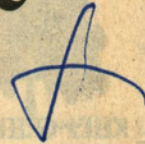


The Star

Lessons of the stayaway



HARSH though the accompanying rhetoric was, this week's ANC-sponsored stayaway passed relatively peacefully — a useful reminder that the Government's new-found tolerance seems to have encouraged (this time round anyway) wars of words rather than of weapons. In the bad old days of emergency law, high-profile security action and suppressed political movements, the tinder-box factor would have been more in evidence. So perhaps we have all come a little further than we sometimes think.

The stayaway also revealed, with great clarity, the splits and cleavages that permeate the politics of South Africa. These divides are risky, of course. They carry with them the seeds of violence. But they are healthy too. For years, bannings and censorship promoted — assiduously if unwittingly — the image of a monolithic black entity just waiting to grab power and impose a monolithic will on the country.

Reality is different. Chief Buthelezi has rounded on the ANC, Cosatu has attacked Inkatha, the PAC has forcefully

reasserted its separate identity and a father-figure of the ANC has come out against his own organisation's tactics. At least now the components of the monolith are shown to be skilful, wilful, wily and sometimes confused politicians, just like all the others. That must come as something of a relief to nervous minorities.

But the stayaway itself — did that achieve anything? It cost the country a fortune, irritated employers, required workers to lose wages and, most significantly, is unlikely to have any real effect in forcing Pretoria to do something more about the violence in Natal. In our view the action was inappropriate to the goal.

If the notion grows that the ANC is ready to seize any pretext to promote economic mayhem it will be profoundly harmful to the cause of negotiation. The ANC may argue that industrial action is about the only peaceful weapon it possesses, but dissension within its own ranks (if nothing else) ought to force it to reconsider when and how it uses its own "ultimate deterrent".

Inkatha not asked to peace indaba

Political Reporter

LEADERS of the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), the Azanian People's Congress (Azapo) and the National Congress of Trade Unions (Nactu) are to be invited to a peace conference in Natal on August 4 in spite of the fact that they did not support yesterday's stayaway called by the ANC, Cosatu, the UDF and Sayco.

The Joint Working Committee (JWC) of the four organisations said in a statement yesterday it was disappointed at the 'unwarranted, divisive and disruptive statements' of the PAC, Azapo and Nactu and called on them to 'throw in their lot' with the rest of the people instead of engaging in 'senseless political gamesmanship'.

Asked whether Inkatha would be invited to the peace conference, a member of the JWC, Dr Diliza Mji, said it would not be 'logical' to invite that organisation.

The programme of national action envisaged by the ANC, Cosatu, the UDF and Sayco revolved around issues such as the disbanding of the KwaZulu Police and the disarming of 'warlords'.

Govt promise to deal with Natal unrest

Political Reporter

THE Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, had dispelled the fears of Natal businessmen in Pretoria on Monday that the violence in Natal was not being afforded a high priority by the Government.

This was one of the points made at a Press conference yesterday called by the Natal/KwaZulu Business Forum, representing six chambers of commerce and industry in the region as well as the South African Sugar Association.

The chairman, Mr Brian Wallett, said the delegation had expressed its concern to Mr Vlok at what was perceived to be a lack of direction by the State in addressing the issue.

He said the minister had told the delegation that 8 000 peace-keeping and law enforcement officers had been deployed in Natal and a further 1 000 selected men would soon be added to that number.

He said about 48 additional police strong points were to be located in the Province and these would be developed into permanent billets.

Mr Wallett said the Government was examining how best to speed up the judicial process. In addition, Mr Vlok would be putting forward legislative proposals to bolster the present shortcomings in the law governing intimidation.

Rhetoric from both sides is obscuring the economic debate

BUSINESS Day 4 July 1990

An open letter to business from JOE SLOVO

TO HAVE a productive dialogue it is important to minimise ideological rhetoric. You may have grounds for complaint about ours. But you must also examine your own. You might then concede that your choice of future economic options is at least partly influenced by sectional rather than national interests.

For example, it may well be that in our imperfect world — the world we will inherit after a major transformation — the profit motive continues to be a way of generating growth. But, to put it at its lowest, it must surely be conceded that the interests of society as a whole and the uncontrolled generation of private profit do not always lie happily together. This is not a Marxist cliché but an essential ingredient of post-Keynesian economics.

In case you misunderstand what follows, let me say at once that we in the ANC and the SA Communist Party believe the private sector must remain a vital part of a post-apartheid economy.

We fully understand your preference for the private profit incentive as the prime economic mechanism for the creation of wealth. If we leave out the way wealth is apportioned, it must be conceded that the profit mechanism has, historically, played a part in generating both private and social wealth. And without wishing to sound patronising, I do not doubt the sincerity of your belief (immortalised in the words of Henry Ford) that "what is good for Ford is good for the country". But we cannot be blamed for suspecting that there is a degree of confusion in some minds between pure self-interest and the social good.

This confusion encourages a rationalisation which unduly conflates the protection of private vested interests with the interests of the whole community. This, in turn, provides the trigger for the ideological rhetoric to which I alluded. Let me touch on a few categories.

Firstly, the growth rate is too often addressed by you as a thing in itself, ignoring the way the social cake is apportioned. Of course, the rate of economic growth determines the amount that can be milked off for

social purposes. But, for the racially disadvantaged, an impressive growth rate is not an impressive statistic if its fruits continue to be appropriated in the same old way.

It is correctly said that for the economy to regain its health and to even begin to develop the capacity to address our serious social problems, a minimum annual growth rate of between 5% and 6% is needed.

From 1964 to 1975 we achieved precisely this. Yet there was no meaningful narrowing of the social and economic gap between white and black. The little narrowing that did take place was greater during the 1980s economic downswing due to struggle and not economic factors.

All this is not intended to downplay the imperative to assure maximum growth. But we do not go along with the thesis that economic development on its own will, in time, somehow naturally erode the inherited racial divide. Without some form of participation in, and control of, the economy by a state committed to the correction of racial imbalances, there can be no beneficial link between growth and real social benefit for the disadvantaged.

The second category of ideological rhetoric is the redistribution of wealth. We want to make clear that, contrary to current media mythology, we do not believe in the "dead cow" approach — whereby we kill the cow, cut it up in equal portions, shutting our minds to the reality that

when we have gorged ourselves there will be no cow left to reproduce or to milk.

At the other extreme, some of you spread the fallacy that distribution and redistribution of wealth must be left completely to market forces. No state can be, or has been, neutral in this area even in the so-called models of "free market" economies. Massive state intervention laid the basis of the post-war economies of Japan, South Korea and Taiwan including large-scale land confiscations.

In SA the post-1910 period was punctuated by state economic and fiscal devices to redistribute wealth and land in favour of poor whites and to open space to the Afrikaner middle sections in the upper echelons of the economy. Nationalised industries and parastatals were created partly for this purpose. Now it appears that the sauce which was good for that goose is not so good for the gander.

Now that process is being hastily adjusted through selling off the state silver to the private (overwhelmingly white) sector. You must, at the very least, bear with our suspicion that this is being done to diminish the capacity of a post-apartheid state to intervene effectively to redress some of the economic imbalances.

A note of welcome realism was

struck by Gavin Relly when, in 1986, he went on record as accepting the likelihood of some form of mixed economy with "a measure of state planning and intervention" because "there is quite justifiable emphasis on the part of black South Africans on a more equitable distribution of wealth to compensate for the errors of omission and commission of the apartheid era".

If, then, we all agree that there is an apartheid debt to be paid by those who have benefited from what Sam-pie Terreblanche has called "legalised group plundering", the question is: How is this debt to be paid? The answers we hear on your side are confusing. We are told that the resources needed to address inequality require a dramatic increase in the growth rate which some of you claim will be impeded by large-scale state intervention. Instead, the device of taxation and other fiscal measures are prescribed as a means of beginning the process of correcting the imbalance.

But then we are warned the existing tax base is inadequate to generate the necessary resources. And recently we have been asked to accept a dispensation which will entrench fiscal constraints into a future constitution to prevent what Minister (Gerrit) Vijoer rather insultingly called "the unsophisticated majority" from ruining the "free market system" by "an unjust tax system".

It seems very much like "heads I win and tails you lose". We are presumably expected to be satisfied with devices such as the latest budget for social spending where whites were allocated R2 300 a head, coloureds and Indians R1 000 and Africans R420. The additional R3bn fund is little more than a hiccup.

Democracy is a third concept which lends itself to ideological rhetoric. If democracy means anything it surely means that those who exercise power must be subject to some form of democratic control. So the question you must ask is: To whom should the economic estate be answerable? Only to itself? Much of the rhetoric which accompanies the debate on your side suggests that in a post-apartheid SA there should not be the kind of democratic control over the economy by elected representatives which you say you accept for every other area of social life.

To p42

In addressing the restructuring of our economy we are conscious of the need to minimise damage to growth. But we also insist on the need to begin the process of redressing imbalances. The real question for us is: How is wealth to be more fairly distributed without ignoring the problem of how it is to be created?

RHETORIC

R-Rom Pg?

There is no magic formula on either side of the debate. All concerned must sit down and discuss the complexities of this problem. But one thing is certain: neither the unbridled market economy nor the commandist centralised economy which ignores market forces will lead to an acceptable outcome. Perhaps if we understood one another better we might find more common areas than our rhetoric sometimes seems to suggest.

Our own starting point is that without a meaningful stake by a future state in levels of ownership and control of the engine which drives our economy, the process of correcting racial imbalances will be retarded or will stall completely. It is the precise mechanism of such state intervention which continues to lend itself to being refined both in the interests of economic growth and to a fair distribution of its fruits.

☐ Slovo is general secretary of the SA Communist Party.

Only we can save De Klerk from the Right - Mandela

By Esmaré van der Merwe

LONDON — The ANC was the "only organisation in the entire world" which could help President de Klerk survive the onslaught from the political Right, Nelson Mandela last night told millions of British television viewers.

"If you want to destroy the position of Mr de Klerk, you must ease sanctions on the grounds that you are helping

him. That is one thing that would sink him," the ANC deputy leader said during his only interview in Britain.

He argued that the right wing was accusing Mr de Klerk of bowing to international pressure in his quest for a new non-racial constitution.

The right wing, already accusing Mr de Klerk of selling out the Afrikaners, would "go to town" if punitive measures were

to be eased in an effort to encourage political reform.

"That type of approach helps the right wing to strengthen this propaganda. We (the Government and the ANC) are addressing this matter. It is better left to us, not to the international community.

"Where a government establishes channels of communication between itself and the

masses of the people who are oppressed, there is no need to resort to violence. But where the government bans political organisations, intensifies oppression, the people are entitled to resort to violence to defend themselves."

He added: "Once the Government agrees to remove the obstacles to negotiations we will consider the cessation of hostility. We will consider a truce."

ANC upset by Gumede 'opposition'

Political Staff

The African National Congress (ANC) has expressed its disapproval of United Democratic Front (UDF) co-president Archie Gumede's public opposition to the national stayaway on Monday, Mr Gumede has confirmed.

Mr Gumede said the stayaway, called jointly by the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the UDF, and endorsed by the ANC, was not necessary because not all efforts had been made to resolve the situation in Natal through discussions.

Isolate

The stayaway was meant to isolate KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and to call on the Government to control the violence.

Mr Gumede said he held to his view that the best way to handle the demands made on the Government to intervene in the Natal violence was "first to have discussion then, if they are not successful, to hold a stayaway".

Said Mr Gumede: "It is the duty of the State to protect its people and this responsibility must be brought to their notice. If they don't respond to talk, then further action should be

taken.

"I would not have opted for the stayaway before discussing the matter with them first."

Mr Gumede revealed that UDF publicity secretary and ANC southern Natal convenor Patrick "Terror" Lekota phoned him on Monday to express his approval of Mr Gumede's public opposition to the stayaway.

He said Mr Lekota told him he would get in touch with him again, "and I took it he was going to consult with others."

Anger, he said, was behind the organising of the stayaway, and he did not think acting out of anger was good. He, who lived in the Durban area, was well-positioned to study the situation.

"There was a good response to the call for a stayaway, but it remains to be seen whether it will create a situation where no lives will be lost (in future). If the purpose of the stayaway was not to stop the violence and the loss of human lives, then what was it for?" the UDF leader asked.

However, he said, despite the difference in opinion with the ANC, the matter was "minor" and was not to be construed as any major split between the two organisations' affiliation.

Mr Lekota, who was reported to be in Johannesburg for a meeting, could not be reached for comment.

The real politic: Taking Mandela beyond the latest US fad

There was something peculiarly saddening — infuriating even — about the reception accorded Nelson Mandela in the United States last week.

There he was being compared not only with Moses and George Washington and Martin Luther King, but even Jesus Christ — while being propelled about in a bullet-proof Mandela-mobile to the cheers of hundreds of thousands, specially manufactured ticker tape raining down on him, and a choir exultantly singing the Hallelujah Chorus to America's latest Messiah.

Yes, it was on the one hand an explosion of this country's idealism at its best, a quintessentially American outpouring of goodwill and optimism for the future.

But it also showed a less heartening, more quixotic side: its political immaturity and isolationism, and its naive fondness and fads for glitzy international celebrities from far away, little-understood countries. Corazon Aquino one year, Lech Waleska the next, then Mikhail Gorbachev — and now, Nelson Mandela.

Such people become flavours of the month here, and just about every American suddenly acts as though they have known of them and supported them all their lives. But then, inevitably, disillusion sets in.

The simplified prism through which

Nelson Mandela was possibly just the flavour of the month in the United States, where there is a naive fondness for celebrities from little-understood countries, writes **ANDREW STEPHEN** of The Observer.

America sees the rest of the world distorts perceptions. In the celebrities' own countries, life soon appears more complicated than Americans realised; the celebrities assume mortal rather than Hollywood proportions, and their superstardom fades away.

I say all this because Mandela's eight-city, 12-day tour here was of the utmost importance for him — and hence South Africa. His success depends on transforming his Hollywood persona into that of a real-life politician, a flawed human being like the rest of us who is willing to grasp nettles that will be unwelcome to US leaders and people alike.

He knows perhaps more than anyone, after all, the might of the US — both in the past and in the future. It had the power to have him imprisoned as a result of a CIA tip-off 28 years ago, and through trade con-

tinued to help sustain apartheid more than any other country. Then a miracle happened in the mid-'80s and the US woke up to the realities of apartheid.

Yet Mandela's very honesty and integrity, his unfamiliarity with the importance of the 30-second TV bite directed by the image-makers could itself hasten the process of disillusionment with him: an alarming commentary, if ever there was one, on the state of how opinion is formed here.

It is only in the last three days, for example, that Americans began to learn what Mandela actually believes. It has been a shock to many that — notably unlike Martin Luther King — he still believes in violence. Americans can be remarkably blithe about this when the violence seems far away — a New York street corner next to City Hall has just officially been named after Joseph Doherty, wanted in Britain for the murder of a soldier in Northern Ireland — but are terrified by the prospect of it affecting them.

Then there is his courtship of Yasser Arafat, Fidel Castro, and Muammar Gaddafi — hate figures here, the direct mirror-images of those feted exotic superstars from abroad.

The Zionist lobby here is already beginning a campaign against Mandela's Arafat

connections — he has already seen him three times since his release, more than other international figure — and it was no coincidence that George Bush severed relations with the Palestine Liberation Organisation on the day that Mandela's Canadian Air Force jet touched down.

Mandela made no bones about why he champions such an unlikely trio: "They are placing resources at our disposal to win the struggle," he said simply — a clear warning to Bush of the ANC's need for massive funding.

And the way Castro and Gaddafi run their own countries? "We have no time to look into the internal affairs of other countries."

Like his words on nationalisation — another horror word here — this was not a reply the image-makers would have recommended. Much more of this kind of thing and Mandela will be forgotten by America as quickly as he was discovered.

The superstardom, the Mandela mania of souvenir T-shirts and mugs, is still awash throughout this country; but soon the *real-politik*, the hard talk from the Bushes and the Bakers that bears no relation to the Hollywood glitz, will begin. And then we will learn how much of a hero Nelson Mandela really is to America.

Hurd, Mandela differ on armed struggle, curbs

Citizen
4 July 1990

LONDON. — African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela and British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd held what were described as full and friendly talks in London yesterday, but it was clear they disagreed on the issues of sanctions against South Africa and the ANC's refusal to renounce the armed struggle.

The two emerged briefly to talk to newsmen outside Mr Hurd's official residence after 90 minutes of discussions — the first top-level meeting between the ANC and the British Government.

Prime Minister Mrs

Margaret Thatcher branded the ANC as "terrorist" a few years ago and banned her Ministers from making any contact with it, but invited the ANC deputy president to meet her when he was released in February.

Both confirmed the sensitive issue of Mr Mandela's remarks in Dublin on Monday, that the British Government and the Irish Republican Army should sit down and negotiate a peaceful settlement for Northern Ireland, had also been discussed.

Mr Mandela reiterated an explanation earlier in the day when speaking to Parliamentarians, that he had only been speaking in

general principle against all violence and that he had not expressed any opinion about the Northern Ireland conflict itself.

Mr Hurd said: "We expressed our views, and very strong feeling that the IRA are rejects of a political system (which) failed to convince the electorate and turned to murder and destruction."

The Foreign Secretary described their talks as full and friendly, with Mr Mandela doing most of the talking, laying out the ANC's views on the situation in South Africa and the prospects for further progress towards a settlement with the SA Government.

Mr Mandela said: "There are certain points of difference, but that does not worry me, because once you meet for discussions, the possibility is always there that the gap between the two respective approaches will be narrowed and even close altogether."

"I'm quite aware of the

FROM PAGE 1

position of the British government, especially on the question of sanctions and the armed struggle, and I outlined the approach, and motivation, of the ANC on these.

He said the first meeting, in May, between the ANC and the SA Government had been successful, and he was optimistic about the outcome of the next discussions with Mr De Klerk.

After their talks, Mr Hurd hosted a luncheon for Mr Mandela and a number of guests, including the Archbishop of Canterbury, Robert Runcie, former South African MP Mrs Helen Suzman, film-maker Sir Richard Attenborough, the general secretary of the Trades Union Congress in Britain, Mr Norman Willis, and Britain's ambassador to South Africa, Sir Robin Renwick.

Earlier yesterday, while speaking in a House of Commons committee

room, Mr Mandela said he wanted to put the record straight on his remarks about the IRA.

The Parliamentary Group's chairman, Tory MP Ivor Stanbrook, had in his introduction of the ANC leader, called on him to retract his statement that the British Government should negotiate with the IRA.

"During the (Dublin) Press conference, a journalist asked me about my attitude to the IRA and the British Government.

"I refused to be drawn into that issue. I made no comments about the IRA nor the British Government.

"What I did was to point out that our approach, as the ANC, is that all conflicts, whatever in the world, should be settled peacefully.

"I asked the question: 'What is the use in that parties involved in killing one another and killing innocent civilians ... when they could sit down and address their prob-

lems by peaceful negotiations.

"That is my stand and the stand of the ANC.

"All conflict where people are killed have no right to be allowed," he said to applause from the MPs.

"All people who believe in justice and want to follow the line chartered by the United Nations ought to realise the importance of trying to settle conflicts peacefully ... How does one justify killing human beings when these lives could be saved by negotiated settlement?

"In saying so I was expressing no opinion on the conflict between the IRA and the British Government ... it is for you here to express opinions on that particular issue.

"I am conducting a struggle in my country ... I do not know what is going on in other countries, and I have refrained throughout my tour from participating in the internal affairs of those coun-

tries, especially in the United States where I was called on to express an opinion on racism there.

"I would like you to understand ... I expressed a general opinion which I am prepared to defend for the rest of my days."

During his eight-city US tour, Mr Mandela raised more than R18.2 million for the ANC and Americans paid millions more involuntarily, in tax dollars, for his police protection.

In London yesterday, he was mobbed by supporters after meeting leaders of the British Black community and urging them to fight racism and apartheid.

They clustered around him as he left his hotel.

"Racism has no place in the last decade of this century. We must double and redouble our efforts to defeat the forces of racism and apartheid wherever they may be," he told the Black leaders. —Sapa-AP.

TO PAGE 2

THE CITIZEN 4/7/90 COMMENT

Foot in it

ANC Deputy President, Mr Nelson Mandela, is finding that life on the international circuit does not consist just of adulation and hero worship.

Indeed, every statement he makes is under scrutiny and when he puts a foot wrong, he could well topple from the pedestal on which he is placed by fawning admirers.

His support for Cuban President Fidel Castro, Libyan leader Colonel Muammar Gaddafi and PLO chief Yasser Arafat offended many Americans.

They despise all three of them.

But Mr Mandela, because of the help the ANC received from this awful trio, felt obliged to express his solidarity with them.

This focussed attention on the ANC's connections with terrorist leaders, being a reminder, too, of the terrorism committed by the ANC as part of its "armed struggle."

Even Congressman Howard Wolpe, a leader of the anti-Pretoria lobby in Congress, thought Mr Mandela's remarks were unfortunate.

However, in the glow of the Mandela presence, his remarks were generally overlooked, or forgiven, or brushed aside.

Nevertheless, conservative lobbies will use them in the months to come to attack Mr Mandela and the ANC.

And there will be Congressmen who, though they gave Mr Mandela an ovation when he addressed them, are uneasy about the implications of what Mr Mandela said, the company he keeps and what he stands for.

Mr Mandela's remarks will haunt him at a crucial time in his build up as an international figure, statesman and, as the ANC would have it, State President-in-waiting.

His wife, Mrs Winnie Mandela, does not have his special aura as the world's most famous former political prisoner, or as a deity.

Instead of being the demure wife, as she has been for much of the time since his release, she has projected herself as a person with anti-White feelings (she will go back into the bush, she says, and fight the White man if the negotiations break down) and her infamous remark, "With our matches and with our necklaces, we shall liberate this country," has become a reminder of her part in the 1984-86 unrest.

Her involvement in the Stompie Moeketsi case is also being questioned.

Thus, on top of his other troubles, Mr Mandela will have to endure the embarrassment of his wife's controversial roles and statements.

This week, on the eve of his meeting with the British Foreign Secretary, Mr Douglas Hurd, and Mrs Margaret Thatcher, the British Prime Minister, Mr Mandela made another gaffe.

He suggested that Britain should have talks with the Irish Republican Army even though the IRA has not renounced violence.

No doubt Mr Mandela, seeing the ANC is involved in talks with the government without renouncing violence, believes the same thing should happen in the case of the IRA.

However, the British consider the situation is different, the IRA using terrorism instead of the ballot box and the ANC resorting to terrorism because Blacks do not have the vote.

A simplistic thought that, terrorism being terrorism whatever cause is espoused.

However, it is not just that: The IRA has been particularly beastly recently, killing two British policemen on the beat and bombing the Carlton Club, frequented by British Cabinet Ministers and legislators.

Talking to the IRA is not something even the leader of the British Opposition Labour Party, Mr Neil Kinnock, can support — and he is distancing himself from Mr Mandela on this issue.

Mr Mandela thinks his remarks were distorted, but we can hardly see how he can justify that claim.

He has, in fact, put his foot in it again.

He is going to discover that his words, his associations and the aims of the ANC will be put increasingly under the microscope.

This will throw into prominence the ANC's "armed struggle," with its continued terrorism, albeit against policemen, Black councillors and officials, and his support of it.

100 KwaZulu children have Aids

DURBAN. — Eight nurses, four auxiliary health workers, more than 100 school pupils and 10 school teachers in Natal/KwaZulu are Aids infected, it was revealed yesterday.

Despite their HIV positive conditions, the teachers are thought to be currently employed, the nurses are working in various provincial and KwaZulu hospitals while the scholars are at various schools dotted around KwaZulu.

It is not known whether they have been adequately counselled on their condition or whether they

are taking precautions by having safe sex.

Natal's representative of the Aids Advisory Group, Prof Dennis Pudifin, said the following HIV groups of infected people had been identified by the Natal Blood Transfusion Service during their routine donor and blood testing operations since the beginning of the year: 10 teachers, 118 scholars, eight nurses, four auxiliary health workers, 12 transport drivers and 64 labourers.

Although the nurses were supposedly working with patients they posed no risk to patients as Aids was transmitted mainly by

sexual intercourse, said Prof Pudifin.

"They would obviously take precautions, for example, not come into contact with a patient if they have a bleeding cut," he said.

"The heterosexually transmitted Aids situation is getting rapidly worse with 100 new cases being positively identified in Natal every month," said Prof Pudifin.

He said two thirds of the cases were picked up by various doctors, hospitals and clinics while the other third was picked up by Natal Blood Transfusion Service during their routine testing.

There are now, according to Prof Pudifin, who has the official figures, 2 000 HIV positive cases in Natal of which 300 have been identified since April.

Natal's MEC in charge of health, Dr Tino Volker, said: "It is most worrying that so many people, including teachers and nurses, are obviously disregarding the Aids education campaign.

"I can only urge people to take precautions and to practice safe sex." — Sapa.

300 new SA Aids cases anticipated

ABOUT 300 new Aids cases are expected to be diagnosed in South Africa this year, according to the Department of National Health and Population Development.

Dr H J Lombard, Director of Medical Services of the department, said in Pretoria yesterday 100 new cases had been diagnosed this year up to June 21, while a total of 156 new cases had been diagnosed last year.

Projections were that 60 000 people in South Africa were currently infected with the HIV.

It was impossible he said to say at this stage whether or when a saturation point would be reached for the spreading of the disease in South Africa. — Sapa.

(14)

Mandela Sees Hope For Cease-Fire

LONDON — Nelson Mandela said Tuesday night that it was very likely the armed struggle of the African National Congress in South Africa would be over by the end of this year.

The ANC leader said he had discussed the issue with South Africa's president, F.W. de Klerk. "We have agreed on the removal of the obstacles to negotiations, and I have no doubt that in our second meeting we will achieve this," Mandela said. He said a cease-fire in the armed struggle was "very likely" to occur by the year's end.



Mandela

De Klerk and Western leaders, including President Bush and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, have urged the ANC to give up violence. The ANC's armed campaign has been largely dormant in the past year, but ANC leaders said they couldn't end it until police and troops quit firing on unarmed black protesters.

Roundup

JUL. 4 1990

Inkatha not asked to peace indaba

Political Reporter

LEADERS of the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), the Azanian People's Congress (Azapo) and the National Congress of Trade Unions (Nactu) are to be invited to a peace conference in Natal on August 4 in spite of the fact that they did not support yesterday's stayaway called by the ANC, Cosatu, the UDF and Bayco.

The Joint Working Committee (JWC) of the four organisations said in a statement yesterday it was disappointed at the 'unwarranted, divisive and disruptive statements' of the PAC, Azapo and Nactu and called on them to 'throw in their lot' with the rest of the people instead of engaging in 'senseless political gamesmanship'.

Asked whether Inkatha would be invited to the peace conference, a member of the JWC, Dr Diliza Mji, said it would not be 'logical' to invite that organisation.

The programme of national action envisaged by the ANC, Cosatu, the UDF and Bayco revolved around issues such as the disbanding of the KwaZulu Police and the disarming of 'warlords'.

Govt promise to deal with Natal unrest

Political Reporter

THE Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, had dispelled the fears of Natal businessmen in Pretoria on Monday that the violence in Natal was not being afforded a high priority by the Government.

This was one of the points made at a Press conference yesterday called by the Natal/KwaZulu Business Forum, representing six chambers of commerce and industry in the region as well as the South African Sugar Association.

The chairman, Mr Brian Walleit, said the delegation had expressed its concern to Mr Vlok at what was perceived to be a lack of direction by the State in addressing the issue.

He said the minister had told the delegation that 8 000 peace-keeping and law enforcement officers had been deployed in Natal and a further 1 000 selected men would soon be added to that number.

He said about 48 additional police strong points were to be located in the Province and these would be developed into permanent billets.

Mr Walleit said the Government was examining how best to speed up the judicial process. In addition, Mr Vlok would be putting forward legislative proposals to bolster the present shortcomings in the law governing intimidation.

Divorce orders

FINAL orders of divorce granted in the Supreme Court, Durban, yesterday were: Bernadette Evelyn Britz (b Van Vuuren) v William Leslie Britz; Suleman Mohamed Bey v Zarina Bibi Bey (b Suleman); Shiralee-Ann Penelope Bingham (b Mill) v Ronald Bingham; Patrick Kenneth Chetty v Barbara Chetty (f Govender); Ross Thomas Graham v Debra Valerie Graham (b Davies); Elizabeth Muraour (b Bannister) v Paul Vincent Muraour; Annette Gwendoline Parry (b Visser) v Thomas Victor John Parry; Ashadevi Rajoo (b Pithamber) v Dayalan Ankiah Rajoo.

Wednesday July 4 1990

Daily Express
*** 04/7/90 - London

MRS THATCHER TO CONFRONT ANC LEADER OVER TERRORIST SUPPORT

Nelson showdown

MRS THATCHER will today throw down the gauntlet to Nelson Mandela over his refusal to condemn terrorist violence.

Her challenge will come after the black African leader yesterday backtracked over his call for the Government to negotiate with the IRA without pre-conditions.

Today's historic meeting will concentrate on the two leaders' visions of how South Africa should dismantle the apartheid regime.

While neither is expected to change their views over sanctions, Mr Mandela last night said he was looking forward to the meeting and was "optimistic" they could resolve some of their differences.

The Prime Minister is eager to use the meeting to detail Britain's approach to Pretoria and President de Klerk's reforms.

But she will also use it to again urge Mr Mandela to renounce violence and take him to task over his IRA comments.

Mr Mandela dismayed politicians from all sides with the remarks and yesterday he attempted to heal the rift before meeting Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd.

Speaking at a packed meeting of MPs in Westminster on the first day of an official visit, a tired-looking Mr Mandela said he had not wanted to interfere.

"What I said was to point out that, as with



CHEERFUL: Mr Mandela and Mr Hurd

By NICHOLAS ASSINDER
Chief Political
Correspondent

our approach as the ANC, all conflicts wherever in the world they are found should be settled peacefully."

Innocent

"I asked: What is the use in parties killing one another, killing innocent civilians, when they could sit down and address their programmes by peaceful means.

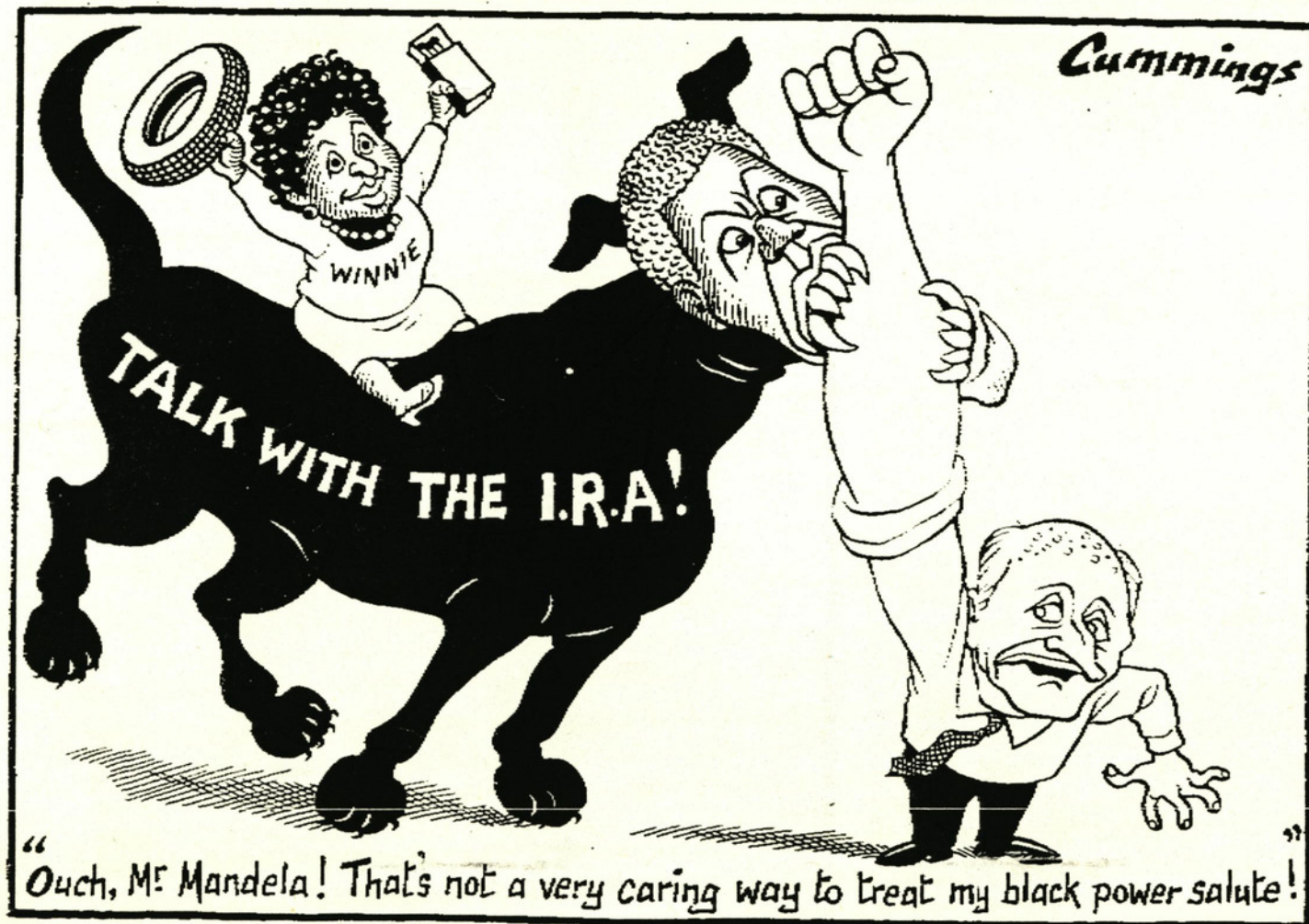
"That is the stand of my organisation. It is my stand. All conflicts where people are killed have no right to be allowed."

●Mr Mandela's wife Winnie arrived three hours late for a school visit yesterday to find the pupils and dignitaries had gone home.

She was delayed by a mix-up over her schedule - and then got lost on the way to Danford School in London's Bethnal Green.

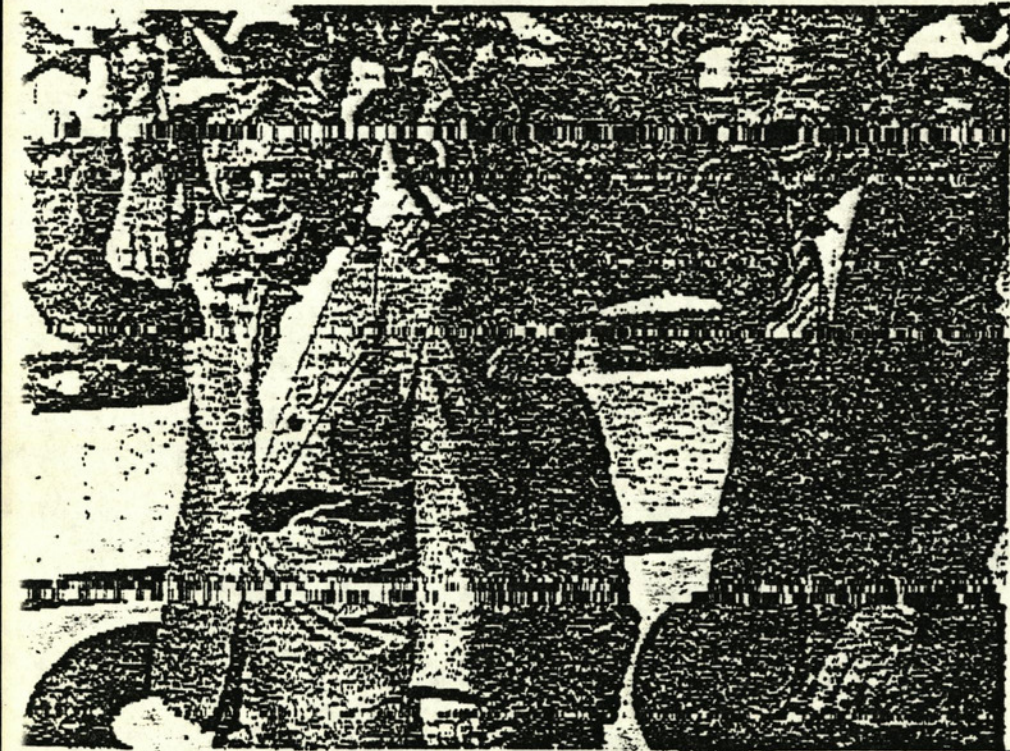


SALUTE: Mrs Mandela in London yesterday



The Daily
Express.
04/7/90
London

4 July 1990



FELLOW - AMERICANS:

BEWARE

NELSON MANDELA

IS NO FRIEND

OF FREEDOM

Nelson Mandela, the African National Congress leader, and Joe Slovo, head of the South African Communist Party, saluting supporters yesterday at a rally in Soweto attended by about 40,000 people. (New York Times Photo and Caption. Clenched fists circled by distributor for emphasis.)

4 July 1990

Speaking from a platform draped in a soviet red hammer and sickle flag, Nelson Mandela left no room for doubt where he stands when at his first public appearance following release from prison he stated: "I salute the South African Communist Party for its sterling contribution to the struggle for democracy. You have survived forty years of unrelenting persecution . . . We are heartened by the fact that the alliance between ourselves and the party remains as strong as it always was." (Detroit News, May 31, 1990)

Shortly thereafter, the People's Daily World, official publication of the Communist Party in the United States, reported in its issue of March 29, 1990 that Mandela met with representatives from communist Cuba in Namibia. At this meeting Mandela paid tribute to Cuba's communist dictator, Fidel Castro, saying: "During all my years in prison, Cuba was an inspiration and Comrade Fidel Castro a tower of strength."

"We have benefitted tremendously from the lessons of the Cuban Revolution and from what Cuba's doing, especially in Africa", he added.

In response, the Cuban communist representative said of Mandela, "Your ideas and strength were an inspiration to all revolutionaries in the world."

If space allowed, much additional evidence could be presented to show that Nelson Mandela is *NO* real liberator *NOR* is he a hero to anyone who truly loves freedom.

Mandela is, in truth, a militant hard-core Marxist revolutionary whose program of "national liberation" and "democracy" we have seen before in the form of the mass human slaughter, murder, oppression and terror that followed the communist conquest of Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam, Mozambique, Angola, China, Cuba, Nicaragua, Eastern Europe and elsewhere.

THEREFORE, until such time as Nelson Mandela withdraws support of and repudiates his alliance with the South African, Cuban, Soviet and all other international communist parties; and until such time as he advocates cleansing the African National Congress (ANC) of communists, especially those holding dominant positions within the ANC; and, finally, until such time as he renounces his belief in and ceases his promotion of the revolutionary program and dogmas of Marxism-Leninism, we say

**NELSON MANDELA,
YOU ARE NOT WELCOME HERE!**

Wednesday 4 July 1990

KwaZulu policemen killed at Umlazi

DURBAN. — Two KwaZulu police were killed in houses belonging to two other KwaZulu policemen were reduced to ashes during weekend attacks on KwaZulu police at Umlazi, south of Durban.

A spokesman for the KwaZulu police said yesterday that Det-Sgt M C Mkhwanazi was shot dead by unknown people on Saturday.

He said the off-duty Sgt Mkhwanazi, who was visiting his brother at R Section, was also stabbed in the stomach. He died on arrival at the King Edward VIII Hospital, Durban.

Another policeman, Det-Const Sandile Maxwell Shabane, stationed at Kwamashu, died after he was attacked by a group of people "armed with all sorts of weapons" on Saturday.

The spokesman said that when Const Shabane tried to run away from his assailants, another group stopped him from the front. He fired a shot from his service pistol, killing one of them.

However, his assailants eventually caught up with him and tracked him to death.

The spokesman said South African Defence Force members arrived at the scene while the attack was still in progress. They fired several shots, wounding one person, who was subsequently arrested.

In another incident, a house belonging to a warrant officer in the KwaZulu police was petrol-bombed by a group of unknown people. The house was also fired at, resulting in his wife and son being shot.

Damage estimated at R70 000 was caused. Sapa

4/7/90 Citizen

Xhosas and Zulus using SA economy as battlefield CP

Citizen Reporter

THE National Party government, with Monday's nationwide stayaway, allowed the Xhosas and Zulus to misuse South Africa's economy as a battlefield in their power struggle. The conservative Party spokesman on Trade and Industry, said yesterday.

The stayaway cost the SA economy R750 million when three million workers stayed away from work in an attempt to pressure the government to end the Natal violence.

Mr Nolte said it appeared from the happenings on Monday that the recent lifting of the general state of emergency by the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, had been foolish and premature.

The state of emergency, he said, had provided the means to act against the ANC (South African Communist Party) Xhosa inspired economic sabotage, and now the state was powerless to act against such economic raids.

The estimated loss of R750 million must be re-

trieved from somewhere.

If this was of a one-off nature, the government could have made some or other excuse, but this stayaway action falls within a larger action which indicates the total economic chaos awaiting South Africa.

He said it was clear that the main target in the action was the Zulu nation, and it could also be deduced that the boycotters wanted the state of emergency lifted in Natal as well.

If this happens, the building season in Dur-

ban will be open. They seem to be one of the main stumbling blocks to the ANC on its way to the negotiating table.

The Joint Working Group organising the week of action said it was clear to them that the looting and burning in Durban, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, still do not appreciate the gravity of the situation.

"We want to say to Buthelezi that it is time he put the interests of the people before his own personal political ambition."

Despite our obvious political differences with him, we hold dear the principle of political association, and believe that mutual co-existence with Inkatha is possible without the shield of the Kwa Zulu Police and the Kwa Zulu Bantustan.

A political analyst, Professor David Welsh, head of South African Studies at the University of Cape Town, yesterday told The Citizen that the fact that many Black consciousness movements did not support the action underlined the lack of unanimity in Black politics.

If it was correct that three million stayed away then Consani and the ANC were by far the biggest in Black politics.

'Historic' stayaway hailed by organisers

THE stayaway on Monday, which marked the beginning of the National Week of Action declared by the ANC, Cosatu, the UDF and Sayco, drew "overwhelming support" from the people of South Africa, according to a joint statement by the organisations.

It said yesterday the action had "historic significance" in that it:

- Was one of the largest stayaways ever in South Africa's history.

- Was conducted in a peaceful and disciplined manner.

- Focused national and international attention on an issue which hitherto had been in-

correctly portrayed as a Natal problem.

It said the "tremendous support" for the stayaway was "a clear indication that our organisations do in fact enjoy overwhelming support from the people of this country."

Through their national mass action, our people have signalled to State President F W de Klerk, to the business community, and to all who choose to remain indecisive in their stand on the Natal violence, that no party can today claim innocence in this war.

While the cost of stayaways is heavy, the cost of allowing the violence to continue, is unending devastation in

terms of economic cost in human life and abject pain for the people of this region.

Notwithstanding the disciplined and restrained conduct of our people in effecting the stayaway, there are those who are claiming that the action was marked by intimidation and conflict. We have evidence to prove that in those instances where conflict did arise, it was the police who were the main instigators.

The actions of the security forces leave us with no doubt that it is Law and Order Minister (Adriaan Vlok who has lost control, and lacks the will and capacity to rein in his forces.

Daily
~~Mail~~
 Mail.
 04/7/90
 London

The Hurd lecture

Mandela given the facts after his blunder on IRA talks

By JOHN DICKIE
 Diplomatic Correspondent

NELSON MANDELA got a history lesson on the IRA yesterday from Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd.

And he can expect a similar lecture today from Mrs Thatcher.

'The IRA are the rejects of a political system,' Mr Hurd told the veteran African National Congress leader.

He was responding to Mr Mandela's advice during his visit to Dublin that Britain should talk to the IRA without requiring them to lay down their arms.

Blunt

Mr Hurd left him in no doubt about the 'strong feelings of everybody here'.

The facts he put to Mr Mandela about the IRA were blunt: 'There are completely free elections in both the North of Ireland and the Republic. Their friends put up candidates, their candidates are rejected.

'Having failed to persuade people in free elections, they turn to murder.'

After setting out the facts for Mr Mandela, the Foreign Secretary said he had 'cleared up the position'. But when Mr Mandela goes to No 10 today,

Mrs Thatcher will hammer home the history lesson. Mr Mandela put a brave face on it yesterday, saying he was looking forward to the talks and was 'very optimistic' about them.

He gave some ground in the controversy yesterday when he admitted that he knew nothing about the troubles in Ulster. He told MPs that they were the only people who



Late arrival ... Mrs Mandela greeted by pupils and staff at Daneford School

By HAL AUSTIN
 and JO HAYNES

IT was meant to be the climax of a triumphant visit for a man whose plight touched the hearts of people all over the world.

But Nelson Mandela, visibly worn and exhausted, disappointed hundreds of supporters as he struggled to carry out only three of his scheduled six engagements.

The day started for the South African black nationalist with an early morning meeting for leaders of the black community at his Park Lane hotel. What was meant to be an orderly

HUNDREDS LEFT WAITING BY THE MISSING VIPs

get-together was reduced to a rowdy shambles when some of the Londoners mobbed Mr Mandela.

The strain took its toll on the 72-year-old leader and he returned to his hotel room for a 90-minute rest, delaying an 8.45am meeting with Liberal Democratic leader Paddy Ashdown and Sir David Steel. The Mandelas arrived at the Commons at 9.50am — an hour late —

saw the two Liberal Democrats for five minutes then hurried to meet the all-party committee on South Africa.

They left the House of Commons on time, Mr Mandela for a working lunch at Carlton House Terrace with Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd, and his flamboyantly dressed wife for a visit to Daneford School in Bethnal Green, East

London. For some reason he arrived 90 minutes late and she was an astonishing three hours overdue at the school for underprivileged children. When she did arrive, the children and waiting police had already left.

But she returned in the afternoon and was mobbed by the excited children.

Mr Mandela emerged from his lunch just after 3pm looking weary and headed back to his hotel — cancelling the rest of the day's engagements.

Norman Willis, general secretary of the TUC, was told that Mr Mandela was not going to keep an evening appointment with trade union leaders at Congress House.

could solve the province's problems. The ANC vice-president left it until the end of a 25-minute prepared speech at Westminster to 'put the record straight'.

'I'm conducting a struggle in my own country. I do not know what is going on in other countries,' he said.

'I was expressing no opinion on the conflict between the IRA and the government.' He

told MPs: 'It is for you here to express opinions on that specific issue.'

But Tory Ivor Stanbrook, the Chairman of the Commons All Party Committee on South Africa, was clearly not satisfied. 'Some of us still wish you had condemned the violence of the IRA,' he said tersely as Mr Mandela sat down. His tough line provoked fury among Opposition MPs

who formed an angry circle around him in Westminster Hall after the meeting.

Many accused him of ruining an historic occasion with 'small mindedness'.

'You ought to be bloody ashamed of yourself,' said Labour's Dennis Skinner. 'When you have been in jail for 27 years, you might have a different view as well.'

ANC optimistic on timescale for lifting sanctions

John Gittings and Hella Pick

THE ANC and the South African government could agree to ask the international community to lift sanctions, even before the end of the year, a senior ANC official said yesterday as Nelson Mandela prepared to meet Mrs Thatcher.

Mr Thabo Mbeki, the ANC's foreign affairs spokesman, insisted at a meeting of newspaper and television editors in London that there was no timescale and it could be much longer before sanctions could be lifted. But he stressed that the ANC had no precise definition of pre-conditions.

Mr Mandela told the meeting that he hoped to "narrow the gap" with Mrs Thatcher on the issues of sanctions and armed struggles. He said that both countries had strong historical ties and praised the "clear opposition of the British Government and people" to apartheid in the past.

He shrugged off the row over his remarks on the IRA as a dead issue. "I was happy to be assured that this is not an issue between us and the British Government," he said. "It does not really worry me."

Mr Mbeki said the conditions laid down in the Harare Declaration in 1989 for the lifting of sanctions had been overtaken by the more general view, endorsed by the European Community and the UN General Assembly, that "profound and irreversible change" should occur first.

The implication of his remarks was that the political process had overtaken the need for precise formulas. The ANC and President F. W. de Klerk's government, acting together, could judge when the moment was right to ask the world for financial help.

Mr Mbeki said, in a clear reference to Britain, that unilateral decisions could destabilise the negotiations, even if taken with the best intentions.

Mr Mandela insisted that the ANC understood the difficult position of President de Klerk and argued that premature lifting of sanctions could weaken him. The right wing was arguing that Mr de Klerk acted on the instructions of Britain and the US, and they would interpret lifting of sanctions as a

reward by the great powers.

He said he would make a strong case with Mrs Thatcher that armed struggle was adopted by the ANC only when it had no alternative. "It cannot be a correct approach to condone violence by the oppressed, but to tolerate it when used by the oppressor," he said.

Earlier in the day, Mr Mandela told an all-party meeting in the House of Commons that he had no intention of expressing an opinion on the Irish struggle when he had talked in Dublin about the need for peaceful resolution of conflicts. He was affirming a general principle, "which I am prepared to defend to my dying days".

He made the same points during talks with the Foreign Secretary, Douglas Hurd, who said afterwards that he had listened carefully and that it had cleared up the position as far as Mr Mandela was concerned.

Mr Mandela may, however, have compounded his problems with Mrs Thatcher by suggesting yesterday that the UN could be used for the peaceful settlement of conflicts, even where they concerned the internal affairs of member states.

Government sources indicated that Mrs Thatcher planned to tell Mr Mandela when he visits Downing Street today that Britain did not negotiate with terrorists and had no intention of negotiating with the IRA or its political arm.

Mr Mandela, deputy leader of the ANC, does not intend to remind Mrs Thatcher that less than three years ago she was describing it as a terrorist organisation. Mrs Thatcher receives him today as an honoured guest and a key figure in negotiations to settle South Africa's future.

Michael White adds: Mr Mandela last night predicted that a ceasefire between the South African Government and the ANC was "very likely by the end of this year".

Speaking on BBC TV's Newsnight, he said that both sides in South Africa were seriously seeking a solution to the post-apartheid era. He had no doubt that at his second meeting with President De Klerk they would remove obstacles to full negotiation. But Mr Mandela again refused invitations to specifically condemn the IRA while expressing his abhorrence of all political violence.

The
Guardian
04/7/90
London

London
Daily Telegraph. 04/7/90

NEWS

Picture: ERIC ROBERTS



Mr Nelson Mandela, ANC leader, meeting Mr Hurd, Foreign Secretary, in London yesterday

MRS WINNIE MANDELA apologised for a mix-up in her itinerary yesterday after she arrived three hours late at an east London school to find 500 pupils, dignitaries and teachers had gone home. *Philip Sherwell.*

She returned to Daneford Boys School in Bethnal Green two hours later, by which time staff had hastily re-assembled

Winnie late for school

the welcoming party. Mrs Mandela had been due at the school at 9am, but instead accompanied her husband to Parliament. When she finally arrived at midday, her driver had to ask a policeman whether they were in the right place as there was nobody waiting for them.

Mrs Mandela, a patron of the Daneford Education Trust, based at the school, left for a tour of the Institute of Contemporary Arts in the Mall before returning at 2pm.

Miss Christine Chapman, headmistress, said: "Mrs Mandela did not want to disappoint

the children so she came back later. She apologised profusely and certainly made amends. The children were delighted." Mrs Mandela told the children she hoped they would use exchange visits arranged by the trust to build up friendship. "I am greatly honoured to be part of this school," she said. The children should have been at home because the school was closed for a staff training day.

Mandela hints at ceasefire in South Africa

By George Jones, Political Editor

NELSON MANDELA held out the prospect last night of an end to the armed struggle in South Africa this year, after resolving his differences with the Government over the IRA on the eve of his first meeting with Mrs Thatcher in Downing Street today.

Mr Mandela, vice-president of the African National Congress, said a ceasefire was very likely before the end of the year.

His assurances followed an appeal from Mr Hurd, Foreign Secretary, during their talks yesterday, for an early commitment to abandoning the armed struggle to secure reform in South Africa.

Interviewed on BBC Television's Newsnight programme, Mr Mandela said the South African government and the ANC had agreed to the removal of obstacles to negotiation.

"There is no doubt in my mind that both the Government and ourselves are serious in seeking a solution," he said.

However, Mr Mandela again refused to condemn the IRA, though he sought to play down the row over his earlier remarks that the Government should engage in negotiations without waiting for an end to the violence.

He said: "Violence from whatever quarter is to be condemned, but I again refuse to be drawn into expressing an opinion on any specific controversy."

Earlier, Mr Mandela was involved in angry scenes when he addressed a 150-strong group of MPs at Westminster.

In a 25-minute prepared speech he did not mention the IRA but, responding to a request from Mr Ivor Stanbrook, Conservative MP for Orpington who was chairing the meeting, he said he wanted to put the record straight.

During a press conference in Dublin on Monday, he said, he had been asked about his attitude to the IRA and the British Government. "I refused to be drawn into that issue. I made no comments about the IRA nor the Government," he said.

"What I said was to point out that our approach as the ANC is that all conflicts, wherever in the world they are found, should be settled peacefully."

He had not wanted to interfere in the internal politics of Britain.

Daily
Telegraph.
04/7/90
London



04/7/90 London

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NOT WITHOUT HONOUR

Nelson Mandela arrived back in London this week on a wing and a gaffe. His second world tour has embraced such rituals of international stardom as apotheosis by the American media and a bad stumble over Irish politics. Neither signifies much. American hero-worship of distant idols is nothing new; and some salute to this remarkable man is certainly due. As for the IRA, Mr Mandela would have been well-advised to say nothing at all on the subject. But he is not the first visiting politician to fall into the IRA trap. As Americans discovered with his references to Fidel Castro and Colonel Gaddafi, even the most impeccable "freedom fighter" has debts to pay.

Mr Mandela has other debts yet to be cleared. His mission round the world has been a plea for economic sanctions on South Africa to be maintained. His campaign for others to declare economic aggression on South African jobs as a "bargaining counter" loses all meaning when he pleads at the same time for businessmen and bankers to show confidence in South Africa's future. The price of sanctions is paid in black wages, as the coalminers of the Rand know well. There is no evidence that sanctions have hastened change. Whether they have or not, they are gross interference. Mrs Thatcher is right to say that President de Klerk deserves a gesture of relief from such interference.

On sanctions, as on the armed struggle, the ANC's travelling circus is trapped by its own rhetoric. Two decades of political isolation have slowed the erosion of apartheid. The ANC, since its unbanning, has emerged as a deeply conservative Marxist hierarchy whose ideological base has collapsed along with that of its backers in Zambia and Eastern Europe. The party is now struggling — in Mr Mandela's case struggling hard — to come to terms with the consequences.

The ANC is having to accept that its socialist past is now counterproductive in its appeal to both black and white South Africans. Former "friends" such as Erich Honecker in Berlin and Kenneth Kaunda in Lusaka have disappeared or are beleaguered. Mr Mandela went to some lengths in yesterday's speech at Westminster and in his meetings with businessmen in South Africa and London to support a mixed economy and to recognise the importance of profits and of allowing new investors to export

their dividends. His support for sanctions damages but does not wholly subvert this turn away from socialism. Mr Mandela's ANC is scrambling towards economic sanity, in the nick of time.

He and his colleagues have a far bigger challenge on their hands. The ANC must urgently find the means to democratic legitimacy, at least within the black community, before groups to the right and left call its bluff. Mr Mandela is travelling the world as the inspiration of black people everywhere. But back home, the prophet's honour is more limited. Radical township youths are cutting his face from their T-shirts. In Natal, his high-flown pleas for peace have not stopped a murderous civil war. The ANC has managed to retain a remarkable spread of support among blacks and Coloureds — except in Zulu Natal — but this support could crumble as the party begins constitutional talks with the government. Hence its reluctance to speed negotiations. Hence the need to reorganise the party on some post-Marxist democratic basis.

The dominant image in South Africa at present has Messrs Mandela and de Klerk clinging desperately to each other as political rebellion simmers behind their backs. Both are wise enough to know this. But it is Mr Mandela who is traipsing the globe preaching intransigence, while back home Mr de Klerk yearns for some relief, a sanction lifted, a sports tour, a promise of non-violence, to stave off the ever more militant right wing. Within their respective hegemonies, Mr de Klerk has the greater accountability just now. His fall would be a disaster for Mr Mandela, yet the latter seems unable to offer the slightest help.

That, however, is South Africa's business. The best help that the rest of the world can offer is to leave them to sort out their salvation alone. South Africa is about to enter a critical six months of barter. To win through, it needs no sanctions, no aid, no persecution, no favouritism, no interference, no weapons, no propaganda, no attention, no fuss. A crudely racist state has, under Mr de Klerk, travelled a long way down down the road of good intentions in a short time. The wounds of apartheid are not yet treated, let alone healed. In this crucial process the outside world has no useful part to play. The patient must be left in peace.

LONDON: EW 3175 PRO

IRA comments 'pre-emptive strike before Thatcher talks'

AFRICAN National Congress officials in Johannesburg yesterday interpreted Nelson Mandela's suggestion that the British Government should talk to the IRA as a calculated, pre-emptive strike before today's meeting with Margaret Thatcher, not as the gaffe of an ill-advised elderly gentleman.

"Mr Mandela is well aware of British sensitivities on the question of the IRA," an adviser to the ANC leadership said. "But he is also aware that Mrs Thatcher plans to press him to abandon the armed struggle so as to help [President F W] de Klerk sell the idea of negotiations to the white constituency."

"So the intention is to defuse Mrs Thatcher's arguments by highlighting her failure to try to resolve the Northern Ireland problem in the way that she counsels the problem in South Africa should be solved."

Should Mr Mandela, the deputy president of the ANC, personally question Mrs Thatcher's

From John Carlin
in Johannesburg

right to preach to him when she cannot put her own house in order, today's meeting will — as expected — prove to be the least amicable of his 13-nation tour.

In the best of circumstances, it would have been an encounter between an unstoppable force and an immovable object. Mr Mandela, who is nothing if not gallant, may well choose to drop the Irish issue altogether. Mrs Thatcher may bite her tongue. But even then Mr Mandela's arguments in favour of continuing sanctions are certain to make no impression on Mrs Thatcher.

Mrs Thatcher's contention, for her part, that the ANC's "talk" of armed struggle — more bombs go off in London than in Pretoria — serves only to undermine the attempt to find a peaceful solution to the apartheid problem, will meet a similarly inflexible response. For the mo-

ment, Mr Mandela has judged, it remains in the best interests of his own organisation to persist with the militant rhetoric, even if it is at the cost of stoking white fears to Mr de Klerk's detriment.

The peace process in South Africa has moved too fast for the ANC's grassroots supporters. Many of them find the adjustment from a policy of revolution to a policy of compromise — implicit in accepting negotiations — is proving difficult. The best Mrs Thatcher can hope for from Mr Mandela is a commitment to suspend, but not to renounce, the armed struggle in the future, when "the masses" have been satisfactorily re-educated.

For all the potential tension, the possibility does exist of the meeting descending into a cordial exchange of views. Mr Mandela does recognise that Mrs Thatcher is opposed to apartheid, even if there is disagreement on what form the opposition should take. The safest ground of all today will be the



impending negotiations between the ANC and the government over the shape of the constitution in "the new South Africa".

If Mr Mandela sticks to his vision of what the political system might look like, steering clear of economics and his plans for redistributing the country's wealth, then lunch might yet go down tolerably well.

04 July 1990

Mandela Hopeful on Thatcher Talks And Tries to Defuse Remark on IRA

By Sheila Rule

New York Times Service

LONDON — Nelson Mandela expressed optimism Tuesday about the prospects of narrowing his differences with Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher over the issue of economic sanctions in South Africa, as he sought to defuse a controversy sparked by his comments about the Irish Republican Army.

On the first day of a two-day official visit to Britain, Mr. Mandela met Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd for lunch to discuss the prospects for progress in South Africa.

After the meeting, Mr. Hurd said that he had emphasized to Mr. Mandela that Britain was "anxious to do everything we could to help without interfering in South Africa's affairs."

Mr. Mandela, deputy president of the African National Congress, said: "I stressed the historical ties between Britain and South Africa and expressed the hope that these ties would be strengthened."

The South African nationalist

leader, nearing the end of a strenuous tour that has covered Western Europe and the United States, said he was optimistic about his scheduled talks on Wednesday with Mrs. Thatcher.

The talks were expected to cover the role of what the ANC calls its armed struggle, and the use of sanctions, vigorously championed by the ANC, in moving toward a multiracial democracy in South Africa.

Britain has condemned violence as a strategy and been criticized by Mr. Mandela for easing some sanctions — including a ban on new investment in South Africa — in the belief that President Frederik W. de Klerk should be encouraged in his efforts to achieve change.

Mr. Mandela suggested that there was a possibility of narrowing the gap between the two positions and said: "There are some points of difference. That does not worry me."

The issue was overshadowed Tuesday by the controversy surrounding remarks Mr. Mandela made in Dublin on Monday that

appeared to suggest that the British government should open talks with the IRA.

The IRA has been waging a guerrilla war for 20 years to try to force Britain out of Northern Ireland. Britain has said that it will not consider talks until the group puts down its weapons.

The dispute arose after Mr. Mandela replied to a question about the IRA at a press conference, where he said: "People are slaughtering one another when they could sit down and address the problems in a peaceful manner."

Mr. Mandela later said that he had been misinterpreted and, amid criticism from all of Britain's main political parties and newspapers on both left and right, attempted to clarify his position at a meeting with 150 members of Parliament.

Insisting that he had not sought to interfere in British politics, he said that he had been speaking about conflict in general and not specifically about Northern Ireland.

Herald
Internationals

Tribune

04/7/90

London

ITEMS

20 Pages