

PRESS CONFERENCE - DR NELSON MANDELA

Q: How is your personal relationship with President De Klerk in this year?

A: Well, I hope I am right in saying that the relations between President De Hlerk and myself are on an even basis. I have throughout found him to be an hohest person, a very capable and stern leader, and I think that he is sincere in his efforts to bring about fundamental political changes in the country, and we have gotten on very well together. We have exchanged views on very fundamental problems, and every time we discuss problems on a man-to-man basis, we have more or less reached some sort of consensus. But of course it must be understood that here we are not dealing with a man, an individual. Ne are dealing with a government, a system, with apartheid. And our strategy is determined not by the honesty of an individual, but by the actual policies of the party he represents. And if you look at the matter from that angle, we must therefore adopt a strategy which will be capable of addressing the complete problem which we face in the community. And the provision is that, however good our relations with Mr De Klerk are, I have no vote. I can't be a member of Parliament. I can't live where I like in this country. That is the reality, and that is what determines our policy.

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What did you think of Mr De Klerk before you met him?

A: I met him on three ditferent occasions before I was released, ever

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since he was appointed leader of the NP. I naturally had followed his speeches very carefully and even before I met him, his own speeches made a formidable impact on me. And this was confirmed when I met him. On all the occasions he appeared to have an open mind, ready to consider fresh ideas. And it was at that time, before I was released, that I communicated with the Secretary General here, in Lusaka, and I pointed out to him that my impression was that we are dealing with a man of integrity. So I got that impression even before I left prison.

9: The ANC has lost some cards. Do you believe that they will continue along the negotiation path?

A: If you think that we have lost the card of the armed struggle, of sanctions, then I must disagree with you. We suspended armed action voluntarily, and if at any time we feel that it is necessary for us to go back to the armed struggle, we will do so. We have made that clear to the Government. We made it clear on the day of our suspension. We have made it clear on subsequent meetings. As far as sanctions are concerned, we have been in contact with the EC and we are discussing the matter with them. We are going to put quite a lot of pressure on them, on the question of relaxed sanctions, and we have certain trump cards in our sleeves.

D: You have mentioned your good relations with Mr De Klerk. What about other members in the Government? Are there other members of the Government who are creating problems?

A: If do not know it there are any members of the Government creating trouble in regard to the peace process. Them I have met, in my view, seem to support Mr De Klerk in the new direction that he has taken. But of course there are problems. There are very serious problems. We never imagined that it would fail, but we are prepared for it if problems arise. We will be courteous and friendly with the Government and we have adopted this strategy right from the beginning. And we have made progress.

9: What will your future role be?

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Well, what I may be in future is not in my hands or in my control. I think that that question should be put to the men around me, because they control my movements and they determine the policy of the organisation. If the ANC is fortunate enough to form a government, they will determine who should be the president and who should form the Cabinet. It is not for me to say.

0: Regarding your personal relations with President De Klerk: Do you think the fact that you have established a good relationship with him is good for South Africa?

A: I cannot predict. In lay talk: The future takes care of itself. What can'tell you about Mr De Klerk, the State President: I think the accord that was established made it possible for us to be able to solve highly

sensitive matters and to be able to chart our way forward.

Q: You say that you find Mr De Klerk an honest and a man of integrity. Have you been able to convince the ANC of the same, or is this very much your personal view?

A: well, it is safe to regard it as my personal view. The fact is that those who have followed the policy statements made by various leaders of the ANC have repeated the statements. They are a mass organisation and we are an organisation built on trust. People are very bitter about the action, the persecution, which they suffered under the NP Government. It is not easy for them to accept observations of that nature, but we have to defend the truth and be prepared to stand for it, especially if the fact of the truth will in due course reach the rest of the world. And I believe to accept the honour of those with whom one is talking is one of the foundation principles of any successful negotiation.

Q: EInaudible.J

A: I am not aware of any decision to the effect that we should not have confidential discussions with Mr De Klerk, and in this regard we are drawing a distinction between confidential and secret meeting. Secret meetings we reject, but confidential meetings, with Mr De Hlerk or any other member of the Cabinet, that we strongly support. I made it clear at the conference that confidential meetings between ourselves and the Government are to continue, and those people who say that there should be

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no confidential meetings, that is because they just don't understand the process of negotiation. Confidential meetings take place by informing your colleagues that it becomes necessary for us to meet Mr De Klerk on a man-to-man basis, and then the executive will say, "UK, we will allow this meeting". You have that meeting, you come back and report to your authority and they either approve or reject what has been concluded during the talks. That is a confidential matter, and that will continue. We have made it clear at the conference. We say so again now, that very confidential matters, whenever we think it is necessary to have, we will have it.

Q: Do you think Mr De Klerk has problems with elements in his own constituency, which results in him doing certain things, for example the failure to raise the Internal Security Act in last Friday's speech?

A: Mr De Klerk has made many mistakes and there are certain decisions which he ought to have taken which he has not taken. That doesn't mean to say that he is not a man of honesty. As far as the problem that he has in his own establishment, that is his own affair. That question ought to have been directed at him. I am not in a position to say that he has problems with his own establishment or constituency. But what of course has struck me is the fact that there are many sections where I expected action from him and we didn't get him to act. There is a wellknown case which I quoted before, and which I think I should repeat here, in order to indicate what I consider to be some of the problems which he is facing. Whether that problem comes from his own Cabinet or from certain

elements in the security forces, I do not know. We warned the Government in July that there would be an attack in Sebokeng. We specified the time when this attack was going to take place and we called upon the Minister of Law and Order and the Commissioner of Police to ensure that these people do not enter the township armed. They entered the township armed in the presence of the police, and the police did not act. They attacked, the factions, the township and massacred 30 people. In the statement of the police, nobody was arrested and the police did not intervene. That of course has raised many questions as to his capacity to be able to control the security forces. But the question as you have phrased it, I am not in a position to answer.

Q: To what extent have your expectations, when you came out of prison a year ago, been realised and to what extent have you been disappointed?

A: well, I am not in a position to personalise whatever has happened since my release. In so far as our political activities are concerned I am not an individual, I am part of a people. It is the team which learns a process, that decides what issues should be tackled. And if there is any success or failure that is due to the team with whom I work. And I am not in a position therefore to discuss these questions on the basis of what I as an individual may have done or may have failed to do.

I am here to support the ANC in success and in failure, and I am not the right person to ask about this. And I am also reluctant to talk about successes, because that may be accepted to be in bad taste for one to

talk about his successes. So unfortunately I am unable to answer your question. It is better when talking about the future to be an optimist.  
O: Were your initial impressions correct, and have your expectations been realised?

A: That is a very difficult and involved question: When you have been in prison for more than a few years and even when you have access to the mass media it is not easy for you to grasp securely what is happening outside. It is only when you become part and parcel of the activities outside that you can have a measure of what is happening, and you can make predictions. What I found when I came out which had already become clear even when I was inside prison was that the level of political consciousness on the part of the oppressed people in this country and their militancy was very high indeed.

And it became clear to me why this was so when I came out. Because I would have expected that things like housing, unemployment, poverty, illiteracy, health services would have been in a far better position than they were when I went to prison. I am frank when I say I was very shocked to find that the position had deteriorated in all these respects. There was more unemployment, more poverty, a great demand for housing, and hospitals like Baragwanath, perhaps the biggest in the Southern Hemisphere ... it is an absolute shame to go to Baragwanath and see the conditions under which our patients are living.

However, in spite of that I was able to find that some of the perceptions I left behind were no longer as I had expected them to be. For example, the relations between employers and employees although employees were still living under very difficult conditions, I found that quite a number, a substantial section of employers now take a genuine interest in the welfare of their workers. They are helping them in regard to the acquiring of houses. They have got scholarships and loans for their children. They are involved in training them to improve their knowledge and skills, and I think that this is something that is commendable. But of course the social conditions I have described nevertheless are the dominating elements. I also had no idea of the impact which women had made in society. I was quite impressed and even frightened when I found that many women have become emancipated, and were asserting themselves very well in various fields.

Q: CInaudibleJ

A: Well, at the time when I made the statement I had just come out. And I had not had the advantage of speaking to educationists and to listen to their views as to the problems facing Black education. But immediately I had made this call I had a deputation from students in Soweto and the theme of the discussion was: you have made a call for us to go back to school, we did, but we came up against formidable problems. Because when we went back to school we were told that there were not enough classrooms and we could not be accepted.



Some principals told us that we had failed the previous year, and that we could not be taken back. And what must we do? I realised that I had taken a superficial view of the matter. I was right by saying they should go back to school, but I had not investigated whether there were still opportunities for them to go back to school. And even some of those who were at school said: we are at school, but we are facing problems because we have not yet got text books. we are also facing problems because our teachers are not properly qualified. And there are no facilities for them to upgrade their qualifications. They complained about subjects like mathematics, that at some schools there is not a single teacher who can teach them mathematics. And they say, these are the problems we are facing, what should we do?

we have gone into the matter, and I have then suggested that we should assemble all Black educationists in the country and the aim is to put forward a delegation across the spectrum. And the sole consideration must be the qualification of the man who is appointed as a member of this delegation. It has not been easy because of the wide variety of educationists in the country. It has taken sometimes more than one day to get one name accepted by everybody, but we have succeeded in putting up this formidable delegation. Amongst them are people like Prof Shabane Manganye, the Rector of the University of the North, Prof Booysen, the Rector of Natal University, Prof Jake Gerwel, the Rector of the University of the Western Cape and Prof Wiseman Guhlu, the Rector of the University of Transkei, and other educationists like Prof Manivates of Unisa and many others.

we are meeting Mr De Hlerk on the 14th to discuss the whole question of Black education. So that has been the response to the appeal which not only myself, but my comrades here around me have made this call. Even before I came out. It is not true that the ANC once championed the slogan: Liberation first and education last. We never did. we have always insisted that children should go back to school. All that happened was that when I came out I added my own contribution, but this is a call which has been made by the ANC long before I was released.

Q:Dr Mandela when you came out there were very high expectations both locally and internationally. The idea was that now that you were out, things were going to change. With regard to nationalisation etc criticism has come from politicians in thbis country and from overseas aswell. At that stage did you feel that the criticism was a little too harsh?

A: Any public figure must accept to be criticised. If you donit expect to be criticised then don't assume the role ot a public figure. And criticism can also be very useful, because it is that criticism you object to, I am humble enough to be guided. One welcomes criticism because it is a mirror through which you can see. I doubt if it is correct for our people to regard any other person as a Messiah. We are all men of flesh and blood, and this is how we prefer to be presented to the public. And if the people expected miracles, well I was not with ther and if people who have been addressing these problems and the organisations, and I think that they have done exceptionally well, long

before I was released from prison.

If it were not for their accomplishments I would not be in this conference-today. And I have never regarded myself therefore as being apart from my colleagues who are leading this organisation and the struggle. And I regard myself purely as part of that great team, a small part of that great team. And it is therefore ... actually, if people regarded me as the Messiah who was now overnight going to solve the problems of SA then they are living in a fools paradise. Because no human being could do that, not even Christ succeeded in doing that, and I am far from being a Christ.

O: I know you don't want to specify either your own performance or that of the ANC, so I'm not asking for that. but, accepting that political progress has been made in the past year. How is your present assessment of the progress that has been made compare with your expectations at the moment of your release on what could be achieved in a single year?

A: I sometimes find it difficult when I am being asked what my expectations were, because one is tempted on the basis of what he has observed to reconstruct thoughts which he had in prison which I no longer remember actually. I never knew that I would meet Mr Robinson in this press conference and so I didn't really prepare or make any serious thoughts as to what I would effect. I did come out.' and of course once I did, I consulted with my colleagues and they outlined a programme for me and that is what I am following.

From the point of view of an assessment of the political situation I am hopeful that we will be able to sort out and overcome our problems. I know that in all groups both amongst the Blacks and the whites there are men and women who genuinely want peace and it is not just a question of speculation. In the two summits that we have held and in the meetings which I have had with Mr De Klerk and with other Ministers in regard to problems affecting their own Departments, I have been encouraged because I have discovered that many of the people whom we thought had horns, as Mr Thabo Mbeki would say, had no horns. And I think we have made progress, even remarkable progress.

There are however, very serious problems which if we do not succeed in addressing them, may even derail the peace process. That had to be expected. And anybody who thought that they were just going to sail through as I say is living in a fool's paradise, because a complicated political situation such as is facing us cannot just be resolved overnight. It needs a great deal of patience, a great deal of trust of your opponent, whereas you reserve all your guns, all your ammunition. But if you don't succeed in your efforts then you are in a position to use power in order to get your goals. But I sincerely hope that the moment will never arise for us to say: we have made every effort to resolve our problems by peaceful means and we can no longer continue on that road, and that the only road open to us is that of violence. I hope we will never have that situation. So I am very optimistic about the future.

Q: You have told us that you are part of a team and that you take decisions as part of a team, and I respect that, but if I could just go back to the time when you were still in jail. There was I think a contribution you made there which was your own ...- EInaudibleJ... as I saw in that document you did set an objective, and that was compromise between the Black demands for majority rule and the White demands for structural protection. In terms of that objective, what sort of progress do you think has been made with that goal in the last year? Do you still stand by that objective that you set yourself? And has the ANC as an organisation accepted that that is the desirable objective?

A: Well, I have no doubt that we have to try to find a compromise. Because the Whites in this country have got genuine fears that the demand of one person one vote will, if granted, result in the domination of whites by Blacks. And I think it is our duty to address that fear. We can address that fear without tampering with the demand of one person one vote. We have, for example, elaborated a Bill of Rights which in many respects coincides with the Bill of Rights which has been recommended by Judge Olivier. And we feel that some of the fears which whites genuinely have are due to lack of communication, and that once they become fully aware that their rights as individuals are fully protected in the Bill of Rights, which is justiciable in a court of law in an independent judiciary, that most of their fears will disappear. It is not going to be easy for us to compromise on the demand of one

person one vote. All the democracies throughout the world are based on this demand. Even South Africa in so far as it operates as a democracy, as far as Whites are concerned, is based on the principle of one person one vote. Why should that change whethhe majority now of the citizens of the country want an extension of that principle. But, we nevertheless regard the fears of the whites of this country to be genuine. we want to stay with them. They are our brothers and sisters. There is nothing more that we desire than we should live in peace with them and that they should feel secure.

And that is why we have made it clear that in spite of the public sectors, and in this regard issues like school and culture etc, we say: every population group will have a right to its language, to its own schools, to its own culture, to its own religion. We want to make South Africans fully aware that we have no intention whatsoever of interfering with their own cultural background and those values which they regard as priceless. So I still support the idea that it is the duty of the liberation movement in this country to address genuinely and with sympathy the tears which the Whites in the country have.

O: On a more personal level, can you tell us in retrospect when you were released what you felt when you were on the Grand Parade?

A: Well naturally I felt very much elated to taste freedom, that is freedom from prison. And I also felt very happy that I could now join my beloved wife and give her the support and security which she had missed

For the last 28 years. I was happy to be amongst my own people and the prospect of seeing my colleagues, especially those in Lusaka, was overwhelming. Because these are the men with whom I had identified in a wide variety of issues - some very close to my heart. And all this made me feel very happy indeed.

By the way, my colleague has reminded me here of an experience which I have been talking about on numerous occasions. I really had no idea of the number of whites who were now identifying themselves with the anti-apartheid struggle in this country. And I was almost swept off my feet when, as I was travelling to Cape Town, and we took a devious route which went through farmlands, to see whites who came up to pledge solidarity with us. Especially Whites from the platteland. Faarl is in many respects a place where there is a large population from the surrounding country areas, and I was really taken by surprise to note how avidly they stood behind the organisation, and the welcome they gave me.

Q: In the twenty seven and a half years you were in prison when you became the world's most celebrated and beloved political prisoner, you have been out for a year and during that period you have visited dozens of countries and spoken to hundreds of groups. You have had thousands of people pleading for your time, do you ever feel that you have perhaps exchanged one prison for another and that your life is still not your

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A: well fortunately in this particular case I have been part and parcel

of my imprisonment and secondly to travel on a mission which you regard as being very important and in the interests of all the people at South Africa is a bit of a consolation. Seeing new countries, new faces is also a very valuable experience. So all in all the engagements that I have had have been rewarding.

Q: There have in the past been fears for your safety, particularly in respect of the right-wing. Do you feel that was a real fear at that time. Did you ever feel that your safety was at risk?

A: well, fortunately we are so busy doing what we consider to be constructive work that we have very little time to think about such a distraction.

O: EInaudibleJ Question about opening speech by State President.

A: That is certainly a weakness. That omission and others has unfortunately attracted a lot of fire from the public and sort of minimised the importance of an otherwise very good speech. The omission on the part of the President to refer to the obstacles to negotiations, that is the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles and also his omission to refer to the security legislation which has stilled political activity among the oppressed and also the lack of a statement on the homelands - all these have lead to very harsh criticism of his speech.



But the statement was really not so much intended for the purpose of solving our internal problems, but it was calculated to make the international community relax sanctions. This was the purpose. That is what is being said. And I am the last person to go out to convince the public.

0: EInaudibleJ Question about being able to keep a marriage alive during 2? years in prison.

A: Don't say I was able to keep the marriage alive, say she was able to keep the marriage alive. And if you want to find out the secret, please take her out for lunch.

9: Earlier this week you stated you were going to put pressure on the EC not to relax sanctions. Could you comment specifically, also with a view to the meeting of the Commonwealth Foreign Ministers soon and Australia's apparent softening attitude.

A: Well, 14 I were prepared this information with you, then I would not be having a trump card in my sleeve. Secondly, we must not think that the strategies which we ourselves use and which the international community is using in support of our struggle are going to be effected without problems. You will have noticed, I don't know if you have done so, that the international community was not part of the decision to maintain sanctions. We had to persuade them to join this campaign and we have succeeded in maintaining it for these years. Now they have in their own

judgement, and quite honestly they think that the negotiations between the Government and the ANC have reached such a stage that they must do something to reward Mr De Hlerk. That is a very commendable motive that. But in actual fact this has been an error of judgement on their part. And we believe precisely because they are themselves men of integrity, they are making what they consider to be a contribution to the solution to the problems of South Africa. But they have done so without consulting with us. They don't know what our argument is going to be. We have contacted them and we are going to see them. And our task is going to be to brief them about the situation in the country. And we believe we have a strong case. And once we have a strong case, anything is possible.

9: EInaudibleJ Further question on sanctions.

A: In the first place I have got my own doubts whether the EC is going to implement that resolution, even without our intervention. After all, you are dealing with very shrewd business men who are not going to want to throw their investments down the drain. You will have seen from the demonstrations on 1 February that the masses of the people in this country are behind mass action. They would like to use mass action in order to ensure that they have an effective voice in the government of their own country.

And if the EC decides to review sanctions you can expect that mass action in this country is going to be the order of the day. And that the situation in the country is going to be so unstable that no wise

businessman is going to want to invest in this country. In other words the EC is making a serious mistake if by reviewing sanctions without consulting with us, they think that they will be able to invest in South Africa, to trade with South Africa under very stable conditions, they are making a very SEPIDUS mistake.

That is one of the things I fear that once our people discover that they have no friends in the international community, it is going to be difficult for us to control them inside the country, so angry are they. And I had the opportunity of assessing that anger in the very big hall that I have addressed throughout the country. I have had intensive discussions with the leaders in the regions and in the branches, and the type of fire we will try to hold back is difficult to imagine. If the EC wants this country to be turned upside down, they must do exactly what is being speculated. And that is why we are very keen to go and see the

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brief them properly on the true implications of their decision.

O: You yourself have also stressed the need for economic development.

What I am not quite clear on at this stage is how we should assess that contradiction in your own statement, of uplifting the people socially, the need for economic development, and sanctions?

A: I concede that on the face of it there is a contradiction between my concern for the problems of the people and my point of view on sanctions. But it is the price we are prepared to pay in order to be able to determine our own affairs, to order to get the vote, in order to sit in

Parliament. We are prepared to pay this price. we had hoped that both the Government as well as ourselves, we are very much concerned about sanctions and the fact that our economy is being reduced to shambles. We are very concerned about it, and we are also very concerned that we should be able to reach a settlement before it is completely destroyed. But sanctions is one of our principal weapons of peace which we can use to induce the Government to make the profound changes that we are demanding, and if you look at the matter a little more deeply, there is no contradiction.

Q: when will you ask for the lifting of sanctions? When everybody gets the vote?

A: The aim of sanctions is to get apartheid completely cracked and the granting of the vote to all South Africans. That is the object. It is only when that object has been attained that we can call for the lifting of sanctions.

Q: Inaudible.

A: Well, let me tell you something which you must also be aware of. we commend the steps which have been taken by Mr De Klerk. That has been very brave of him and he must have lost quite a large section of his constituency. and we would like to encourage him to go on, but you must understand that there are different perceptions on the same issue, depending on the population group to which you belong. Whilst the

question of the repeal of the Population Registration Act, the Group Areas Act and the Land Acts, is important in so far as Whites are concerned, it is almost a non-issue as far as Blacks are concerned. Many Blacks who are leaders say: what is the use of repealing the Group Areas Act, the Land Act, when the Government has given me no capacity to take advantage of the repeal of this legislation. I haven't got resources. I haven't got the money. What am I going to do with it? How does the Group Areas Act affect me? Because I live in Soweto, I live in Guguletu, I live in Hwamashu. I am not affected by these changes. That is the position that you must also consider, and that is why therefore we have made it clear that the purpose of sanctions is to get apartheid totally scrapped and also to grant the vote to every South African. Nevertheless, in spite of the fact that that was said, as we discuss with the Government mutual trust is created. We may reach a position where the problems which arise in the course of the negotiations may be so formidable that they may have time to be resolved. But then we would have reached a position of mutual trust with the government, that we would be prepared to act on a declaration of intentions. There is that possibility, but if you want to talk now about decisions, our decision is very clear: Sanctions will, as far as we are concerned, we will only recommend the repeal of sanctions when everybody has the vote in this country, and when everybody is in a position to take part in the running of the country.

9: To continue on that track: Quite a number of Cabinet Ministers have said that in principle representation in Parliament is already conceded. You said that for this you are prepared to make sacrifices. Surely you

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are making sacrifices for something that is already in process?

A: well, the reality is that apartheid is still in place. I have no vet I can't be a member of Parliament. I can't live where I like in this country. I can't buy land where I wish. It is for that that we say sanctions should be maintained. And you are not altogether correct in saying that Mr De Klerk has already considered the right of every South African to vote and to sit in Parliament. You should study his speeches very well. He does feel that we have to go into the question of how the rights of groups should be secured, and that means then that we are not yet unanimous on the question of the grant of the demand of one person, one vote.

9: EInaudible.J

A: Well, I have just been told that one of our colleagues is calling a press conference on precisely the question that you have asked and he will be better qualified than I to respond to your question.

Q: EInaudible.J

A: Well, I can't agree with you that I have made any threats to the European Community. All that we intend to do, i.e. to use persuasion to them to see our point of view, and I say that if we are unable to convince the European Community, then we know what to do. Your statement that we are shifting the goal posts: I have heard this on numerous

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occasions. I don't know where they were originally. You might tell me where they were. We have been consistent on the question of when sanctions should be reviewed in our view. We have never deviated from that. If you think we have deviated, I am prepared to listen.

O: Under the terms of the US Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act, the Government should release political prisoners not only held in the Republic of South Africa, but also in the four nominally independent homelands. I am wondering whether you have discussed with Pretoria or the governments of the homelands to release these other political prisoners and whether you would see that as one obstacle to the lifting of sanctions?

A: we are in fact calling for the release of all prisoners held in South Africa and in our view South Africa includes the homelands.

Q: Do you plan to take action against the European Community?

A: Not against the European Community. There will be mass action as a result of the lifting of sanctions by the international community, by EC, and I am saying that one of the things which has led to a mobilisation of mass action in the country is the knowledge that we have powerful friends who are with us and we are also playing that part, inducing South Africa to change its policies. Now the end is removed if people in South Africa are going to rely solely and exclusively on their own power, and this country will be in turmoil. It is not a threat of action against

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EC.

O: CInaudible.J Do you then see mass action Peeulting in restoring communities?

A: No, we are not launching mass action in installments, depending on t action 0% anybody in the Government. We are concerned with the general situation. We are discussing with them. Don't take it for granted that once they take a decision, they will stick to that decision. They have taken many decisions, which as a re

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And we are going to take action in the sense that we are going t them, we are going to discuss the situation with them, and we are going to suggest solutions and options in the light of the decision which the have already taken. And I am confident that we have got a powerful case We are dealing essentially with our friends, Australia, England, they 3 still our friends, and we will discuss with them in that spirit, and because of the strength o4 our case, we have the confidence that we wil be able to resolve this phoblem amicably.

Q: What exactly would you want President Bush to de in response to President De EIEPk'e announcements?

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believe that Mr Bush will be keen to consult with us 59 to how he ehoul respond to the address cw" Mr- De tiiiler-Li. That is the proper way to handle the problem. And secondly, you ought to know that President Bush has



followed very correct procedures in this regard, because when T went to  
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the States and I met him, he then briefed MP De Klerk on my visit, and  
when Mr De Klerk entered the States, I received a telephone call from M  
Bush, and he briefed me quite accurately on the visit by Mr De Klerk. I  
have no doubt that if he thinks in terms of reviewing sanctions he will  
not make the mistake which the EC has made. He will consult us, and we  
will be able to put our point of view to him. That is the spirit in which  
we have worked with the president until now.

9: EInaudible.)

A: Well, this is a matter which does not lie in my hands. It depends on  
the National Executive of the ANC. I might also point out that new  
discussions are taking place between the ANC and the PAC and it is like  
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that in future missions we will act together and the two organisations  
may have come together to decide what type of delegation we should send.  
The matter does not depend on me.

Q: The Democratic Party has been saying in Cape Town this week that the  
ANC is dragging its feet with negotiations, and that you don't want  
negotiations until after the congress in July. What is your answer to  
this?

A: Well, I think that Denis Worrall has been preoccupied with  
preparations for his speech in Parliament and he has missed quite a lot  
of significant developments. All the summits which have been held in the

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have been held at our instance. I had to go to Mr De Hlerk to say: The time has arrived for us to have the first summit. And we eventually agreed on the date on which we met in May. I weht abroad and came back c 18 July. On the 20th I went to the Union Building and asked Mr De Hlerl that we should meet.

EErief interruption in communicatieh line with Johannesburg.)

Q: What will the ANS do about White hemelahde? IE it peeeible that the ANC will consider this?

A: well, our policy in regard to the dismembehment 0% the country is ver cleah. It is on that baeie that we were opposed to the homeland policy and that we demand a united South Africa. That principle will apply to anyhody regarding eeparete hemelande.

0: There is a gheat deal of talk about the nation 0% peweh\_eharihg, bet in the interim and as a final solution.

A: Well, that ie a phrase, a collection of words. what we would like to have is the \$act, what does it mean in concrete tehme. And we demand th acceptance of the policy of one perenn, one vote. What we are eeying ie that at the right time free homerecial elections will be called for whe everybody above a certain age will be entitled to vote, and the

t: power, will be a government that will be

gavernmeht that will come in

elected by the maeeee cf the people in free electione. If that is the

policy of the Government of this country . . . And it is the principal pillar of democracy. We are saying that we want those general elections and the government that will take power will have been elected in fair elections. Where they are talking now of a transfer of power, or the sharing of power, it can't be relevant. That is what we want. If by sharing power, that is what the Government wants, then we want the sharing of power. But if they mean something else, then we don't accept it. If it means that in a House of 150 members 35 should be White, and should be Black, that we won't accept.

O: With regard to exiles, there are allegations that some have been arrested at the airport when trying to leave the country. Dr Viljoen absolutely denied this. Do you have a list of the names of people to whom that applies?

A: well, Mr Vlok, Mr Hobie Coetsee and Mr De Hlerk would never deny it. I think Mr Viljoen's denial is based on a lack of information, because it is not his department. I have had regular discussions on the telephone and personal meetings with both MP De Hlerk, Mr Hobie Coetsee and Mr Vlok on the persons who have been harassed and arrested by the police. When I spoke last Saturday, I pointed to one of our security guards who was present, who had been arrested by the Askaris together with members of the security force. I was so angry about it that I phoned leading officials and demanded their release on the spot. I was very angry, because they were arrested in front of our DF'FICES, and that is what is happening. You are having members of the security forces and the Asher:

always patrolling the entrance to our building. My security was arrested in the course of executing his duties, just outside the building, and this is not the first incident. Quite a number of people have been picked up when they are returning to Lusaka and with their indemnities still in force. There have been more than 10 already who have been picked up in this particular fashion.

Q: Have they been released?

A: Well, many of them have been released. I must say that when I refer these matters to these authorities, they immediately take action. I can remember a single case in which they did not respond positively. But the practice still continues and they are finding it, for some reason or other, difficult to remove the officials whom we regard as being responsible for this. We have a list and I have given the list to the Government to say: These are the officials who are creating all this trouble, but they are still there, and some of them are even boasting about it - "Mandela made representations that we should be dismissed, here we are!"

Thank you very much, ladies and gentlemen.