

# **We are ready to talk to SA, says Holomisa**

Transkei's leader, General Bantu Holomisa, claims his country began the release of political prisoners and that the UN should serve as a referee over negotiations between all parties in the region, reports **WINNIE GRAHAM**.

Transkei would like to be part of the negotiating process that would bring about a new South Africa because "we know the problems," the military ruler of the homeland, General Bantu Holomisa, said at the weekend.

In an interview with The Star he said if Transkei were invited to the negotiating table, it would send representative experts who would make contributions without prescription.

"I would not necessarily be one of them," General Holomisa added. "However, if we are not welcome, we would do nothing to derail the process. We would carry on as we are, pursuing our own objectives."

Transkei, he added, did not want to see the first world structures in its neighbouring country destroyed in the process of revolutionary change.

People in countries such as Mozambique were paying heavily for damage to the infrastructure and although some damage could be expected in revolutions, he believed people had learnt such a price was high.

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He believed all parties in South Africa should swallow their pride in an attempt to solve the problems of the country.

He believed the UN should be the "referee" in talks between the Government of South Africa, the ANC, the PAC and other organisations. People did not want "reformed or modernised" apartheid. It had to be scrapped entirely.

General Holomisa said he believed it would be difficult to dismantle all the independent homeland governments — "the Chief Ministers and councils already exist" — so a form of federal government would probably be the best initial solution for a new South Africa.

However, in time a unitary government should be established.

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"Such a move could be identified as political opportunism," he added.

Transkei had initiated the release of political prisoners, prompting the South African government to follow suit. The unbanning of the ANC, PAC and other banned organisation would "depend on political developments in South Africa".

General Holomisa said he had been well received on a recent overseas trip where he had explained to potential overseas investors that a new Transkei had come into existence. Great interest had been expressed in the country.

"We are shaping up," he said.

## **Third World**

"As a third world country I do not believe we should pursue just one policy. A mix of capitalism and socialism meets our needs. Transkei aims at stability with a clear direction so that we can become a safe place for the future. In the meantime we plan to make sure South Africa pumps as much money as possible into our country for education, hospitals and so on."

He believed differences between him and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of KwaZulu could be sorted out. As black leaders, he said, they should lead by example and, irrespective of different political ideologies, should close ranks.

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Asked about the "war" with the Ciskei, General Holomisa said there had been mistakes on both sides but all was now quiet.





Birthday smiles . . . Mrs Albertina Sisulu celebrates her 72nd birthday with her recently-released husband Mr Walter Sisulu (left), Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Mr Andrew Mlangeni (right) at an impromptu party in Soweto at the weekend.

## Prophecy comes true for Albertina

By Sefako Nyaka

On Mrs Albertina Sisulu's 71st birthday last October, the wife of one of the Rivonia accused, Mrs June Mlangeni, told her it would be her last birthday without her husband at her side.

On Saturday the "prophecy", as Mrs Sisulu calls it, came true. Mr Walter Sisulu was with her to celebrate her 72nd birthday.

Said a beaming Mr Sisulu: "To be with Mama on her birthday is tremendous. She is also a tremendous woman. She has done things which are unbelievable. She looked after the children and raised them in a way that I would not have done."

The Sisulus were joined at an impromptu celebration by Mr Andrew Mlangeni, Mr Elias Motsoaledi and Mr Ahmed Kathrada.

Also present was Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who flew in from Cape Town on his way to Egypt, and South African Council of Churches secretary-general the Rev Frank Chikane. They were joined by members of the National Reception Committee, relatives and well-wishers.

### INSPIRATION

Archbishop Tutu told a hurriedly arranged press conference that he and other church leaders had come to the Sisulu house to say "thank you to God for the release of the leaders, to say thank you to God for the inspiration that they have been and to say thank you to God for the sacrifice the leaders made on behalf of our people."

"For me it's an incredible thing to be with the leaders today. I had to pinch them to make sure they are real. We are happy that they are here today because we have been praying, struggling and agitating for their release."

He said he hoped the release would relieve churchmen from doing some of the things they were compelled to do while they were incarcerated.

Retorted Mr Sisulu: "Archbishop Tutu, Mr Chikane and other church leaders do not have my permission to relax. They have done a wonderful job and I want to see them continue with the good work."

He said the ANC leadership, recently released from prison, was in high spirits because of the good work done by the SACC and other church bodies.

"For a number of years we were merely existing, but there came a time when we knew we were alive. We thank them for that and hope we will continue to work with them as a team," Mr Sisulu said.

Reacting to President de Klerk's speech at the opening of the National Party congress in Pretoria, in which he said he needed an assurance that there would be no continuation of violence if he lifted the state of emergency, Mr Sisulu said the people believed in peace and the onus was on the Government to pave the way to peace.

On Mr de Klerk's statement that there should be no international meddling, Mr Sisulu said the situation in South Africa concerned humanity and that it was the Government that turned it into an international one.

## Sisulu, ANC comrades to speak at rally

By Sefako Nyaka

Former African National Congress general-secretary Mr Walter Sisulu and his freed ANC comrades will address a rally at Johannesburg's Soccer City on Sunday.

According to the National Reception Committee, letters have been written to President F W de Klerk, Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee, Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok and the Chief Magistrate of Johannesburg informing them about the planned rally.

"It does not seem as if we are going to have major hurdles," said committee member Mr Murphy Morobe.

The committee has also applied for Mr Govan Mbeki's restrictions orders to be relaxed to enable him to join his colleagues at the rally.

"A further application has been made to have Mr Mbeki's order lifted. Not only his, but also those of other restrictees," MDM leader Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said.

Natal activist and former Robben Island prisoner Mr Harry Gwala is also expected to attend.

### BURNING ISSUES

Mr Gwala, Mr Mbeki, and freed ANC stalwarts Mr Elias Motsoaledi, Mr Andrew Mlangeni, Mr Raymond Mhlaba, Mr Oscar Mpetha, Mr Wilton Mkwayi and Mr Ahmed Kathrada are also expected to address the crowd "on the burning issues facing the nation".

These include the ANC's viewpoint on negotiations, the peace initiative in Natal, the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and hundreds of other political prisoners and detainees, political executions, the lifting of the state of emergency and the unbanning of organisations.

This committee said the release of the ANC 7 "has brought the centrality of the African National Congress to the fore, and its leading role in the struggle for democracy in South Africa. Thirty years of repression of the ANC have failed to suppress its role."

Since their release "the comrades have demonstrated that this victory wasn't merely symbolic, but that they, and many others like them, have an enormous contribution to make to our country."

S.I.A.R. 23 OCTOBER 1989



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STAR 23-10-1989

# A tribute to miners and national development

The National Union of Mineworkers, born partly through the representations of the Chamber of Mines to the Wiehahn Commission a decade ago, now chooses the Chamber's centenary to attack it and the industry it represents.

From his opening paragraphs to the last, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa's emotional broadside distorts and confuses the facts.

The centenary at issue is focused on the Chamber as a service organisation, not on the industry which pre-dates it. The current advertising campaign on television does not glorify the Chamber but pays tribute to the miners, many of whom today are members of NUM. The Chamber did not refuse to increase mineworkers' wages this year, but negotiated increases of 13-21,5 percent.

There is no distinction between black and white wages but between skilled and unskilled. Capitalism is not apartheid's foundation but the economic system which has helped crack that foundation.

To pursue a point-by-point rebuttal of Mr Ramaphosa's rhetoric would be tediously unproductive. There are essentially two observations to be made.

Firstly, Mr Ramaphosa appears to have missed the new direction of politics in South Africa, preferring to cling to the doctrine of irreconcilable conflict and a "revisionist" view of history which is as narrow and misleading as the view

**TOM MAIN, the Chief Executive of the Chamber of Mines, replies.**

it is designed to correct.

Secondly, with all its pioneering warts, South Africa's mining industry is by any standards anywhere an illustration of enormous achievement. To paint it smaller is to underrate the contribution of the men from the four corners of the sub-continent who have laboured together to create an industrial revolution and tradition that has changed the face of this part of Africa forever.

In the course of its history, the industry has provided employment for an estimated 10 million black workers. Their labour did not make them rich but provided an economic lifeline for some of the poorest areas of South Africa and the surrounding region.

In the last decade, the industry's opposition to apartheid has been expressed frequently and effectively. Today there are about 5 000 blacks in the industry in jobs previously reserved for whites and employment is on the basis of equal pay for equal work.

Over the years, the industry has been a leader in the health care of its workers, bringing in international experts and helping to found the South African



Mr Tom Main, Chief Executive of the Chamber of Mines.

Institute of Medical Research to eradicate the lung disease of the past. The best possible treatment is afforded through clinics and specialist hospitals.

Nowhere in Africa has as much been done in identifying AIDS and in setting up monitoring and counselling systems.

Single-sex hostels exist the world over

on mines where the ore bodies are found in isolated areas. They will continue to have a place in South Africa. But the industry is moving away from the migratory labour system with the progressive introduction of family housing and home ownership schemes, while hostel conditions are being upgraded.

South Africa has more than 90 percent of the free world's manganese and platinum ores, over 70 percent of its vanadium and chrome ores and a rich variety of other minerals including coal.

But gold is the basis of its mineral wealth: buried deep in narrow, broken seams embedded in the hardest rock known to man. The result is an underground environment unique in the mining world and men who meet the challenge daily with innovative technology.

South African mining employs nearly 750 000 people. It pays some R8 million in wages, produces nearly 70 percent of foreign currency earned by exports and contributes about R4,3 million in taxes. R10 billion is spent annually on local goods and services.

The industry has promoted the development of road and rail networks, ports, power stations and educational institutions.

This is not the enrichment of the few but national development.

There is much to celebrate.



# The Daily News



FOUNDED IN 1878

23-10-1989

## Role of the SAP

IT is welcome news that the South African Police are in future to concern themselves not with the enforcement of political policies but with normal police work.

The police do, of course, have a duty to uphold the authority of the government of the day. But when that government strays into the ideological contortions of the past 40 years of National Party rule, it drags the police with it. They become identified not with order, justice, crime prevention and maintenance of the normal human decencies but with harsh implementation of a detested ideology. They find that their involvement in enforcing ideology so stretches their resources that the fight against crime is undermined. Their ideological commitment so distances them from vast sectors

of the community that the fight against crime is further undermined.

With Section 16 of the Immorality Act and the influx control laws only relatively recently repealed, the enforcement role of the police is still in the public memory. They can still be called on to invade the privacy of people's homes, in terms of the Group Areas Act, or to enforce beach apartheid.

But there are clear signs that the police have had enough of it, and that they wish to revert to their rightful role as protectors of the public. The political authorities must allow the police to re-assert themselves within the communities they serve. The image of the respected British "bobby-on-the-beat" is what the SAP should be aiming for.



ANC alone can't speak for all – NP

# Black poll likely

STAR 23 OCTOBER 1989

## 'to choose team'

### Political Staff

**A general election for black people is in the offing to choose their own team to sit at the negotiating table with Government.**

This idea is circulating in the National Party in the belief that it should be made clear to the African National Congress that "they are not the only pebbles on the beach".

The Government's chief negotiator and Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said at the National Party's Transvaal congress at the weekend that negotiations would be multipartite:

"It is a fundamental misunderstanding that there are only two real opposing parties, namely the Government and the most extreme of the militant radical organisations," he said.

Dr Viljoen said Government had in principle accepted that black people should be entitled to appoint their representatives to the negotiating table by way of a special election.

"The nature and details of such an election must also, through negotiations beforehand, be found to be generally acceptable. Only in this way can it be determined with certainty which alleged leaders actually represent their communities."

### Not 'passive puppets'

Dr Viljoen said there were several important black parties and groups which had had the courage to submit themselves to democratic elections in the past in self-governing states and local councils. They had negotiated vigorously for years for reforms, and had produced results.

"These groups and leaders have established themselves as experienced authorities who obviously have a large and important role to play as influential participants in the negotiating process," he said.

They had long ago enunciated preconditions for negotiation which, nowadays, were the monopoly of extreme left radical groupings. They had produced results without becoming "passive puppets" as they were unfairly branded, Dr Viljoen said.

President de Klerk said his Government would not allow them to be elbowed out of the negotiating process: "There is no single party or grouping that can lay claim that it alone speaks on behalf of black South Africans."

All striving for peace should be given the chance to participate or, if negotiations brought South Africa to that point, to prove themselves democratically at the ballot box.



STAR 23 OCTOBER 1989

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# A celebration of exploitation

Already thousands of rands have been squandered on newspaper and television advertisements to glorify the supposed economic wonder performed by the Chamber of Mines.

But, earlier this year, the Chamber refused to increase mineworkers' wages because, it said, it could not afford to do so.

The mine owners paint a grossly distorted picture of the role of the mining industry in South Africa's economy. But, of course, it is inherent in the class character of apartheid society that owners of mines, like all propertied bosses, will see our real conditions of life through profit-tinted spectacles.

For black mineworkers, the 100th anniversary of the Chamber of Mines means the commemoration of millions of unsung heroes who have perished under the Chamber to make a tiny white minority of millionaires richer.

The Land Act of 1913 formalised the forcible seizure of land from the African people, forcing them to depend on white owners of land, mines, factories and finance houses for obtaining the means to support life.

This year marks the centenary of the Chamber of Mines. In an article first published in The Sowetan, **CYRIL RAMAPHOSA, general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers**, explains his organisation's reaction to the centenary celebrations.

From its formation 100 years ago, the Chamber of Mines was meant to facilitate the reaping of mineral wealth as cheaply as possible.

A well-developed machinery of exploitation was established to create wealth for the bosses of Anglo American, Genmin, Goldfields, JCI, Rand Mines and Anglovaal. Today, 750 000 miners toil for these corporations which virtually control the major economic resources of our country.

To facilitate the super-exploitation of black labour, the Chamber of Mines acquired a monopoly on legal rights to recruit labour from southern Africa. Other employers could thus not compete for black labour, making workers victims of rampant exploitation.

The harsh conditions of compound

life continue to gnaw at over half-a-million miners. About 4 000 men are herded into each compound, surrounded by a high iron fence or a wall topped with barbed wire to prevent anybody getting in or out. Main entrances are fitted with boom gates and heavily armed mine security police are on guard day and night.

Mineworkers are reduced by the system to mere objects that supply labour, only to be identified by the numbers printed on their plastic bracelets. As if this was not enough, special mine identity cards serve as pass books for workers moving in and out of mines.

This vicious system of control extends to the miners' own rooms where management-appointed *isibondas* monitor workers' activities. *Indunas*, appointed by bosses watch the whole compound with the help of the paramilitary forces deployed.

These private armies have vast amounts of ammunition at their disposal: from armoured personnel carriers to hippos, a dog squad, rifles, teargas, batons, anti-riot shields and horses.

Since its inauguration, the Chamber



Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, National Union of Mineworkers' general secretary.

of Mines has been committed to the realisation of huge profits at the expense of black mineworkers.

Chamber executives try to justify this policy of poverty wages by falsely claiming that black miners work to augment what they get from subsistence farming in the bantustans.

Another false claim is that mine-

workers get free accommodation and food, which constitutes payment in kind. But single sex, overcrowded compounds and inadequate food cannot be considered payment in kind.

As early as 1911, white miners were earning eleven times more than their black counterparts. This wage gap increased until, in the '70s, whites' wages were 20 times higher than blacks'.

After 100 years, the Chamber of Mines is still firmly committed to this starvation policy. Black miners' wages are among the lowest in the whole South African economy.

The average monthly wage of a black miner is R500, while white counterparts earn R3 000 on average — six times more.

At Vaal Reefs, one of the richest gold mines, the highest-paid miner earns R10 375 a month, while black mineworkers still earn R316 a month.

This year, the Chamber refused to pay miners a minimum monthly wage of R543. But in all the major mining industries of the world, miners earn more than workers in other industries, because of the hard and dangerous underground work.

In South Africa, this principle applies only to whites. Most whites on the mines earn more than the R2 618 average of their counterparts in manufacturing. But for blacks, all the main poverty datum lines are far above the Chamber wages. In the 1980s, NUM has taken up the legacy of the African Mine Workers' Union to harness miners' militancy.

For black miners, the word "Chamber" is synonymous with mass retrenchments, assaults on workers by mine security, banning of union meetings, forcing mineworkers to work in unsafe places, practising racial discrimination, housing in over-crowded compounds and encouraging tribalism and ethnicity.

In 100 years, the Chamber has rendered a million miners permanently disabled. Over 65 000 have been killed at work and hundreds of thousands have perished from diseases contracted on the mines.

The miners have nothing to celebrate — they must redouble their efforts in fighting mine repression and exploitation. The national democratic struggle to end apartheid and its foundation of monopoly capitalism remains the only route for us to end our misery.



# We are ready to talk to SA, says Holomisa

Helgaw  
Star  
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## Third World

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Monday, October 23, 1989

South Africa

by Gerald Shaw

# FW must maintain this pace

NATAL WITNESS

23 OCTOBER 1989

**It is remarkable how quickly a civilian style and tone has replaced Botha-style militarism in Pretoria, enhancing the chances of peace. There will be setbacks on the way, no doubt, but the Sisulu release and the way it was managed reflect credit on all sides — on the ANC, the MDM, the Department of Justice and, indeed, on the South African Police.**

STATE President F.W. de Klerk is chalking up one success after another, roaring ahead in a bold and enterprising style which bodes well for the future.

It is important that he should maintain this pace, rather as one who is learning to ride a bicycle does well to keep on pedalling.

He is embarked on uncharted waters, to switch the metaphor, pressing ahead into areas such as police reform in which no Nationalist leader before him has ventured or even thought of venturing in the years since 1948.

By the standards of a deeply conservative and security-dominated political culture, President De Klerk is taking considerable risks. Yet he is also reaping rich political rewards.

The successful re-scheduling of much of South Africa's foreign debt in the teeth of a fierce Commonwealth campaign to the contrary was a notable achievement, made possible by the De Klerk government's dramatic steps to improve the political climate, culminating in the release of Mr Walter Sisulu and his companions.

The Sisulu release has taken place in dignity and good order, so much so that we may conclude that there was a tacit agreement on all sides to keep the temperature down.

Mr Nelson Mandela seems to have played a key role in the background in securing the unconditional release of his lieutenants in a peaceful atmosphere. There was also the historic three-hour discussion between President

De Klerk and the churchmen led by Archbishop Tutu. Unlike similar presidential exercises in the past, this seems to have been a useful exercise in communication, helping to set the scene for the Rivonia prisoners to come home in a joyous atmosphere, unmarred by casualties or clashes.

The fears in some sections of the security establishment and the white community that the release of ANC leaders would endanger the public peace have not been vindicated. On the contrary, there has been an easing of tension which we may hope will continue.

It is remarkable how quickly a civilian style and tone has replaced Botha-style militarism in Pretoria, enhancing the chances of peace.

There will be setbacks on the way, no doubt, but the Sisulu release and the way it was managed reflect credit on all sides — on the ANC, the MDM, the Department of Justice and, indeed, on the South African Police.

There seems to be an improvement in the security situation all round, always excepting the Pietermaritzburg area, where the Inkatha-Cosatu feud rages on.

We are entering a phase of mutual confidence-building, which could lead to a truce or suspension of violence, if all goes well, and serious talks about talks.

There certainly seems to be a slackening off in the frequency of limpet mine explosions. And when last was there a car bomb or other such terrorist horror? So perhaps we will ease into a *de facto* suspension of violence, paving the way for a truce to become official.

For their part, the De Klerk government would do well to keep up the momentum, holding the diplomatic high ground which President De Klerk has so skillfully seized.

Undue delay would be as dangerous as precipitate haste. The transition is creating anomalies and posing all kinds of practical problems, not least for the South African Police. If prolonged, with the ANC remaining out in the cold, the transition from conflict to negotiation could become rather ragged and ultimately traumatic.

The police are trained to enforce the law — and the law against promoting the aims of a banned organisation such as the ANC is still in force. Yet in certain ill-defined circumstances

they are now required to look the other way. Messrs Sisulu and company were released unconditionally, after all. It is a tricky and delicate situation.

Let us hope there is not too long a wait before Mr Mandela is released, the ANC is unbanned and the state of emergency is lifted.

Messrs Sisulu and company, enjoying a kind of immunity from prosecution, could begin to look like clients of the state, which would hardly enhance their credibility in the black community. It is in everyone's interests to move rapidly to the next phase — the simultaneous announcement of a truce and the unbanning of the ANC.

The S.A.P. will be in the frontline in the transition, and the current re-organisation on regional lines will make it easier for the force to maintain a rapport with local communities. Yet the Rockman case is sounding alarm bells. The traditional S.A.P. culture, reflecting the demands on the police made by the white political establishment since 1910, is paternalist and ill-adapted to handle a rapidly-changing South African scene. Drastic changes in the attitudes and outlook of rank and file policemen cannot be achieved overnight.

Nevertheless, the De Klerk era is lifting off with tremendous drive and even in the intractable area of police reform and modernisation there is hope that something will be done — at last.

• Gerald Shaw is associate editor and political columnist of the Cape Times, P.O. Box 56, Cape Town.



# THE CITIZEN COMMENT

## Onus on ANC

THE State President, Mr FW de Klerk, has put on the African National Congress the onus of creating conditions that will enable the ANC to take part in negotiations and the government to lift the state of emergency.

He made it clear at the Transvaal National Party Congress in Pretoria on Saturday that all that is required of organisations like the ANC "to participate freely in the political process is a commitment to peaceful solutions — which naturally excludes violence. "They now have the key to participation in their own hands."

His Constitutional Development Minister and chief negotiator, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said: "The concept of negotiations . . . requires peaceful participation in the process and thus the distancing from all violence and intimidation."

On the question of lifting the state of emergency, Mr De Klerk said: "Obviously we are also eager to lift the state of emergency but we cannot do it responsibly unless the circumstances justify such a step and we are sure that what had happened before would not be repeated."

"People forget very quickly. They forget about the hundreds of necklace murders, the burning alive of people, stonings to death, mob murders."

If those organisations which practised a policy of political violence and acts of terror "were to give us an indication, by word and deed, that those events will not recur, it would add greatly to a more relaxed atmosphere in which the state of emergency could be lifted".

However, the ANC view was given at the weekend by Mr Walter Sisulu, a freed leader, who said South African Blacks could not meet government preconditions to renounce violence before negotiating reform.

"It is completely misleading to say violence must be abandoned," he said. "Violence is on both sides."

We have said it often enough that the ANC should abandon the "armed struggle", but the organisation has called, instead, for its intensification.

Whether it will be able to maintain this position when its backer, the Soviet Union, wants a peaceful resolution of the South African question, and when the international community is putting pressure on both the government and the ANC to negotiate, remains to be seen.

Much will, of course, depend on Nelson Mandela when he is released. His talks with Mr PW Botha at the Tuynhuys suggested he was interested in peaceful development and he has urged the released leaders to "preach peace".

But although he is the legendary "father of the nation", he is not the leader of the ANC — and it is what the ANC in exile decides that will determine the organisation's attitude towards negotiation.

A possible scenario is that Mandela comes out, the emergency is partly or totally lifted, and if the ANC commits itself to peaceful solutions, it will be unbanned and its exiles will return home.

All this presupposes that the ANC will play ball — something we doubt, since it has created the legend around itself that, as the organisation fighting the battle of "liberation", it is the only one that really counts.

It will also not abandon its demand for one man, one vote majority rule — something the government is not prepared to concede.

Whatever happens, Mr De Klerk is in earnest about creating a new South Africa, and intends to do whatever he and his advisers think is necessary to create the climate for negotiation that they regard as essential.

Many South Africans will not like everything the government does, but they will have to get used to surprises, changes in direction and risky moves that may or may not succeed.

Nearly 70 percent of the electorate voted for parties that support change — and change is what they are going to get.

The new South Africa may not have dawned, but the groundwork for it is about to be laid.

16/1/11



Marketers move away from racial segmentation

# Blacks will dominate future SA marketing

DAILY NEWS 23-10-1989

**S**OUTH Africa has traditionally been regarded as a white market because of the dominance of the white group in consumer spending.

The black market was only formally recognised in the 1960s and until recently the coloured and Asian markets were virtually ignored.

Today it is common marketing practice to lump the white, coloured and Asian markets into WCA's largely due to a narrowing of disposable income gaps and a growing similarity of lifestyles.

Seeking greater research precision, marketers are moving away from outmoded segmentation criteria with their overtly racial connotations, and turning to lifestyle measures.

Lifestyle research plays down racial differences while emphasising common ground. Occupation and level of education across the ethnic divisions are seen as the best indicators of lifestyle.

Professor McCarney said that the future of marketing in South Africa is black. Blacks consume the lion's share of alcohol and many non-alcoholic beverages. Their consumptions also dominates in food and personal care products.

The Bureau of Market Research predicts that by the year 2000 black consumers will dominate in food, education, household equipment, cigarettes and tobacco, clothing and footwear, alcohol and many others.

The Small Business Development Corporation estimates that in excess of 3,5 million jobs have been created by the black informal sector and that the number of home-based businesses has grown to 1,5 million and that have an annual turnover of R15 to R20 million a year.

However the Central Statistical Services suggests that the value of the informal sector is over-rated.

A PWV survey in October 1988 found that there just over 500 000 blacks engaged in full-time or part-time employment in the informal sector.

The average monthly income of the self-em-

ployed was R313 and that of employees R174. This data suggests that most blacks in the informal sector are just managing to survive. There are however, some signs that the informal sector may not turn out to be the economic miracle free market protagonists we are hoping for.

Consumerism is the rising challenge and there are signs that the consumerism movement in South Africa is coming of age. Although it is still fragmented and lacking in organisation, consumers are becoming better informed and more discerning and are starting to assert themselves.

They recognise for the first time their collective power through many informal structures.

At the same time powerful formal groups such as organised labour and various church groups realise their bargaining power could, perhaps, be extended to influence developments in the market place.

A third of the black male and a fifth of the black female work force is now a member of a trade union.

South African marketers should be considering their response to growing pressure from consumer advocates calling for:

- The right to be adequately informed about the more important aspects of the product;
- The right to be protected against questionable products and marketing practice;

South African marketers should be considering their response to growing pressure from consumer advocates calling for:

- The right to be adequately informed about the more important aspects of the product;
- The right to be protected against questionable products and marketing practice;

- The right to influence products and marketing practices in directions that will enhance the quality of life.

With regard to the latter two, marketers will have to become more sensitive to consumer concern.

After years of exploitation and neglect the environment is now a major focus of business concern. The enormity of problems of global warming, population growth, desertification, pollution and AIDS has fostered a feeling of helplessness in many thinking South Africans.

There is a frightening picture of environmental exploitation and neglect here. Growing public awareness of marketers' responsibility in social issues cannot be ignored. Those in business education must ensure through more relevant market related courses that social, ethical and ecological considerations are adequately dealt with.

The United States has recently seen a growing interest in corporate ethics. In 1984, 80 percent of American companies claimed to address such issues as commitment to the community and the environment, the introduction of a code of ethics, training seminars in ethics, and ethic committees. Business schools have introduced programmes on ethics, making it part of the fabric of every student's academic requirement.

Last month in the United States, a new shopping guide, the New Consumer was launched. It rates more than 500 brands from 40 of America's largest companies on nine ethical points. These range from environmental impact and animal testing charity donations and South African involvement. A UK version of the guide is scheduled for September 1990.

Much of present marketing education involves the study of consumer behaviour.

The future of South African marketing is closely tied to the media, and television in particular. South Africa's short history of TV makes an interesting study of conflict and control.

South Africans are critical of indigenous services, wanting more and better, usually meaning more programme choice.

Marketing strategy and indeed, economic growth, are severely restricted by TV's national formats.

Both the SABC and M-Net deliver national audiences; most regional and local businesses cannot advertise on the most effective advertising medium. Elsewhere in the world, a combination of privatisation, deregulation of broadcasting services and technology has enabled broadcasters to meet viewers' listeners' and marketers' needs more precisely.

It is difficult to see how broadcasting in South Africa can be fully developed without more involvement of the private sector.



## INSIGHT

# St Lucia: RBM's point of view

## Mining company boss replies to criticism over plan to mine the Eastern Shores

**R**ECENTLY Richards Bay Minerals (RBM) has been the subject of considerable media attention because we have applied to mine a small area north of St Lucia village, the Kingsa/Tojan area.

Many of the items published have been inaccurate, misleading and aimed at achieving a negative, emotional response.

So, what is the truth of the matter?

Any responsible company will look to the future to protect its employee's jobs and its own viability. That is why we acquired prospecting rights in 1984 and 1986 over the dune area north of St Lucia.

Recently, acting fully in terms of the Council for the Environment's requirements, we commissioned an Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA), headed by Professor Roy Lubke of Rhodes University, to be done on the area. He was selected from a list of three candidates recommended by the Institute for Ecologists in Stellenbosch.

Professor Lubke assembled a multi-disciplinary team of scientists, and together they appraised the impact on the environment of mining the Kingsa/Tojan lease area.

After consideration of their draft report, RBM decided to continue with the EIA to complete the studies where insufficient work had been done to properly assess the full impact on the area. This additional work is

MR Roy Macpherson, managing director of Richards Bay Minerals, in a television interview, said the mining company had not been given an opportunity to put its side of the story in the controversy over its application for dredge-mining the Eastern Shores area of Lake St Lucia. A massive protest has been mounted countrywide against the proposal.

The Daily News believes in putting both points of view, and it responds to Mr Macpherson's complaint by publishing this statement by him:

expected to take another four to six months.

We agree that the St Lucia area has the undoubted potential to become an ecological gem. But at present, where mining operations are due to take place, this is no pristine wilderness.

The area to be mined has been botanically degraded by Man, who lived there until about 25 years ago, and because 57 percent of the mining area is under commercial pine tree plantations.

Dune mining, unlike sugar farming or timber growing, does not occupy the land forever.

Would the mining envisaged not be a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to get rid of the pine trees, and, by rehabilitating the mined areas to indigenous vegetation, help re-create a genuine wilderness area?

This desirable rehabilitation would all be done at the cost of Richards Bay Minerals — not the taxpayer or the conservation bodies.

Further, let us remember the times we live in: South Africa's political problems have caused us all severe economic headaches.

Close to the region where mining is due to take place live thousands of very poor Zulu families who have poor hous-

ing and sub-standard health, sanitation and educational facilities with few jobs available.

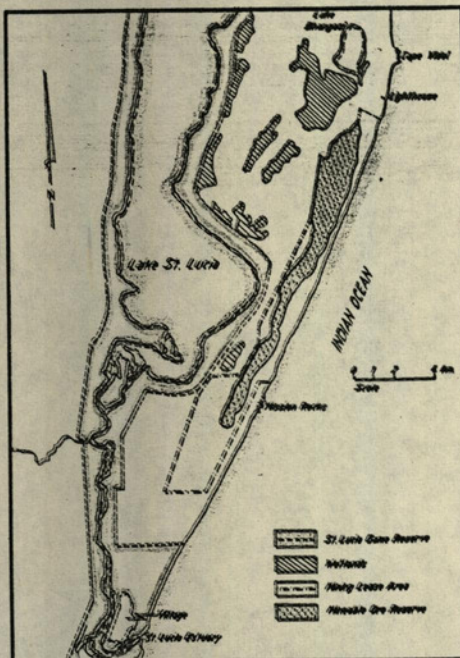
RBM can provide many of these families with a brighter future. Surely the basic needs of the many black residents in the area have at least equal importance to the recreational needs of the privileged few visitors to the area.

Finally, I undertake that RBM will mine the area with great care and with sensitivity to the environment and will leave the area, when mining is completed, in a better condition than it is today. Furthermore, RBM will co-operate fully with all the environmental bodies such as the Department of Environmental Affairs, the Natal Parks Board, the Wildlife Society, and other interest groups who are prepared to adopt a positive programme for the improvement of the area.

Let us now examine some of the allegations and the realities about our proposal to mine.

□ It is said: Experience in Australia has shown that dune rehabilitation is never entirely successful.

In fact: Experience over the last 12 years near Richards Bay has proved that it is possible to rehabilitate the dunes suc-



A GRAPHIC of the St Lucia area.

cessfully. RBM won the prestigious EPPIC (Environmental Planning Professions Interdisciplinary Committee) award this year.

Our oldest 'new' forests are only 12 years old, and already wild animals and birds have returned to these forests, and 175 different plant species are growing under the Acacia Karoo canopy.

□ It is said: An ecologist from Zululand was not chosen to do the EIA because RBM knew the recommendations would go against them.

In fact: The appointment of Professor Roy Lubke to do the assessment was done as follows: On inquiries, the Natal Parks Board suggested that RBM communicate with the Institute of Ecologists, asking them to rec-

ommend which ecologist in South Africa would be most suitable for this study.

The institute recommended four accredited ecologists. RBM selected Professor Lubke because he is eminently qualified as he is an acknowledged expert in dune ecology, he has previously conducted large scale EIAs and he was not resident in Zululand and would therefore be less subject to political or other pressure.

□ It is said: RBM will dam the Umfolozi River and flood the Dukuduku forest.

In fact: RBM will draw water from the Umfolozi by pumping. This water will be pumped directly to the mining plant and also to a reservoir situated 1km from the river and about 5km from the

mouth. The water used by RBM would otherwise exit to the sea.

□ It is said: Trucks hauling minerals to the smelter would leave every 12 to 16 minutes, 24 hours a day for 18 years.

In fact: RBM recognises that the additional traffic caused by heavy trucks would be a nuisance factor to the people of St Lucia and Mtubatuba and to the public in general. We are therefore studying alternatives which would involve high pressure pumping and rail transport.

□ It is said: The habitat of the black rhino will be destroyed and mining will adversely affect other animals.

In fact: RBM, which is a major sponsor of the Rhino and Elephant Foundation and the major sponsor of the Namibia Trek to raise funds for this foundation, will take great care not to interfere with the resident animal population.

Our assessment is that the impact of mining on animals will be minimal because the mining plant moves very slowly (seven metres a day or 0.3 metres an hour).

□ It is said: The draft EIA was rushed and was superficial.

In fact: Many conservationists opposed the mining operation from the outset and we doubt whether any EIA over whatever period of time would have met their approval.

This so-called superficial study contains more data on flora and fauna than 95 percent of the 570 registered game reserves (national, municipal and private) in South Africa, and where we plan to mine is not even a game reserve.



Nats say poll will choose team to negotiate with the Government

23 OCTOBER 1989 DAILY NEWS

# Possible election to select black leaders

## Daily News Correspondent

PRETORIA: A general election for black people is in the offing to choose their team to sit at the negotiating table with the Government.

This idea is circulating in the National Party in the belief that it should be made clear to the African National Congress that "they are not the only pebbles on the beach".

The Government's chief negotiator and Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerret Viljoen, said at the National Party's Transvaal congress at the weekend that negotiations would be multipartite.

"It is a fundamental misunderstanding that there are only two real opposing parties, namely the Government and the most extreme of the militant radical organisations," he said.

Dr Viljoen said the Government had in principle accepted that black people should be entitled to appoint their representatives to the negotiating table by way of a special election.

"The nature and details of such an election must also, through negotiations beforehand, be found to be generally acceptable. Only in this way can it be determined with certainty which alleged leaders actually represent their communities."

Dr Viljoen said there were several important black parties and groups who had had the courage to submit themselves to democratic elections in the past in self-governing states and local councils.

They had negotiated vigorously for years for reforms, and had produced results.

"These groups and leaders have established themselves as experienced authorities who obviously have a large and important role to play as influential par-

ticipants in the negotiating process," he said.

They had long ago enunciated preconditions for negotiation which, nowadays, were the monopoly of extreme left radical groupings. They had produced results without becoming "passive puppets" as they were unfairly branded, Dr Viljoen said.

President de Klerk said his government would not allow them to be elbowed out of the negotiating process: "There is no single party or grouping that can say it alone speaks for all blacks."

All striving for peace should be given the chance to participate or, if negotiations brought South Africa to that point, to prove themselves democratically at the ballot box.



# ANC's Raymond Mhlaba speaks

**AFRICAN National Congress (ANC) veteran Raymond Mhlaba last week recounted his arrest at Rivonia, the famous trial and his prison experiences. Mhlaba, (69), the son of a policeman, became commander-in-chief of the ANC's armed wing. He was released last week after more than 26 years imprisonment on Robben Island and in Pollsmoor prison. He spoke to MONO BADELA.**

RAYMOND Mhlaba spent more than a quarter of a century behind bars because he ignored a warning and refused to put his own safety above the 'cause'.

Although best known as one of the accused in the Rivonia trial of 1963/4, Mhlaba had a long record of political involvement.

Born the son of a policeman in the Fort Beaufort district of the Eastern Cape in 1920, he managed to complete about 10 years of schooling - the last two at Healdtown - before dropping out for financial reasons.

In 1942 he went to work in a Port Elizabeth dry cleaning factory and soon became an active trade unionist.

In 1943 he joined the Communist Party of South Africa and from 1946 until the banning of the party he served as district secretary for Port Elizabeth.

In 1944 he joined the ANC and was its Port Elizabeth branch chairperson from 1947 to 1953.

In both his political and trade union activities he worked closely with Govan Mbeki, his Rivonia colleague who was released 1987.

On June 26, 1952, Mhlaba led the first batch of volunteers (defiers) through the 'Europeans Only' entrance of the New Brighton railway station and became the first ANC leader to be arrested in the Defiance Campaign.

Though banned under the Suppression of Communism Act, Mhlaba was elected to the Cape executive committee of the ANC in 1954 and continued his political activities.

Between October 1961 and the time of his arrest at Rivonia, Mhlaba had left South Africa to enrich himself in some fields of military science in China and the Soviet Union.

In July 1963 he was caught in a swoop at Rivonia and charged with being in the high command of Umkhonto weSizwe.

He denied the charge but was found guilty.

Mhlaba said he would not have been caught if he had heeded the warnings from Botswana authorities who knew of the possible dangers facing trained guerrillas returning to South Africa.

## Training bases

He had been given a task by the movement to negotiate with the Algerian government on the possibility of establishing training bases in that country for ANC cadres.

'I had gone there in January 1963 and returned in July that year via Botswana which had just attained independence from the British.

'On reaching the Botswana/South African border I was advised by authorities not to proceed with my journey to South Africa.

'It was at the time when the South African police were patrolling the Botswana border.

'You see I had a lot of money with me and I begged the emigration officers to let me through.

'I had to give a report back by July 4 and just had to be back in time.

'The information I had was vital to the movement. I begged them telling them that we were all Botswana citizens and that I had to fetch furniture in South Africa.'

Mhlaba said his driver was

'shivering' and refused to continue with the journey, but they eventually entered South Africa.

'My mission was of extreme importance because we were building the military wing of the ANC at the time,' he said.

## Arrested

'But I was hardly 10 days at Rivonia when we were arrested. My comrades there told me they had tried to notify me not to return but unfortunately I did not get their messages.'

Mhlaba said he does not regret his decision not to heed the

warning.

'I don't regret staying all those years in prison. In fact I feel very proud of myself.

'I'm dedicated to the cause of my people.'

The first 10 years on Robben Island were 'hard times'.

'Clothes were that which the ordinary criminals wore during the old days. Shoes were hardly that, more like sandals.

'We were forced to do pick-and-shovel work in the quarry in all kinds of weather.

'In fact we helped build Robben Island with the stones

from that quarry.

'A drink we were served was called phuzaphuza. It was more like diluted dirty water.'

Mhlaba said the prisoners protested against the conditions. Through visits by relatives, they had managed to smuggle a letter to Red Cross about conditions on the island.

During the first 10 years on the island studying by correspondence was considered a 'privilege'.

'To study in prison was a privilege and not a right - a privilege that could be withdrawn at

any time.

'If withdrawn it took up to a year to get it reinstated. The slightest mistake was punished by withdrawal of the privilege.

## Right to smoke

'Eventually we were also given the right to smoke, to buy tobacco and a newspaper.'

Conditions improved after they had been on Robben Island for 10 years.

'There was a marked improvement in health facilities and even the attitude of the warders improved.'

Later, work in the quarry became optional but there were heavy penalties if a prisoner was found doing nothing.

Penalties included the denial of access to a lawyer or mail facilities.

'I remember one day we were standing in a queue at the prison hospital and I was very sick.

'The doctor attending to us was busy ridiculing those who needed attention. I got annoyed and attacked the attitude of the doctor.

'I was punished by being refused access to my lawyer for six months.'

Mhlaba said going from the island by boat to Cape Town to be attended by medical specialists were his 'happiest times'.

'We all looked forward to that. It was like an extended privilege.'

The question of death on Robben Island while serving their sentences never occupied their minds, he said.

'What was important to us was whether the food we were getting was good enough to keep us going. We were doing hard work on the quarries.

## Staying in jail

'And the question of staying in jail forever also did not bother us. We always knew that at a certain time we would be released.

'I made up my mind that I was going to resist and survive. I did physical training and studied or read books.

'I also told myself that I was not going to be marooned, that I would be cheerful and talk to my colleagues. Unless you do that, jail will destroy you.'

He said the treatment in Pollsmoor was slightly different.

'Although jail will be jail. The treatment is more or less the same.'

It was still a 'big guess' why they had been removed to Pollsmoor prison from Robben Island in 1982.

'Nobody seems to know but we think it was a question of leadership. I think they wanted us to be alone.'

They were shocked when Nelson Mandela contracted tuberculosis.

'We took advantage of that. When Walter Sisulu was transferred to the same wing in which Mandela had been held, we refused to allow them to hold him in the same cell.'

## Prelude to release

The prison authorities said in March this year that Sisulu's transfer was a prelude to his release, Mhlaba said.

Sisulu himself had been assured 'long before the elections' that he would be released.

'He was told he was not in isolation but in transit.

'We all wanted to see him released.

'We asked for an hour-long meeting with Sisulu which we were given.'

Mhlaba said they had met Mandela on Kruger's Day to discuss their release.

'You see the government wanted us to give undertakings that we won't cause trouble or unrest and that we would be disciplined.

'Our decision together Mandela was that we refused to given an undertaking of that nature.

'We were then taken to another place at 5.30pm where we were made to wait.

'We demanded food and later asked for a television set. It was on the 8 o'clock news that we heard about our impending release.'

He said Mandela had not told them that a decision had been taken that they would be freed.

-South Press Services.



Raymond Mhlaba salutes the large crowd that gathered to meet him.



The people's leaders: (from left) Oscar Mpetha, Andrew Mlangeni, Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada, Wilton Mkwayi and Elias Motsoaledi. Pic: Dynamic Images



# Panga threatens to Mercury staff at Inkatha rally

By Nicola  
Cunningham-Brown

FIVE journalists — including a Natal Mercury photographer and reporter — were verbally abused and their car struck with sticks after being forced to leave an Inkatha Women's Brigade peace rally in Kwa Mashu this weekend.

People at the scene object-

ed to the journalists having attended a Cosatu/UDF peace rally in Ntuzuma earlier that day, where about 5 000 people had marched to the Ntuzuma Magistrate's Court with a petition requesting the removal of Lindelani councillor Thomas Shabalala from the area.

Later that day seven people were taken to hospital with gunshot wounds after clashes between opposing groups at the Mshayazafe squatter set-

tlement near Inanda New town.

On Saturday night there were attacks on three houses where wakes were being held for three comrades, the Democratic Party MP Mr Peter Gastrow said.

KwaZulu police confirmed that late yesterday afternoon about 200 people from Lindelani and a slightly bigger group from Ntuzuma were dispersed with tear-gas.

The journalists arrived at

the Inkatha rally about 12 15 pm while the opening prayers were taking place.

They stood on the edge of the stadium waiting for the speeches to begin. Mr Shabalala was standing close to the group of journalists.

Suddenly a group of about 12 men, carrying knobkerries and pangas, surrounded the journalists and asked whether they had been present at the 'comrades' rally.

Without waiting for a reply, they said journalists 'misinterpreted' events in the townships, never tried to get two sides of a story, and demanded they leave immediately.

'We don't want your type here', 'white rubbish' and 'charra journalist' were some of the insults thrown.

The group, which had swelled considerably, closed in on the journalists and forced them to the car.

Once they had scrambled inside, the men hit the car with sticks and kicked it.

In a copy of a speech obtained later, Mrs E T Bhengu, national chairman of Inkatha Women's Brigade, emphasised the willingness of the organisation to be drawn into any action 'which unites the people and points them to oppose apartheid'.

'We are also the Inkatha which says no to the politics of violent intimidation'.

## Petition

At the Cosatu/UDF rally held earlier, the importance of attaining peace in the townships was also highlighted.

'We want there to be peace in Ntuzuma, so our children can go to school in peace, and we can develop individually as adults', said Ntuzuma mayor Mr M P Ndlovu.

'If we are united, we will conquer in the end'.

Mr Ndlovu, Ntuzuma councillor Mr G E Dhlomo and the leader of the community at Richmond farm visited Ulundi on October 10 to discuss the issue of peace with the KwaZulu Government.

A Government spokesman told them the best way of seeing if the majority of people were against Mr Shabalala living in the area was to organise a petition requesting his removal.



THE CITIZEN

THE CITIZEN

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Monday 23 October 1989

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# FW's hands bloodied, says Mpetha

CAPE TOWN. — Freed African Nationalist congress leader Oscar Mpetha said yesterday the State President, Mr F W de Klerk's "Hands had the blood of the people on them and negotiations could not begin until he had washed them clean."

Mr Mpetha was addressing about 8 000 people at a welcome home rally in the Nyanga Stadium in Cape Town.

The 80-year-old unionist and former ANC office-bearer, one of the group of political prisoners released last week, also said the armed struggle should continue as long as the South African regime remained fully armed.

He shared the platform with what was virtually the entire executive of the ANC in the Western Cape before the organisation was banned, as well as representatives of more recently formed or-

ganisations.

Mr Mpetha, whose leg was amputated while in prison, gave his speech from a sitting position in a chair flanked by an ANC banner and the Red Flag, while ANC flags were spread over the grandstand.

He said Mr de Klerk should first give recognition to the ANC's military political prisoners, unban the ANC and other organisations and release all the people in jail who belonged to those organisations.

"He must allow back all those who fled into exile because they were harassed by the South African regime. Then only can he say: 'Mpetha and those leaders who were recently released, you can come and start talking.'

"If he hasn't done those things his hands are still bloodied.

"While I am talking to you there are members of these organisations waiting to be hanged, awaiting trial on charges of being members of the ANC."

Mr Mpetha said he had been misquoted by the Press on a message he had relayed from Mr Mandela.

The impression had been given that he had said the people should stop the struggle.

"The Press misquoted me as saying that I wanted to disarm the youth. I never said such things.

"I cannot at any stage while the South African is fully armed tell the people's army to disarm.

Mr Mpetha said the violence in South Africa was initiated by the government when it allowed its army to shoot at the people.

This violence had not

stopped.

"The graves are full of victims of the police."

He quoted Chief Albert Luthuli as saying that liberation depended not on the oppressor but entirely on the oppressed.

"The time has come — you are saying to the oppressor enough is enough."

Mr Mpetha, who was president of the ANC in the Western Cape in 1959, was presented with a wreath of yellow carnations before he spoke and wore them throughout his speech.

He spoke in Xhosa and his words were translated into English.

Across the road from the stadium, blue uniformed special constables with shotguns manned a sandbag emplacement on the roof of the Nyanga police station and stood in a line at the main entrance. — Sapa.



## Thatcher isolated on sanctions

By Robert Mauthner and Roger Matthews in Kuala Lumpur

THE SHARP division between Britain and the rest of the Commonwealth over South Africa was underlined last night when Mrs Margaret Thatcher distanced herself from key sections in the official communiqué on South Africa issued earlier in the day.

In an unprecedented move at the Commonwealth Conference, the British Prime Minister and Mr John Major, her Foreign Secretary, issued a statement elaborating on Britain's differences with the rest of the Commonwealth, much to the irritation of other delegates.

Although Commonwealth leaders yesterday unanimously committed themselves to "the total eradication" of apartheid, Britain remained isolated in its opposition to the use of sanctions to attain that goal.

A declaration entitled "South Africa: the way ahead," adopted by the heads of government at their northern Malaysian island retreat of Langkawi, contained four

important paragraphs which Britain refused to endorse.

Some other sections of the joint declaration were also challenged by the separate British statement. The British explanation for this unusual step was that the Prime Minister wanted to set out her position in greater detail.

Surprisingly, given Mrs Thatcher's views on the subject, Britain had put its name to a paragraph in the Commonwealth Declaration saying that the heads of government agreed "that the only justification for sanctions against South Africa was the pressure they created for fundamental political change." The official British position has always been that sanctions have not been instrumental in bringing about political change.

In the next paragraph, Britain refused to support a statement agreed by all the other members that they "acknowledged that the impact of sanctions had begun to influence the policies of the South African regime."

Perhaps to sort out the confusion caused by these apparent contradictions, Mrs Thatcher's and Mr Major's post-Langkawi statement said that sanctions contributed to "poverty and misery" in South Africa, whereas Britain's efforts were directed to helping relieve such poverty and misery throughout Africa.

Mrs Thatcher also supported a paragraph in the joint declaration which expressed the view that "this was not the time to consider any relaxation of existing sanctions and pressures" and that all existing sanctions and measures should be maintained pending evidence of clear and irreversible change in South Africa.

The other three sections of the joint declaration to which Britain refused to subscribe dealt with the proposal by Mr Bob Hawke, the Australian Prime Minister, for new financial sanctions, the establishment of an independent agency to review and report on Pre-

*The Financial Times*  
23/10/89  
London



# Britain refuses to compromise over tougher sanctions

FILE 48 of the 49 members of Commonwealth yesterday continued sanctions inst South Africa and called new efforts to apply financial sure, Britain formally dis- from four items and, in a arkable self-justifying state- at the end of the Heads of monwealth Governments ting, expressed its funda- tal disagreement with the y of the whole Common- it.

ritain formally rejected a graph accepting that sanc- s had begun to influence the cies of South Africa and ld not endorse a report of for- ministers which reached that clusion. Next, Britain objected n Australian proposal to in- igate ways of tightening finan- sanctions and to a call to e the arms embargo more ef- ive.

ritain also refused to support establishment of an indepen- : agency to review and report outh Africa's financial links, said that it would instead de- the money which would have : to fund such an agency to support of black South Afri-

From John Bulloch  
in Kuala Lumpur

cans. Finally, Britain voted against the Australian-Canadian proposal to review the situation in six months' time, with the implied threat: that new sanctions would then be applied if South Africa had not begun to dismantle the apartheid system. British officials emphasised that Britain had always applied an arms embargo to South Africa and would continue to do so.

The chairman of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement, Abdul Minty, suggested that the British reservation on this point might be because the Common- wealth had adopted a broader definition of what constituted "arms" which now included high technology, computer hardware and software, four-wheel-drive vehicles and some machine tools. Mr Minty said the ban should also cover imports of arms from South Africa, and noted that the Hong Kong police had been found to be testing guns and riot control equipment made in South Africa.

Asked if the points adopted by

the Commonwealth would make any difference in South Africa, the Canadian Foreign Minister, Joe Clark, said he believed they would. Evidence was emerging that South Africa's renegotiation of its debt was a demonstration of its parlous financial state.

Speaking before the dissenting British statement was issued, the outgoing Commonwealth Secretary-General, Sonny Ramphal, said he believed the communiqué on South Africa was stronger than ever before and showed greater unanimity than at previous meetings.

In South Africa the Common- wealth statement on sanctions was criticised by the Foreign Min- ister, Pik Botha.

"Sanctions can only further de- lay the negotiation process in South Africa," he said. Pretoria is attempting to draw leaders of the disenfranchised black majority into talks on the future of the country.

"South Africans will them- selves decide the country's future. There is no doubt that a consider- able majority of all South Afri- cans are opposed to sanctions," Mr Botha declared.



President F.W. de Klerk addressing a Nationalist meeting at the weekend, when he said he would like to lift the emergency, but this depended on opposition groups renouncing violence



ica and Britain's subsequent bombshell

## 'South Africa needs positive help'

Main arguments of *Southern Africa: The Way Ahead*—Britain's View issued by Mrs Thatcher:

Britain is fully at one with the rest of the Commonwealth in utterly condemning apartheid and seeking its total eradication. Britain welcomes recognition in the official statement that change is under way in South Africa, that sanctions should not be punitive, and that the international community will need to respond to evidence of "clear and irreversible change". But Britain believes the Commonwealth can help a new South Africa to emerge in more positive ways.

In Britain's view there have been important and positive changes in South Africa. Seventy per cent of white South Africans voted for change in recent elections and the Government is firmly committed to negotiations. Peaceful political activity by the black majority has been accepted and eight political prisoners set free.

The Commonwealth should concentrate now on encouraging change rather than on further punishment.

The effect of sanctions is punitive. The

evidence is that they bear hardest on the poorest and weakest members of South Africa's black population. South Africa's population is growing rapidly and the country needs economic growth to provide a decent standard of living for its people. Sanctions deprive South Africa of the funds it needs to grow and contribute to poverty and misery there whereas Britain's efforts are directed to helping relieve poverty and misery throughout Africa. Virtually every opinion poll shows a clear majority against sanctions when it is made clear they would involve loss of jobs. Britain does not agree that sanctions have the political effects claimed for them. The political effect is to increase resistance to change rather than encourage it. There seems to be a clear correlation between the imposition of sanctions and the strength of extreme right-wing parties.

Saying Britain believes in a constructive way forward, the document says the first step is to implement the Eminent Persons' Group concept on negotiations requiring the release of Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners, lifting the state of emergency and "unbanning" political organizations against the background of suspension of violence. When

South Africa takes the necessary steps it would be right to lift some sanctions to reward progress and encourage further reform. The aim should be to secure positive influence with the South African Government.

Britain will continue its substantial programme of positive help for black South Africans and neighbouring countries. £10 million a year finances 1,000 black South Africans in higher education, creates low cost housing, supports 300 rural projects, brings relief to Mozambican refugees, and supports Operation Hunger providing food for 1.3 million black South Africans.

Britain will continue its assistance to the front line states, which has totalled £1.1 billion since 1980. Rather than contribute to the cost of the independent agency proposed by the Commonwealth to review South Africa's international financial links and the work of the Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers, Britain will contribute an equivalent amount for additional help to black South Africans.

Britain also gives unequivocal support to the UN Secretary General in securing implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435 in Namibia.

The Times  
23/10/89  
London.



# The official communiqué on South Afr 'Not the time to relax sanctions'

Key points in *Southern Africa: the Way Ahead*, the communiqué issued at the end of the summit:

Heads of Government continued to view the system of apartheid in South Africa as a serious challenge to the values and principles of the Commonwealth and reaffirmed that its total eradication remained their shared responsibility and common goal.

Significant changes in approach on the part of the South African Government, for which the Commonwealth had striven for so long, may yet prove to be within reach.

Heads of Government agreed that such encouraging signs as there had been were very much the product of a combination of internal and external pressures.

They agreed that the only justification for sanctions against South Africa was the pressure they created for fundamental political change.

Their purpose was not punitive, but to abolish apartheid by bringing Pretoria to the negotiating table and keeping it there until that change was irreversibly se-

cured. Heads of Government, other than Britain, also acknowledged that the impact of sanctions had begun to influence the policies of the South African Government.

Commonwealth Heads of Government expressed the view that this was not the time to consider any relaxation of existing sanctions and pressures. That would have to await evidence of clear and irreversible change.

In the meantime, they agreed that all existing sanctions and measures should be maintained, and called upon the wider international community to do likewise.

They also agreed, with the exception of Britain, that such measures should be tightened, and decided in this context:

(A) To develop new forms of financial pressure on the Pretoria regime by seeking to intensify and extend financial sanctions, in particular by:

- Calling on all relevant banks and financial institutions to impose tougher conditions on day-to-day trade financing, specifically through reducing the maximum credit terms to 90 days.

- Calling on relevant governments to make trade credits harder by taking South Africa "off cover" with official

government agencies for official trade credit and insurance purposes.

(B) To strengthen the arms embargo.

Heads of Government recognized the importance of South Africa's dealings with the international financial community and therefore, with the exception of Britain, endorsed the establishment of an independent agency to review and report on South Africa's international financial links on a regular basis, and to gather and publicize factual information on financial flows to, and policies towards, South Africa. They welcomed the offer of the Australian Government to provide substantial initial funding.

They agreed to ask appropriate international financial institutions, and in particular the International Monetary Fund, to examine how resources might be mobilized upon evidence of clear and irreversible change.

With the exception of Britain, Heads of Government commended the Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers ... agreed that it should continue with its work ... and that it report again when Heads of Government next meet. They expressed the wish that it reconvene in April, six months after the Pretoria administration took office.

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## OVERSEAS NEWS

9

to find accord on sanctions

# De Klerk softens stand on ANC and violence

From Gavin Bell, Johannesburg

President de Klerk of South Africa has moderated the Government's insistence that the African National Congress formally renounce violence as a precondition for negotiations, saying that it would be satisfied with a commitment to work towards peaceful solutions.

Mr de Klerk also indicated that "a sign of peace" from the organization could lead to the lifting of the state of emergency. At the same time, the Government announced that it had approved arrangements for an ANC rally in a soccer stadium near Johannesburg next Sunday, the first since the organization was banned 30 years ago.

Mr de Klerk told the Transvaal congress of the ruling National Party at the weekend: "We would like the participation of all relevant groups, including those who, in the course of history and the paths on which they and their leaders have found themselves, have been excluded from the peaceful process."

"All that is required of such organizations to participate freely in the political process is a commitment to peaceful solutions, which naturally excludes violence. They now have the key to participation in their own hands."

Delegates noted that the long-held view that the ANC must categorically abandon its "armed struggle" was conspicuously absent from the President's speech.

They said the Government now accepted that, for historical and other reasons, the ANC could not publicly relinquish the military strategy which has been central to its campaign for more than three decades.

At the same time, the

Government could not negotiate with any group actively engaged in violence or threatening to use violence. It was hoped that the compromise formula enunciated by Mr de Klerk could break the deadlock, and lead eventually to the unbanning of the ANC.

The President rejected demands by the far-right Conservative Party that political prisoners, such as the veteran ANC leader Nelson Mandela, renounce violence before being considered for release. This was an "over-simplification", he said.

The Government was eager to lift the state of emergency, but anxious to ensure that "atrocious violence" committed when the legislation was suspended briefly a few years ago was not repeated.

"If those organizations who practise a policy of political violence and acts of terror were to give an indication, by word and deed, that those events will not recur, it would add greatly to a more relaxed atmosphere in which the state of emergency could be lifted. Instead of merely demanding that the state of emergency be lifted, they can help to make it possible for it to happen."

Mr de Klerk said he was encouraged by the disciplined manner in which anti-apartheid activists were staging protest rallies with government approval. "A pattern has been established in which the prescribed permission has been obtained, with consideration for factors such as traffic and the rights of other citizens to go their way undisturbed. This is how it should be in a civilized country."

Similar views were expressed by Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the Minister of Constitutional

Development, who has been charged with drawing black leaders into negotiations on political reforms. "The concept of negotiations requires peaceful participation in the process, and thus distancing from violence and intimidation," he said.

"Potential participants must stop acting evasively and laying down preconditions. They must now have the courage to come forward and take part." It was envisaged that negotiations would lead to an "evolutionary process of incremental reform", rather than a "peaceful revolution", he said.

Both leaders rejected foreign pressure in dictating reforms. Mr de Klerk said: "I want to tell the international community we understand your interest, but we say 'no' to interference in the internal affairs of South Africa."

Dr Viljoen was more outspoken, condemning "arrogant Americans" and the Commonwealth for setting "unrealistic and presumptuous" timetables.

In a related development, the Department of Foreign Affairs has distanced itself from views expressed in a £40,000 advertisement feature it placed in the Paris-based *International Herald Tribune* last month.

A spokesman said that, due to an oversight, one of the articles written by Mr Curt von Keyserlingk, a South African journalist, had not been checked. In it, Mr Keyserlingk said negotiations would have to be preceded by the release of Mandela, the lifting of the state of emergency and abolition of apartheid legislation, and recognition by the Government that the ANC had a role to play.

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*London*



# Nation Building is holistic

SOWETAN 23 OCTOBER  
1989

FOCUS

Prominent Soweto academic Lebamang Sebidi, director of adult education at Funda Centre, gave the main address at a Nation Building banquet on Saturday night. Sebidi, who also studied in Rome, has masters degrees in education and philosophy. He is a member of the Soweto Peoples Delegation, an executive member of the Council for Black Education and Research, and is actively involved in resolving the crisis in black education.

THERE has been quite a flurry of activity from all quarters since the *Sowetan* announced the launch of the Nation Building Week.

Today and tomorrow represent a finale to those few memorable days during which we were exhorted, encouraged and morally coerced into taking the ball of Nation Building seriously and running with it.

The essence of the message that was relayed this week was: The power is in your hands! Stop wallowing in self-pity and begin to steer yourselves as Africans - instead of allowing yourselves just to drift along, completely at the mercy and whims of the "system".

For instance today, in our residential areas, we literally wallow in filth and squalor because the "system" is unwilling to institute effective cleaning and garbage removal mechanisms. The implication is: unless the "system" decides to do something about that filth, we are indeed doomed.

I can almost hear somebody saying: "I have always suspected it.

Nation Building is only about garbage collecting and vegetable gardens; it is peripheral to the weightier matters that deal with "national issues", politics, economics, and so on."

My humble response to that is: "Oh yes, Nation Building worries about the squalor and filth in which my people live; it is concerned about the lack of initiative on the part of people to set up their vegetable and flower gardens, their own cleaning mechanisms. It is worried about these little things because the exponents of Nation Building realise that if my people can operate effectively at this level, then they have a good chance to succeed at other levels pertaining to national matters.

That having been said, I do not believe that vegetable gardens and garbage removals exhaust the content of Nation Building.

The concept of Nation Building has a broad content: historical, political as well as economic.

Let us look briefly at each of these three elements in turn.

Today we speak glibly about the French nation, the Italian nation, and the German nation; but we forget that it was only in the last century that many of these nations completed the process of the national unification. Bismarck in Germany and Mazzini in Italy are national heroes who battled to move their people from a state of tribal fragmentation, as it were, to the ideal state of coherent nations.

National states are new phenomena in the history of mankind. Between the fall of the Western Roman Empire in 476 AD and the fall of the Eastern Roman Empire in 1453 AD is a period of a 1000 years.



Lebamang Sebidi, addressing the Nation Building banquet.



## Split

During that period Europe was one only in theory. After the fall of the Roman Empire in 476 AD it was split into a multiplicity of little pieces. Political authority was everywhere divided, dispersed and diffused. People were governed in little princedoms, feudal states or communes.

It has been estimated that in France alone - a country which is so nationally cohesive today - the number of political units in the 10th century exceeded 10 000! Each town had its own laws, courts, army and customs.

For reasons we cannot enter into now, the Europeans embarked on a heavy programme of nation building from around the 13th century to the 19th century.

Now, to build South Africa/Azania into a coherent, effective, respectable nation may not take as long as the Europeans did. But it is certainly not an easy task.

Almost 80 years ago, one of the moving spirits behind the formation of the African National Con-

gress, a Mr Pixley Ka-Isaka Seme, was highly conscious of this arduous task while at the same time convinced about the importance of moving away from our little fragmented clans or racial enclaves into something really big: a nation.

His plea for nation building was quite straightforward.

He said: "The demon of racialism, the aberrations of Xhosa-Fingo feuds, the animosity that exists between the Zulus and the Tsongas, between the Basotho and every other native must be buried and forgotten... We are one people. These divisions, these jealousies, are the cause of all our woes and of all our backwardness and ignorance today."

Pixley said this on October 24 1911. He knew we were not yet a nation. He knew we were fragmented. And, above all, he knew that unless we embarked on a strong, consistent programme of Nation Building, we were doomed.

## Plea

"We are one people" Pixley reminded us. But that impassioned plea was more of a vision than a reality. It was a task to be undertaken.

The exponents of Nation Building cannot be oblivious to the local and national dimensions of the people's political struggle.

This is an important facet of Nation Building. Therefore, at all other levels of the Nation Building programme there must be an element of political

conscientisation that enables the average person in the street to be aware of the national dimensions in our struggle. A Nation Building programme that is insulated from the strife, trauma and pains of a Walter Sisulu and a Zeph Mothopeng, is one that is incurably shallow.

The Nation Building programme continually reminds its participants that while Sisulu and Mothopeng labour tirelessly to steer this country politically, the people should not be passive spectators. While Sisulu and Mothopeng are exercising their God-given talents at a high-profile level, there are other facets of the struggle which call for different talents. There is room in the struggle for all talents.

For instance, it would be folly to wait until our political leaders have completed their tasks before educationists can sit down and draw up relevant curricular for a post-apartheid society.

I am one of those people who believe that political power does have a causal relationship to economic power. We should learn from Africa north of us: the struggle for political power cannot be isolated from painstaking preparations to economically empower the oppressed people.

But economic empowerment, like good educational programmes, does not happen instantaneously. It is a process.

It is for this reason that the concept of Nation Building cautions people from harbouring negative attitudes towards the economic upliftment of individuals and groups in society. Our liberation should be total: it is political, social, cultural and economic.

Thus well-planned programmes aimed at empowering the oppressed economically form part of the struggle for our total liberation.

Nation Building is holistic. It leaves nothing to chance. It encompasses the whole field from garbage collecting to high-level politics.