did not wish to talk to (black leaders) and that they were deprived of their right to normal political activity. The time for talking has arrived and whoever still makes excuses does not really wish to talk.

Therefore, I repeat my invitation with greater conviction than ever: Walk through the open door; take your place at the negotiating table together with the Government and other leaders who have important power bases inside and outside of Parliament.

To those political leaders who have always resisted violence I say thank you for your principled stands. This includes all the leaders of parliamentary parties, leaders of important organizations and movements, such as Chief Minister Buthelezi, all of the other Chief Ministers and urban community leaders. Their places in the negotiating process are assured.

The eyes of responsible governments across the world are focused on us. The hopes of millions of South Africans are centred around us. The future of southern Africa depends on us. We dare not falter or

I call on the international community to re-evaluate its position and to adopt a positive attitude towards the dynamic evolution which is taking place in South Africa.

### De Klerk unbans ANC and communists on road to democracy



Dr Treurnicht: Called the President's speech shocking.

Continued from page 1 state of emergency and related security legislation remained in force. Mr Pallo Jordan, an ANC

member said: "He hasn't re-It's like a buffet dinner - he community leaders as took the parts he liked and left possible. the parts he didn't like". And Mrs Winnie Mandela said the ister for Constitutional Devwith no meat."

who briefed foreign corr- ments for a system based on Klerk's speech said the Government was prepared to go much further towards disnational executive committee mantling apartheid through negotiations with as wide sponded to the entire package. spectrum of political and

Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the Min-President had not gone far elopment, said this applied to enough: "We cannot be happy fundamental legislation classjust because the ANC has been ifying people according to will be welcome to make the de Klerk today are irrelevant unbanned," she said. "We are race, and segregating their fullest contribution in drawing and meaningless because not prepared to accept a bone places of residence and up a new constitution. Mr de apartheid cannot be reformed. recreation. "The Government Klerk will end white domina- We cannot talk about ending But Mr Walter Sisulu, the considers that these 'pillars of tion." recently released former ANC apartheid' have to go, but secretary-general, acknowl- these have to be negotiated

edged that some progress had away in an orderly manner." Senior cabinet ministers believed it had valid argu- on the ANC now."

added: "There will be universal franchise. This means each adult person of sane mind will participate through a vote. How it will be structured is a matter for negotiation." Mr R.F. "Pik" Botha, the

"The National Party wants a also poured scorn on the new South Africa, in which all speech. Mr Waters Toboti, its South Africans will participate information director, said: at the highest level. The ANC "The reforms announced by

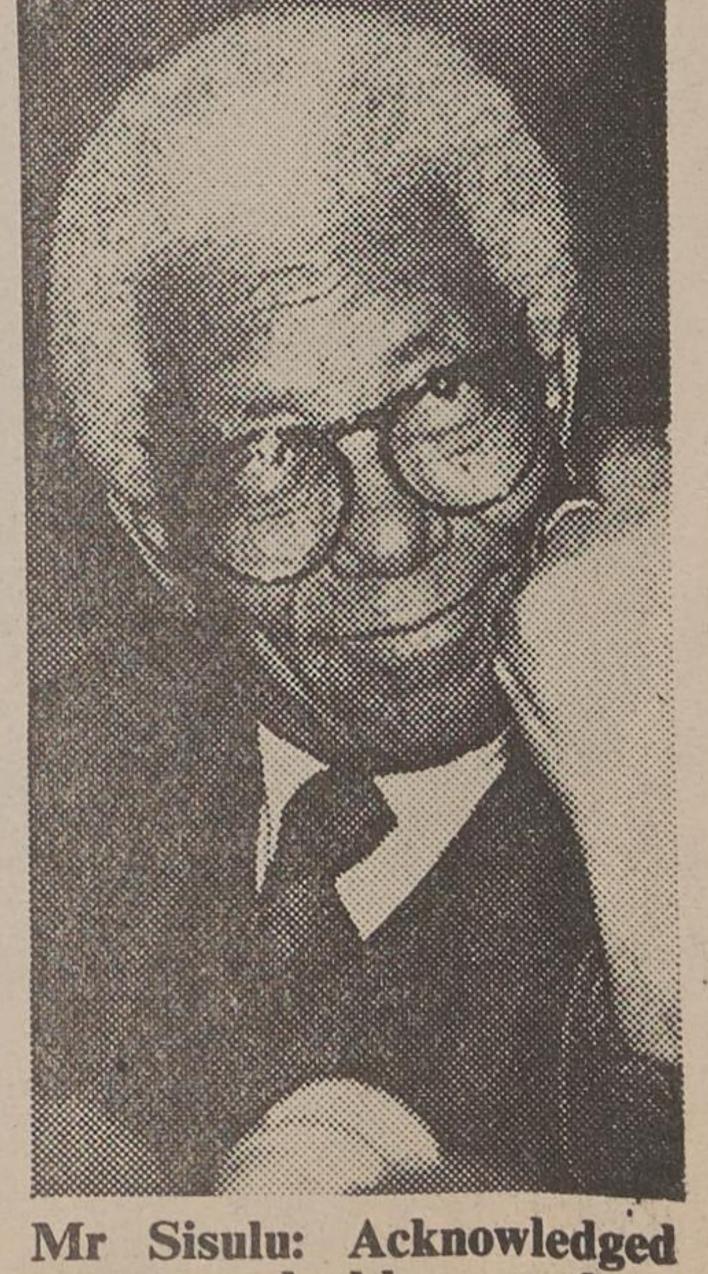
A senior diplomat in the eleiminate it. audience said the President had gone further than anyone

espondents before Mr de (racial) group rights, but Treurnicht, leader of the proapartheid Conservative Party, described the speech as shocking and challenged de Klerk to call an immediate election for white voters to see whether they backed his decisions. The radical Pan Africanist

Later, Dr Andries

Foreign Minister, concluded: Congress - also legalized apartheid. We can only

"We are going to intensify the armed struggle to greater been made. "It takes a long Asked about future had anticipated. "On the pol- levels through the training of time for news like this to seep constitutional plans, Dr Vil- itical level, he's gone for more cadres and through joen said the Government broke. The pressure is really confrontation withthe enemy on the ground," he said.



progress had been made.

# Soviet party faces up to Peace patrol in Armenia intimations of mortality

From Mary Dejevsky, Moscow

meets in Moscow on Monday Events in the Transcauc- Baku, the capital of Azer- replaced by direct elections in under the shadow of the asus and the emptiness of baijan, and outbreaks of un- all regional party organizacollapse of communism in shops across the country have rest in other parts of the tions there is no possibility Eastern Europe and its seemed to support the allega- country, ethnic tensions are that new blood will be brought increasingly open rejection tions of conservatives that likely to be discussed in a in. The heirs of Brezhnev, even here.

Inside the party there is a itical and economic chaos. sense that something must be On Thursday the reformist done to prevent further de- Moscow News published a cline in its authority, but little damning assessment of the is the draft congress docu- When such sensitive quesagreement on what.

munist Party has changed.

The upheaval in Romania, ism" that had helped bring as recently as 1985, when the the official recognition that German reunification is inevitable, and the deployment of the Army to quell what officially is called an anticommunist uprising in the Soviet republic of Azerbaijan, have all given the Soviet party hitherto unsuspected intimations of mortality.

Three distinct strands of opinion about the party's future can be detected.

The first, right-wing and conservative — at least in the Soviet political lexicon - argues that the problem stems from the readiness of the party leadership to make concessions which weaken communism. This group wants a return to former ways.

A second group, President main, regards the party as collapse". being basically on the right track but hindered by back- had circulated that President ward thinking and outdated Gorbachov was considering revisions has been repeatedly debate, the past week has seen political structures. It sees a resignation from the party questioned, and it is possible reference to new pockets of continuing, if modified, role leadership. The subsequent that the new programme will unrest throughout the Soviet for the party in Soviet life panic on Western stock mark- contain even more generalities Union. It has also seen the facilitated by some judicious ets, and the immediate re- than the last. personnel changes and sanc- action from American politi- But it is the party rules, or regional party committee - in stacles to economic reform. remain in power.

cratic Platform, the newly chov, or his supporters, were an opponent as an attempt to the party.

perestroika has brought pol- more general manner than however, have every interest

meeting of the Central Com- most closely identified with wing of the party has mittee in as many months, but the conservative wing of the prevailed. even in that short time the party, accusing him of being The party programme, mood of the Soviet Com- associated with the "un- which sets out future goals, healthy elements of social- had its last thorough revision



President Gorbachov: May want less power for party. Gorbachov's supporters in the communism "to the point of over-optimism of the Khru-

Two days earlier a rumour

founded group which was trying to increase the power of define who can stand for party Solovyov, the former regional described earlier this week by the presidency with respect to elections, how many posts can secretary, whose "crime" was introduce non-Leninist social- Originally the plenum had party elections are held. Few ism into the Soviet Union. been expected to discuss the changes were made in the last tions of principle, however, This group has attracted the decision of the Lithuanian revision.

support of those who believe Communist Party to split something far more radical, from the central Soviet party, is likely to be the election for the economic and political including direct elections for and new party rules and a new procedures: the radicals disarray in which the Soviet all party posts and an end to programme to be presented to united in the Democratic Plat- Union finds itself.

The Central Committee of the the party's automatic right to the congress in October. Now, form argue that unless the Soviet Communist Party power, is required to save it. after the military assault on system of indirect elections is had been planned.

Where the future of the tem because their jobs and party is concerned, however, it power depend on it.



Mr Ligachov: Associated with 'unhealthy elements'. shchev programme was finally discarded.

The need for so many

tioned by a re-evaluation of cians, allowed Gorbachov statute, which will determine Lenin that would remove supporters to demonstrate whether the party is prepared grad), where party members some of the ideological ob- how essential it was for him to to change itself fundament- and demonstrators pushed ally. The rules define the through a vote of no con-The third view would be The rumour also generated structure of the party from fidence in the leadership represented by the Demo- speculation that Mr Gorba- primary party organizations and the expulsion from the up to the Politburo; they Leningrad party of Mr Oleg be held concurrently and how to buy a foreign car.

in preserving the present sys-

policies of Mr Yegor Liga- ments that emerge from the tions have been discussed in This will be the second full chov, the Politburo member plenum that will show which the past, a compromise has usually been reached. This time, with the emergence of the Democratic Platform and the warnings from Eastern Europe, many party officials fear for its future, and patience

> The Gorbachov supporters might be satisfied with the prospect, broached this week in Pravda, of separating the state presidency from the party leadership again - the two functions have been separated when each of the last four Soviet leaders came to power - and making the former more powerful.

Separation would allow Mr Gorbachov to become a newstyle President late in the year and leave the new party leadership to bargain with unofficial opposition groups for power.

Such a solution would leave the conservatives and the radicals to fight for the leadership of a party which could rapidly become as irrelevant in the Soviet Union as it | \*\*\* already has elsewhere.

Along with the ideological first en bloc resignation of a Volgograd (formerly Stalin-

Such isolated demonstraare unlikely to save a party





An Armenian woman, passing by the armoured might of the Soviet Union, continues knitting as she walks through the Armenian village of Tekh, where troops and tanks are deployed to This time the battleground which is now openly blamed halt ethnic violence between Armenians and Azerbaijanis. Mr Tofik Gasymov, a senior member of the Azerbaijani Popular Front, said yesterday that Lieutenant-General Vladimir

Dubinyak, the military commandant of the Azerbaijani capital of Baku, had promised the Front that he would pass on to Moscow its calls for a timetable on removing troops from the city (Reuter reports from Baku). The Front, which says its aim is genuine parliamentary democracy, has rejected demands by extreme factions for secession from the Soviet Union.

### Experts ready to take over in Sofia

From Ernest Beck Sofia

Bulgaria entered an uncertain but hopeful political era yesterday with the resignation of the Communist Government, the election of a new Communist Party leadership, and the first thorough purge of hardline party members since Mr Todor Zhivkov, the former leader, was toppled in November.

It is hoped that the Government's resignation will lead to the formation of a caretaker administration made up largely of independent experts, specialists and professionals, many from the academic. community. Such an administration, it is hoped, would foster stability in the run-up to free multi-party elections scheduled for May.

New opposition groups have agreed in principle to what is being called a "national consensus" Government but ruled out an interim coalition with the Communists as a ploy to make them take responsibility for the country's political and economic plight.

The proposal will be put to the round-table talks which resume next week. A list of possible candidates is expected to be compiled, with the Communists taking one or two ministries.

The resignation follows sharp criticism of Mr Georgi Atanasov, the Prime Minister, who came under attack at the emergency meeting of the Communist Party for doing nothing to stop the country's slide to economic ruin.

As the Government resigned, delegates to the congress continued a protracted secret session to choose a new party leadership. This is believed to have turned into a blood-letting of the last remnants of the Zhivkov clique by the emerging reformers. Mr Alexander Lilov, a

philosopher, aged 56, was unanimously elected party chairman, while Mr Petur Mladenov, the outgoing General Secretary who ousted Mr Zhivkov, stepped aside in hopes of becoming President of the republic.

Yugoslavia's ethnic powder keg

### Serbs demand Kosovo crusade

From Philip Jacobson, Pristina

week of violence in Kosovo, 10-to-one by ethnic Alba- need for what Mr Milosevic several thousand Serbs gath- nians, "Slobo's" rousing has described as a crusade "to ered here yesterday to demand brand of nationalism is music avenge humiliations long imtougher action by the authori- to the ears. They warmly posed on Serbia". ties against Albanian "terror- applauded his decision to rush ists". At an hour-long, often heavily armed Serb riot police emotional, meeting they com- into Kosovo - which comes plained that Albanian dem- under Serbian control - when onstrators involved in clashes the present wave of strikes and with police are intent on protests began, and the ferocdriving the Serbian minority ity with which these squads out of the province.

terday for talks on the deteriorating situation, speakers at the meeting demanded a firmer hand from the top.

As the crowd assembled elegant women in fur coats rubbing shoulders with farmers in muddy boots — several people brandished portraits of When yesterday's meeting was Mr Slobodan Milosevic, the ending one young woman charismatic Serbian leader.

have been going into action With President Drnovsek of against Albanian crowds Yugoslavia arriving here yes- meets with widespread approval from a community that feels at risk.

Mr Drnovsek, by contrast, is widely regarded by Serbs here as a dangerously liberal figure, a Slovene with the usual antipathy towards the country's largest ethnic group. with a "Slobo" button in her For Kosovo's 200,000 lapel delivered an impas-

For the Albanian majority, who rightly regard themselves as the Serbs' first target, phrases like this are to be taken with the utmost seriousness. The brutal efficiency with which Mr Milosevic disposed of Mr Azem Vlasi, the former leader of the



Germany on its feet.

The fact that the East German

one of the main problems.

Angry and alarmed after a Serbs, outnumbered almost sioned discourse about the Kosovo Communist Party, as soon as he became an obstacle two years ago, underlines their fear of Serbian domination.

> A popular figure of Albanian origin, Mr Vlasi, aged 42, and 14 others are being tried for "counter-revolutionary activities", and could face the death sentence if convicted.

The court is sitting in Titova Mitrovica, a grimy industrial city about 25 miles from Pristina. It was the scene of violent protests after the arrests, and now the bleak streets are under heavy police control, with young men being shoved against the wall for body checks.

Lawyers for Mr Vlasi have denounced the trial as political show. They have requested that the closed hearings be transferred to a court outside Serbia, but have no expectation of success.

### Man in the News: Petre Roman

### Trusted democrat casts his spell

From Christopher Walker, Bucharest

As concern mounts at home from a first-floor balcony, World War, but later fell into ter of a former Romanian and abroad about the com- succeeding in defusing the disfavour with the Stalinist ambassador to Switzerland Prime Minister, has so far preserved his reputation as a democrat, despite being from a family with deep communist traditions.

A former engineering professor with matinée idol looks, the youthful Mr Roman has rapidly emerged as both the main troubleshooter for the National Salvation Front, and its most acceptable international face.

It was no coincidence that he was dispatched on Monday to stage the dramatic evacuation of Mr Corneliu Coposu, the veteran opposition leader, after his party headquarters were surrounded by a mob threatening his life. Twice Mr Roman addressed the crowd

munist leanings of Romania's situation before he and Mr leadership of the party in and they have one daughter. provisional leaders, Mr Petre Coposu were driven away in Bucharest as a potential Roman, the charismatic armoured personnel carriers. "Titoist".

> ica. Women, particularly, came up and just asked if they could touch his coat."

Mr Valter Roman, the Prime Minister's father, was a pre-war member of Romania's then tiny Communist of Romanians permitted

He served in the Comintern in Moscow in the Second

and his sister, Carmen. Despite his father's period

in disgrace, Mr Petre Roman was very much part of the party's nomenklatura, or elite. He was one of the minority

Party who fought against the study abroad at the University fascists in the Spanish Civil of Toulouse, and speaks fluent own party card on December French and Spanish.

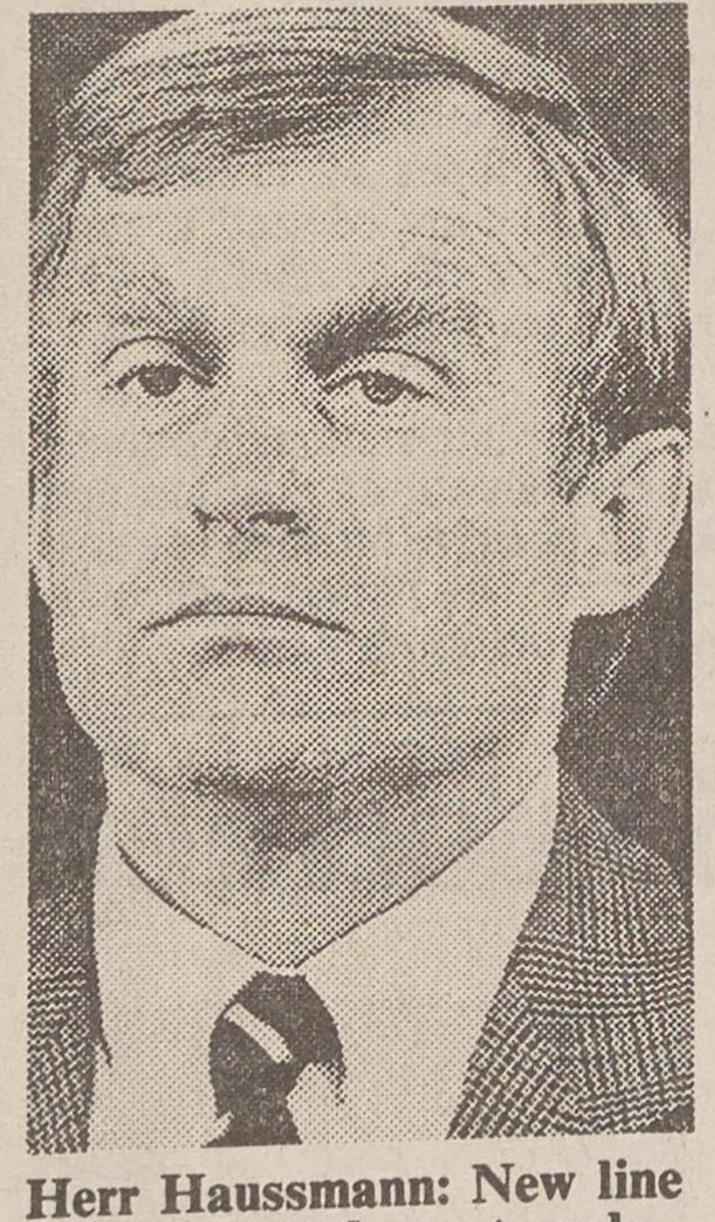
He is married to a radio

In his youth, Mr Roman was described by acquaint-

Two days later Mr Roman Mr Roman senior, a descen- ances as having been "close, was visiting workers in the dant of an old rabbinical even very close", to Zoia industrial town of Brasov, family from Transylvania, Ceausescu, the disgraced scene of the first unsuccessful was deprived of his general's daughter of the late dictator uprising against Ceausescu in rank and spent some years as a who is now under arrest, but 1987. An aide who travelled librarian before his rehabilita- even this is not widely held with him said of the crowd tion, when he took over a against him. He claimed that reception: "I have not seen publishing house. His Spanish he became a Communist anything like it since film of wife, Hortensia, was the Party member only to secure the first Beatles tour of Amer- mother of Mr Petre Roman his engineering professorship at Bucharest's Polytechnic University.

> "There were about four million members of the party. It is completely unacceptable to say that all were supporters of Ceausescu," the Prime Minister said. He tore up his 19 when he heard that demonstrators had been shot down broadcaster who is the daugh- in cold blood.

### East Germany 'risks civil war' if hopes of a better life are thwarted



of credit ready next week.

From Ian Murray

There is a danger of civil war in East Germany by August or September if the people's hopes for a better life are not quickly fulfilled, Herr Rudolf Stadermann, president of the new East German Business Federation, said here yesterday.

He issued his warning after meeting Herr Helmut Haussmann, the West German Economics Minister, who promised that negotiations on a new credit programme should be completed next

It appears Herr Stadermann's warning is being taken Herr Waigel is ready to seriously. Although Herr Hel- move rapidly to currency mut Kohl, the Chancellor, has union provided the East Ger- steelworks, breweries and car negotiating with a party that distinct advantage as the cam- the first such poll result and it

made it plain he is not man economy is opened up to prepared to discuss plans for free-market investment, comunion drawn up by Herr Hans petition and fair taxation. Modrow, the East German

East German poll on March by the opposition Social 18, there is now an urgency in Democrats for the Deutschthe economic measures being mark to be made the common currency of both countries by published a booklet of these proposed to help put East next year. Whichever West offers, supplies of which have Herr Theo Waigel, the Fi- German Government is in been exhausted after only a nance Minister, said yesterday power next year, therefore, the week. that he saw no reason why the principle of early currency The indications, therefore, strong Deutschmark could not union already seems to have are that there is still an years of publicly opposing it quickly be made the official been accepted.

currency in East Germany. mark is only worth about onetwentieth of a Deutschmark at present black market rates is German law allowing foreign to head the new Government. Social Democrats, is just one Germany, compared with 81 on March 18. investment, among them This would leave Herr Kohl factor in giving his party a per cent in the West. This is

West German financial news- his main domestic opponents. paper, Handelsblatt, now runs In making this offer, he pre- a daily block of announce- bring a recovery programme companies seeking partners in vent the Social Democrats in

The newspaper has also

West German private enter- Germany after 40 years of communists in East Berlin.

He is therefore anxious to

the West from benefiting too much in the general election campaign here in December. Herr Kohl has begun to attack the Social Democrats

for jumping on the bandwagon of reunification after entrepreneurial spirit in East and of forging links with the prise is starting to move east, communism. Nevertheless, The popularity, on both a poll taken on both sides of Kohl's foreign policy adviser, Figures this week show that the Social Democrats are still sides of the border, of Herr the border last week by the said the pace could quicken

Government figures yesterday omy to rights. showed that 58,000 crossed in BONN: The two German-January, while East Germany ies are moving so fast towards. stated that 12.5 million of its unification that the phased

The idea of reunification is now more popular in the East than in the West, according to

manufacturers. The main has been helped to power by paign begins in the East. underlines how East Germans Despite the promise of change now look to the West for in East Germany, the un- financial benefits while West ending flow of refugees across Germans are growing appre-Prime Minister, until after the empted a demand yesterday ments from East German into operation quickly to pre- the border continues at the hensive about the cost of rate of nearly 2,000 a day. setting East Germany's econ-

> 16 million population have so plans proposed by both counfar visited the West on exit tries could soon be overtaken by events, a senior West German official said yesterday (Reuter reports).

Herr Horst Teltschik, Herr there are some 3,000 West making all the running for the Willy Brandt, the former Wikert Institute. It showed after the formation of a new German companies ready to March 18 elections, with every Chancellor who is now presi- that 89 per cent of East Government chosen in East take advantage of a new East sign now that they will be able dent of the West Germans now wanted a united Germany's first free elections

> Gorbachov's gaffe, page 10 Leading article, page 11

### An overnight success after Village for outcasts gives refuge to ailing Honecker

From Anne McElvoy East Berlin

stairlifts but have not known that A statue of Christ, arms outwe are one of the major forces in stretched, is the first sight that greets the lift industry".

Personal service with top quality is where they come in. Duncan's team can be contacted at Stannah Lifts Ltd on ......

for treason and corruption.

earlier this week after an operation for cancer of the kidney, was taken straight to prison but was released

by a court which deemed him unfit together with his wife, has been to survive the six-week stay there offered sanctuary here to await trial before his trial.

Founded in 1905 as a charitable community to care for the deprived. sick or disturbed misfits from the nearby Berlin metropolis, Lobetal its name, culled from the Old Testament, means the Valley Of Praise - now has 500 inhabitants.

Herr Holmer was approached by

East Germany directed at the former leader; "the same people who once cheered him now deny him a home," he says. "How can we build a new and better society with this hatred within us?"

appalled by the desire for revenge in

He and his wife have already been the target of hate mail and abuse for opening their home to the couple.

ering well from his operation, but spends most of his time in bed

think that he regrets a lot. He told me that he has been isolated from his own country for many years." The couple eat with the Holmers but Frau Honecker has not yet

because he has not yet had a chance

to tell his version of events. Yes, I

ventured into the village. Herr Holmer has turned down the

Government's offer of security guards to protect his home from West German photographers and vengeful citizens. Instead burly villagers stand at the front door. turning away onlookers politely.

### 100 years in the industry Duncan LeFeuvre, Managing architects may have heard of our

Director of Stannah Lifts Ltd, with his highly skilled team of managers and workers have taken just five years to become what they believe to be market leaders in hydraulic passenger lifts having been market leaders for both service lifts and stairlifts for some Explains Duncan, "Many of

our orders are placed via specifiers and we have found that many potential clients who are not (0264) 332765 Dept. KG/T.

Some of their better known customers include Next, Anglia Secure Homes, Whitbread, Pelham Homes, British Telecom, Countryside Properties.....

the visitor on the way into the hamlet of Lobetal outside East Berlin. Underneath is the message "Come unto me all you who are weary and I will give you rest". The village, traditionally a refuge for society's outcasts, is now home

to an old, sick and lonely man

preparing to face the wrath of the

country he once dominated. Herr

Erich Honecker, the former leader,

Herr Uwe Holmer, the parish priest and an affable family man in his forties, now shares his home in

the village with Herr and Frau Honecker who have been evicted from their luxury home in the exclusive compound of Wandlitz just a few miles away. Herr Honecker, who left hospital

the authorities after Herr Honecker's arrest last year when they despaired of finding a community where he would be safe. The priest is

Herr Honecker, he says, is recov-

reading and writing his diary. "He is looking forward to the trial,

# De Klerk Lifts Ban on Mandela Group

### ANC Leader to Be Freed 'Soon'

By Christopher S. Wren New York Times Service

CAPE TOWN — President Frederik W. de Klerk of South Africa on Friday lifted a 30-year ban on the African National Congress, the national liberation movement that has been fighting to bring down white minority rule in South Afri-

Mr. de Klerk also said that Nelson Mandela, who has spent more than 27 years in prison, would be freed "soon" and "unconditionally," but declined to say when.

His release has been seen by Pretoria's opponents at home and abroad as a major test of Mr. de Klerk's intentions to move away from apartheid.

Bans were also ended on the rival Pan-African Congress and on the South African Communist Party. The three opposition groups were legalized as part of a package of sweeping changes that Mr. de Klerk announced in a watershed speech at the opening of Parliament on Friday.

"Hostile postures have to be replaced by cooperative ones; confrontation by contact; disengagement by engagement; slogans by deliberate debate," Mr. de Klerk told Parliament in calling for the government's opponents to join the negotiations he has proposed on South Africa's future.

"The season of violence is over,"

the president said. "The time for reconstruction and reconciliation has arrived."

As for Mr. Mandela, Mr. de Klerk said: "I wish to put it plainly that the government has taken a firm decision to release Mr. Mandela unconditionally. I am serious about bringing his matter to finality without delay. The government will take a decision soon on the date of his release. Unfortunately, a further short passage of time is unavoidable."

Mr. de Klerk attributed the postponement of Mr. Mandela's freedom to "factors in the way of his immediate release, of which his personal circumstances and safety are not the least." The president, as well as other government ministers, refused to explain further.

But Stoffel van der Merwe, the minister for black education, who briefed reporters on Mr. de Klerk's speech, said that "I don't think we will see Christmas with Mr. Mandela in jail."

Others informed about the government thinking expect Mr. Mandela's release to come within weeks, if not days.

The 71-year-old black leader, who is living on a prison farm outside Cape Town, had been quoted by recent visitors as demanding that the government improve the political climate before he leaves prison.

The conditions mentioned included the legalizing of the African National Congress, the release of political detainees, the lifting of the national state of emergency and an end to political trials and execu-

Mr. de Klerk appeared to cover most of these demands as he reiterated his readiness to sit down and discuss a new constitution that would give political rights to the black majority without forcing the white minority to relinquish power.

The other changes announced by Mr. de Klerk included these developments:

 Emergency regulations curtailing the freedom of the press will be repealed, except for unspecified conditions limiting photographic and television coverage of racial unrest.

• Restrictions on 33 organizations curtailed under the national state of emergency are to be lifted. They include the United Democratic Front, a coalition of antiapartheid parties, the South African National Students Congress, the Congress of South African Trade Unions, a labor federation active in the struggle against apartheid and the National Education Crisis Committee.

The list also included the Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging, or White Freedom Movement, a far-right

See DE KLERK, Page 5

### Global Praise Is Tempered

### Bush Wants More Change Before Lifting Sanctions

Reuters

LONDON — President George Bush and other national leaders praised the steps that South Africa took on Friday against apartheid, but they said Pretoria would have to do more before economic sanctions could be lifted.

"I view it positively and I think most people around the world sion to lift a 30-year ban on the will," Mr. Bush said of President Frederik W. de Klerk's announcement that he would lift a ban on anti-apartheid groups and free the black leader Nelson Mandela soon.

Some of the warmest praise came from Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, who invited Mr. de Klerk to London and made a similar offer to Mr. Mandela, 71.

"This is an historic landmark on the road to a new South Africa," Mrs. Thatcher said in a statement. "President de Klerk is to be congratulated on his decision."

Mrs. Thatcher, whose refusal to put into effect sanctions against Pretoria angered black African countries, said Britain would no longer discourage artistic, scientific or academic exchanges with South

Africa. "We shall consider further positive steps as soon as Mr. Mandela is

released," she added.

But members of the Anti-Apartheid Movement in Britain, protesting outside the South African Embassy in London, condemned Mrs. Thatcher's remarks and her invitation to Mr. de Klerk.

Nigeria and Zambia, for years among the most vociferous opponents of apartheid, hailed the deci-

British industrialists welcome the moves by Mr. de Klerk. Page 11. South African editors express a sense of liberation. Page 5.

African National Congress, to free Mr. Mandela soon and to put a moratorium on hangings.

The ANC welcomed its new status, calling the decision "an important announcement which will go a long way toward creating a climate conducive to negotiations."

Mr. Bush said he would have to discuss the future of U.S. economic sanctions with leaders of Congress. The outcome of such talks would likely turn on whether South Africa's policies continued on their pre-

sent course. "I think when people move in the right direction it is certainly timely

to review all policy," Mr. Bush said.

"We want to see the policy initiative go forward and release of Mandela."

The White House announced Thursday that Mr. Mandela and Mr. de Klerk would be invited for separate meetings if Mr. Mandela were released.

The 49-nation Commonwealth said its sanctions against South Africa would remain in place until progress toward the dismantling of apartheid was irreversible.

The Commonwealth secretarygeneral, Sir Shridath Ramphal, said, "The Commonwealth protest and pressure, its sanctions and efforts for negotiations, have helped to advance this moment of hope."

President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, where the ANC is based, offered "hearty congratulations for a job well started."

Nigeria's external affairs minister, Rilwanu Lukman, said: "We are sure this signals a genuine change on the part of the South African authorities, and we welcome it wholeheartedly."

In the Zimbabwean capital, Harare, a senior ANC official said he saw "some substantive changes." But he said Mr. de Klerk's conces-

See SANCTIONS, Page 5

### DE KLERK:

### ANC Legalized

(Continued from page 1)

paramilitary group promoting white racial supremacy, which was banned in December.

• Restrictions on the movements and contacts of 374 people released from detention are being rescinded and the regulations hampering their freedom are being abolished.

• Political detentions will be limited to six months, and detainees will have the right to legal representation and a doctor of their choice.

Mr. de Klerk acknowledged that the national state of emergency continued in force, but said it would now inhibit only those who used chaos and disorder as political weapons.

"It is my intention to terminate the state of emergency as soon as circumstances justify it and I request the cooperation of everybody toward this end," the president said.

The changes announced Friday, while probably the most dramatic announced by any South African president in a single speech, leave in place the basic structures of apartheid, including the Population Registration Act, which classifies every South African by race, and the Group Areas Act, which legalizes the segregation of neighborhoods. Blacks also remain excluded from Parliament and other elected political offices, except for

But Mr. de Klerk said the Separate Amenities Act, which has allowed municipal officials to bar blacks from publicly owned facilities, would be repealed by Parliament during its current session, as he had promised late last year.

municipal councils in the black

Mr. de Klerk further announced that the government would confine the use of the death penalty to what he called "extreme cases," in part by allowing judges greater discretion in imposing it.

Under current South African law, a judge is obligated to sentence a defendant to hang if he is convicted of a capital crime.

Critics of apartheid have viewed the death penalty as an instrument of repression, because blacks account for most condemned prisoners and because capital punishment has been applied in politically motivated crimes.

Mr. de Klerk said that those sentenced to death would automatically be granted the right to appeal their sentences, which is now at the judge's discretion. These changes, he said, would be extended to those currently on death row.

"Therefore, all executions have been suspended and no executions will take place until Parliament has taken a final decision on the new proposals.," he said.

### South Africa Editors Express Relief

Reuters

JOHANNESBURG — South African newspaper editors expressed a sense of liberation Friday after President Frederik W. de Klerk lifted some emergency rule restrictions on news organizations

"Now I can spend time in journalism instead of in court," said Max du Preez, editor of the Afrikaans-language Vrye Weekblad, or Free Weekly.

Harvey Tyson, editor of South Africa's biggest daily, The Star, said: "Within minutes of Mr. de Klerk's announcement we removed our front-page reminder to readers that The Star is being produced under the severest restrictions."

"We substituted a panel under the heading 'De-Censored,' telling readers that we no longer had to resort to devices, some of them probably illegal, to bring them the news."

In a speech to Parliament on Friday, Mr. de Klerk said emergency regulations imposed on the press in 1986 and tightened in June 1988 would be abolished.

The regulations forbid journalists to report political unrest like rioting or clashes with the police; publish plans for strikes, consumer boycotts and protest meetings, or comment on their success.

They also prohibited officials of anti-apartheid groups, restricted under emergency rule, from being quoted. The African National Congress and at least 35 other bodies have now been unfettered.

Newspapers who disobeyed rules could have been suspended and possible confiscation of their issues, while editors risked prosecution and prison.

Mr. de Klerk said he would use amended security regulations to maintain restrictions on television coverage and photographs of scenes of unrest.

Jan Steyn, chairman of the Media Council, an independent overseeing body, said, "It is in these circumstances even more important that there should be a free flow of information so that the public is properly informed of the policies, positions and principles of the various political groupings and actors."

But press organization remain far from unrestricted. Many people who have been banned under the Internal Security Act, like the exiled Communist Party chief, Joe Slovo, still may not be quoted.

There are more than 50 laws on South Africa's statute book that curtail freedom of the press.

### SANCTIONS: Bush Wants to See More Progress

(Continued from page 1)

sions to the black majority did not meet the group's demands in full.

"He hasn't responded to the entire package," said the official, Pallo Jordan, a member of the ANC's executive committee. "It's like a buffet dinner: He took the parts he liked and left the parts he didn't like."

But in Tanzania, the hard-line
Pan Africanist Congress, which
split from the ANC in 1959 and
was also legalized by Mr. de Klerk
on Friday, called the changes
meaningless and pledged to intensify its fight against apartheid.

Walter Sisulu, former secretarygeneral of the ANC, said at a conference in Stockholm, "Victory is in sight." Mr. Sisulu, imprisoned for 26 years, was freed last year.

He added that Mr. de Klerk had "not yet gone far enough" and that economic sanctions against Pretoria must be maintained.

Vatican sources said Mr. de Klerk's statement increased the likelihood that Pope John Paul II would visit the republic. "This is certainly a major step toward a papal trip," an official said.

The Dutch prime minister, Ruud

Lubbers, likened the changes to the fall of the Berlin Wall and said the European Community would have to re-evaluate its sanctions.

Western diplomats in Cape Town said Mr. de Klerk had laid the foundations for improved relations with the West and for a possible relaxation of sanctions. A diplomat said, "I think the U.S., Europe and the Commonwealth are all going to have to take another look at their policies."

The EC Commission welcomed the news, but there were no immediate signs that it would review its stand on sanctions.

### Mandela and de Klerk hold first meeting

14/89

By Patti Waldmeir in Johannesburg

Mr F W de Klerk, the South African President, and Mr Nelson Mandela, the jailed leader of the African National Congress (ANC), met yesterday for the first time to discuss the country's political future.

The meeting, seen as the opening round of preliminary talks, takes the two sides an important step closer to substantive negotiations on a new constitution for South Africa.

Reaction to the event was mixed. The country's extreme right Conservative Party, which won 31 per cent of the white vote in last September's parliamentary elections, immediately denounced the talks.

The initial response of black anti-apartheid leaders, some of whom fear Mr Mandela may be prepared to make too many compromises, was cautious. "We do not know what they discussed, but we are certain Mandela cannot deviate from the people's long-standing demands," said Mr Murphy Morobe, a prominent activist.

The Ministry of Justice said that Mr Mandela, imprisoned since 1962, had requested the meeting, which took place yesterday morning at Tuynhuys, the President's office in Cape Town. It is to be followed by further talks in the New Year.

It was not clear yesterday whether these follow-up talks would take place before or after Mr Mandela's release from prison, which is widely expected to take place early in 1990. Almost all black leaders

in South Africa insist that his release is essential before talks on a settlement can begin.

The meeting went a step beyond the symbolic. The Ministry statement, which said the Ministers of Justice and Constitutional Development had also been present, indicated that the men had explored "ways and means to address current obstacles in the way of meaningful dialogue."

Last weekend's historic antiapartheid conference in Johannesburg reaffirmed the ANC's public insistence on preconditions, which include the release of Mr Mandela, ending the three-year state of emergency, and unbanning political organisations.

However, both have shown some flexibility on pre-conditions in recent weeks.

News of the meeting will cause further dissatisfaction among radical blacks, who accuse Mr Mandela of negotiating without a mandate from those he represents, and who fear he will make too many compromises to reach a political settlement.

Senior leaders of the Mass Democratic Movement, the country's largest anti-apartheid grouping, said last night they did not know about yesterday's meeting. Even Mr Walter Sisulu, the veteran ANC leader who met Mr Mandela for three hours on Tues- · day, said he had not been informed.

Background, Page 6

### NEXTWEEK



### The Mandela letters

- o "I've plans, wishes and hopes. I dream and build castles. But one has to be realistic. We're mere individuals in a society run by powerful institutions with its conventions, norms, morals, ideals and attitudes."
- imprisoned in South Africa 28 years ago, Nelson Mandela left behind a young wife with two small daughters, and children by his first marriage. From behind bars he guided, cajoled and encouraged his family in a copious and compelling correspondence.
- On Monday, The Times publishes extracts from Mandela's letters to his family, which reveal a private side to a very public man

### AFRIKANER STATESMANSHIP

Statesmanship is not a word normally associated with the men who in pursuit of the myth of apartheid have for the last four decades led South Africa down the path of internal repression and international isolation. When Mr F. W. de Klerk rose to deliver his Opening of Parliament address in Cape Town yesterday, he had no contemporary models on which to draw.

Indeed, the last time a leader of South Africa's white tribe promised to rise to the occasions of statesmanship, his only memorable gesture was an admonitory finger poked in the eye of an expectant world. Yesterday, Mr P. W. Botha's far more courageous successor held out a firm but welcoming hand to those—long imprisoned or exiled as enemies of the South African State—who must negotiate with him South Africa's emergence as a true democracy.

It is too early to know how eagerly or quickly that hand will be grasped. There are those within the African National Congress and in the internal movements who cling to the belief that "people power" will effect a simple transfer of power to the black majority without the tedium of talks. Others, recognizing a negotiating weakness in the divisions which plague the black opposition may play for time.

They will probably insist that Mr de Klerk, by not lifting the state of emergency in its entirety and by releasing only those political prisoners who have not been sentenced for acts of violence, has not met all the negotiating preconditions laid down in last year's Harare declaration. He has, however, done very much more than set the negotiating table with the cutlery demanded by the ANC and its allies.

It was a speech distinguished by a remarkable degree of candour and an absence of the glib if convoluted constitutional "solutions" so beloved by his predecessors — indeed, Mr de Klerk has referred the whole vexed question of the protection of minorities to the South African Law Commission. He has also seized much of the moral high ground once claimed by his opponents.

He has unbanned all proscribed political organizations (including the South African Communist Party). He has rolled back most of the emergency regulations and promised to end the state of emergency once peace returns, particularly to Natal, which has been torn by a bloody internecine strife between rival black

groups. He has suspended executions and reviewed South Africa's unhealthy attachment to the death penalty, and he has released all those who can justifiably be termed prisoners of conscience.

In doing all this, Mr de Klerk is clearly trying to meet two objectives systematically ignored by all his predecessors — to re-introduce the rule of law into the conduct of South African life and to introduce the principle of accountability into its politics. The burden of accountability now rests as heavily on the black opposition as it does on him.

By opening the door to the negotiating room and refusing to ban any demand from the agenda, by allowing all political organizations to express their views in free and vigorous debate, Mr de Klerk has effectively asked them to abandon the politics of street theatre and violent unrest for the serious business of mapping South Africa's future. They thus share with him the responsibility for the final lifting of the state of emergency and South Africa's peaceful transition to a free and open democracy.

This may not please the divided legions in Lusaka. With appropriate encouragement from Western leaders, however, (and given the Soviet Union's growing unwillingness to fund the "armed struggle") it is an invitation they should find increasingly hard to decline.

Mr Nelson Mandela should also find it difficult to decline his promised unconditional release. The delay in opening the gates of the Victor Verster prison was probably due as much to Mr de Klerk's unwillingness to share yesterday's spotlight as to "logistical concerns" for the prisoner's safety. If, however, Mr Mandela still wishes to negotiate the "terms" of his release, the South African Government should lose no time in issuing its now unwelcome tenant with an eviction order.

Yesterday Mr de Klerk did not merely abandon repression for free debate. He also went two-thirds of the way to granting all the ANC's pre-conditions. The time has thus come for Mr Mandela, his ANC colleagues and their internal supporters to go that other third to meet him in an act of reciprocal statesmanship. Equally, it is time for those who used sanctions to lever open the door to peaceful negotiations in South Africa to see to it that the door is not now slammed in Mr de Klerk's face.

SATURDAY FEBRUARY 3 1990

# SA gold shares soar on prospect of reforms

By Colin Campbell

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South African gold shares swept ahead yesterday in London and Johannesburg on immediate reaction to proposed South African political reform. Driefontein rose by 73p to £10.36, Freegold by 90p to £10.69, and Vaal Reefs from £74 to £79½. The London gold price and South African rand also rose.

Companies which would benefit from a less hostile international attitude towards South Africa also rose, with Lonrho - holding a direct investment in SA through Western Platinum, and with a host of investments in neighbouring

However, analysts were last night generally advising "caution" in the wake of the initial investment response to the intended release of Mr Nelson Mandela and other apartheid reforms — warning that there is some way to go before political hopes are realized.

The commercial and financial rand rose against the dollar, and London gold initially touched \$419 for a \$3 overnight rise. It later traded at \$417.95 an ounce.

There was guarded approval from various companies, including Mr Julian Ogilvie Thompson, chairman of De Beers, whose

Mr Gavin Relly, chairman of Anglo American Corporation.

Both companies in the Oppenheimer stable have extensive diamond, gold and industrial interests in South Africa and easier access to international markets would greatly assist business.

Mr Ogilvie Thompson said "We should be on the threshold of a new and exciting era," and Mr Relly said: "These moves open the door to an exciting and constructive period in South Africa's history."

However, analysts noted that during the 1980s the pace of disinvestment from South Africa

black Africa - up by 9p at 286p. shares rose by 40p to £11.64, and had rapidly quickened, and that noted that it would take time some measures to encourage South British and other foreign companies with a presence were now a mere handful.

> Few are likely to make a rapid return until President De Klerk's reforms and measures have turned into reality, and until the African National Congress defines its

> The recent statement from Mr Mandela which hinted at "nationalization" of parts of the South African mining industry has left a number of potential investors concerned.

> Analysts, who said Mr De Klerk's honeymoon was over, also

before corporate bodies and governments reversed their anti-South African investment stance.

International political reaction was mixed. Net new investment in South Africa has been blocked by most countries for a number of years, and even among those who still trade with South Africa there remain "no-go" areas - notably investments associated with defence and computer equipment.

Britain is expected to seek international support for the removal of some of the sanctions. The Foreign Office believes "it would be right to consider lifting

Africa to continue further reform.' The European Community was guarded in its comments, while Mr Neil Kinnock, the Labour leader, said sanctions must stay until Mr De Klerk firms up his reform proposals.

The sanctions squeeze of the 1980s led to various measures to protect the South African currency and its reserves, although the pressure taught South African industry and commerce to adjust. Despite international isolation and investment hostility, the availability of oil was rarely a serious

# Angola claims vital victory over Unita in fierce fighting

Luanda (AP) — Angolan government forces have captured the strategic Mavinga airstrip in south-east Angola after heavy fighting with Unita rebels, a senior military source claimed yesterday.

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The source, who spoke on condition of anonymity, said Mavinga fell on Thursday after heavy air force bombardment and fighting that claimed "thousands of casualties" on both sides.

Two military columns had consolidated positions in "all the area of Mavinga", including the airstrip.

Unita officials in Portugal reported heavy fighting overnight in the region but denied that the town had fallen. They said that early yesterday government troops were still 20 miles from Mavinga.

Mavinga is considered a key strategic point for control of south-east Angola, and vital in any government plans to attack the rebels' stronghold at Jamba, 120 miles south.

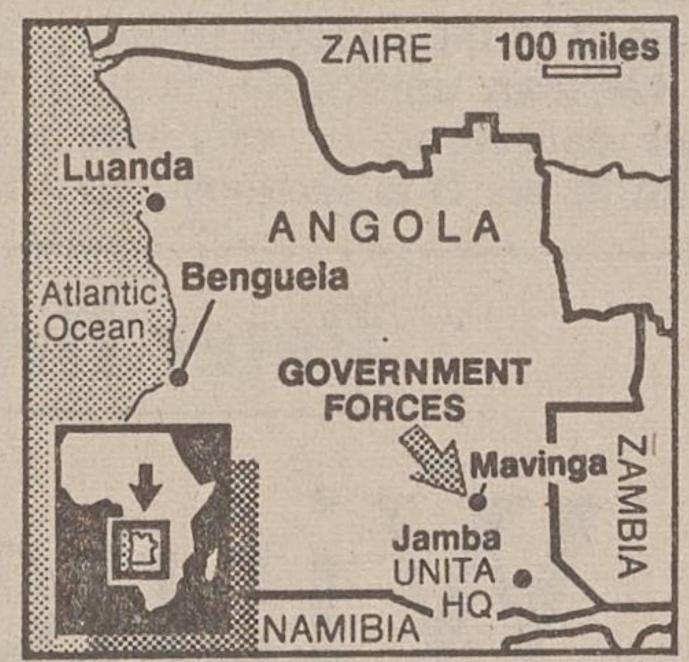
Dr Jonas Savimbi, the Unita leader, who cut short a

five-nation European tour on Tuesday to return to Angola, ordered all his forces on alert yesterday and to resume fullscale operations.

According to Unita's Black Cockerel radio station, monitored in Luanda, Dr Savimbi said his call for an "all-out attack... without any consideration", was in reaction to the Government's heavy shelling of Mavinga.

Mr Norberto de Castro, spokesman for Unita in Lisbon, confirmed on Thursday that government troops had crossed the Lomba river, 12 miles north of Mavinga.

A Western diplomat who



follows the 15-year-old conflict from Lisbon said government forces were about half a mile from Mavinga on Thursday. But the diplomat added that government troops were short of supplies and would not necessarily launch an immediate attack on Jamba.

An estimated 10,000 government troops began an offensive against Mavinga late in December from Cuito Cuanavale, about 95 miles to the north-west.

Western diplomats contacted in Luanda said that the Government could use Mavinga's fall to strengthen its position before re-opening ceasefire bargaining with the rebels.

Diplomats from the United States, the Soviet Union, Portugal and a number of African states have recently stepped up efforts to bring both sides back to the negotiating table. A ceasefire agreement sealed with a handshake between Dr Savimbi and President dos Santos of Angola last June broke down within days.

### Anti-tour march goes ahead

From Richard Streeton, Pietermaritzburg

It will be a few days before it becomes clear whether the tour by the English cricketers is affected by the sweeping reforms in South Africa announced by President F W de Klerk in Cape Town yesterday. Today's planned protest march by 5,000 trade unionists and other political and community groups from the city centre to the team's match with a South African Invitation XI is still going ahead.

Mike Gatting's players were originally booked to stay in a hotel in the centre of Pieter-

maritzburg. For security reasons, however, they were switched during Wednesday evening to a beach resort outside Durban some 50 miles away. They finally arrived at 3am after an eight-hour coach journey from Bloemfontein.

This weekend's three-day game is the last chance for the English XI to find form before the two five-day internationals take place in Johannesburg and Cape Town. In particular it will be important for the batsmen — apart from Gatting and to a lesser extent Athey and Broad the leading so who plays for South Africa appearing. Broad the all-rounded playing for South Africa appearing broad the all-rounded playing for South Africa appearing broad the all-rounded playing for South Africa appearing broad playing for South Af

- to find their touch after unconvincing performances in the first two fixtures.

The Invitation XI are the strongest opposition met so far. They are led by Roy Pienaar, who with 678 runs at an average of 61.63 finished the Currie Cup programme as the leading scorer. Pienaar, who plays for Kent, is the only South African international appearing. Brian McMillan, the all-rounder, who is also playing for South Africa next week, has been withdrawn from this match to keep his bowling hidden from Gat-

or those whose wish to get South Africa off the international agenda is tempered by a desire for real understanding and a lasting solution, there could be no better guide to the Afrikaner's history and his psyche than Marq de Villiers's book. Like myself he is an eighthgeneration descendant of a French Huguenot family which, in 1688, found religious sanctuary in the Cape of Good Hope, there to meld with the Dutch and German settlers and to forge Africa's only white tribe.

The story of the tribe's wanderings in a harsh land, its constantly frustrated dreams of escape from alien cultures and foreign domination, its growing sense of a special identity and mission, its determination to survive and, above all, its visceral sense of its own Africanness, is an oft-told tale. All too frequently,

### White will to Survive

Fleur de Villiers

WHITE TRIBE DREAMING By Marq de Villiers Penguin, £5.99

however, it has been belittled by hostile observers, or inflated by the tribe's own scribes into a sacred history. De Villiers falls into neither trap. Instead he brings to his task a perspective which benefits

from both distance and deep understanding. With critical but clear-eyed compassion he examines how and why the Afrikaner dream turned sour, and how its own will to freedom led it into the paths of

oppression and privilege.

His book, however, is no apologia for apartheid. Its author is the journalist son of a great South African editor, both of them members of the forgotten band of Afrikaner liberals. The liberal dream of an inclusive South Africanism, embracing all races, languages and tribes, is beginning to seem both feasible and attractive to many who once rejected it as heresy. But it will be realized only if the world takes due account of the Afrikaners' undiminished will to survive in the land which created them. For those who regard them as irrelevant to South Africa's future, White Tribe Dreaming is required - and salutary - reading.

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### SINESS/FINANCE

SATURDAY-SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 3-4, 1990

### Business Praise for Pretoria

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

LONDON — British industrialists on Friday welcomed news that South Africa has lifted its ban on the African National Congress and will soon release the anti-apartheid activist Nelson Mandela.

Analysts said the moves were very positive for investment in the country and could help its credit outlook if the political changes are confirmed in

the long term.

"The economy stands to gain an enormous amount," said Michael Coulson of the Kitcat & Aitken brokerage. "Foreign money will come back in. I would not think flood is too strong a word."

Although Mr. Coulson and and others voiced caution that political changes would take time, South African stocks gained strongly after the announcements by President Frederik W. de Klerk.

The Johannesburg stock exchange overall share index closed at 3,279, up from 3,194 on Thursday.

South African bond prices closed sharply higher, pushing interest rates lower. The yield on the Electricity Supply Commission 11 percent 2007/2009 issue fell to 15.20 percent from Thursday's 15.34 percent. The South African Transport Services 12.5 percent 1993 issue dropped to a yield of 15.90 percent from 16.20.

The rand ended firmer, but the financial rand showed a much stronger reaction. The dollar fell to 2.5508 rand from 2.5618 on Thursday. But against the financial rand, a restricted investment unit for foreigners, the dollar slumped to 3.30 from 3.43.

In London, stocks of South African gold mining

companies moved higher.

A spokesman for the British Industry Committee on South Africa, a trade organization, said, "Our reaction is a very favorable one."

"It will remove some of the disincentives to trade with South Africa in the longer term," he added.

Among companies which operate in South Africa, the chairman of De Beers Consolidated Mines Ltd., Julian Ogilvie Thompson, said, "We should be on the threshold of a new and exciting era."

Roland (Tiny) Rowland, chairman of diversified mining and industrial group Lonrho PLC, said he had been expecting the South African move but added, "I am delighted and we are entering a new world."

British bankers said Mr. de Klerk's moves could spark a shift in attitudes toward the country within the international financial community.

But the prospect for renewed investment will remain elusive until Pretoria fully dismantles its apartheid race laws and implements concrete dem-

ocratic reforms, they added.

"This is a fundamental change," said an executive with a British bank creditor of South Africa. "It could make those with an embargo mentality start reconsidering their positions."

South Africa, with a \$20 billion foreign debt, reached a new rescheduling pact with its creditors

in October.

Another banker said, "I can't imagine there will be an opportunity for banks to put up fresh loans until anti-apartheid lobbyists are satisfied that an irreversible process of reform is under way."

(Reuters, AFP)