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I mncramu From. leadu Terrur L9-
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I African National Cohgress leader
, Nelson Mandela. mMrum sup-
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TaE TlMEg FRIDAY JANQW

Mandela reaffirms
suppol't for state
control of industry
From Gavin Bell, Johxneshurg
Nelson Mandela, tht: b'ac'x
muomtm leader expected tn
be released from pnsn next
month, has demed reports
thathe no tango! thvours state
control of key sectors of the
South. African economy and.
mamcd his commitment to
the nationalization of biey
industries and tinnncinl in-
ttitvtion; in a post-apmneid
society.

In 3 mo public mtement
frbm hi: warden villa at
Victor Vemcr pawn in the
wutem Cape, Mandela tm-
plicity Nected the Govern-
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and ruled out any com-
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'"I'ho uauondmtwn of m:
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(givcn ('tbc widcst publicity"
The declaration contra-
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to Mr RJChltd Mapcm'aa.
black businessman, who via!
itcd him m prison earlier this
month. Mr anonya was
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AMcan economy Owin
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confusion and anxiety in Mack
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JANUARYZSJW) 11'
 Mandela'xeaffirms
 ANC ycommitment
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 'By Stephen Robinson in Johannesburg
 MR NRISON. MAN DELLA; the jailed African National
 Congress leader, publicly reaffirmed asteqday the.
 rsrgrmxiaalim's cmnmitment to wholcsg.g nauonahsa-
 n'on. including the banks and mine?i 'and said any shift
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 l: The statement was issmzd on
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 E newspaper published a docu-
 i mgnt written by Mr Mandela
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 .It is the first time any exten-
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 : puhhshed since his famous ad.

I dyess t9 ghe court which Jailed
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THE GUARDIAN

Friday: January 26

1990

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 . The document deals with
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11111 GUARDIAN _,
Friday Januarv 26 1990
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2 11 111111911
ANC) leader pushes
for lastmg peace ,3
T he 10110wlng" 18 the text of the document submitted by the 1911911 ANC
leader, Nelson Mandela. 119111 to South Africa' 8 former state presl-
dent MrP W Botha before 1119111111119 1991319111 11 Is 1113 11191 compre-
nensive statement of 0011111291 principIe since his famous "statement!
from the dock" ln the 1964 13111019911131. The document triggered the
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26 JAN 1990

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2 countries 55 'w the government, dwlal that hues spartan! on' the i white; on structural
: guaran-

' aCommumst. currentcivil strife. . man that majority :lle win net

. It would appear tc be astabv I By insia'tuxz on complianw mean damlnaum: cf the white

! lithe!) gavaxxmam policy that; . with the above mentioned con- minvnty by blacks '

' an long as the Nauonml Party is ; ditiona before there' can ha The most cruxad (Mk whi
ch

items, the government clearly will face the aavcmun: and .

.mnnrmgghm, l! wantmm peace tha'ANC will be to reconcile '

in this country but turmoil. ms tlxaaetwo positions.

g in power in We country, thaw

lcun" be no back freedom

. struggls, and no mack fraadozn

H'leluar. Any black Qontlcui stronzvand indegeudeu'. ANQ ! Such renaultlliuuun wm hi:

or anisauan which. Aka us. but a weak and scrvue organi- : achieved only if bum parties

9 :13 m. M thus zibaraunt or us satian playingasupportwc role : are w?!ling m com-wxmsef'
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' wcpluthmugh. mmed strugghia, gm white minority rule, not a wrqamsatmn wilt datcrmine

7 must invariably he dominmed vuonnaligned ANC, but 011:: precisely haw negonattans

by me SACP. . - 1 which is a satellite of the Wash shwldbe cmxduuwd..

This. attitude is an: only mo X and whichm ready to aerve the 1". may. well be that 9
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3 mun of aavarnmn; propa 1 human cm italism. 1 should b9 dorm a! least In twm

;ganda,- it is a logical (.an-g Nu worthy mans era Frw .stages. Thu first. where the

:quencu of white supremacy. dam muwmtmt win ever mb- 1 organisation and the govern.

iAfter more than 390 years cf lmm conditions which are 83- 1 went wgl work out (f.gtathc
-rthu

imam humairhmtion,lm coun- semian' terms of surrender brconuition for a proper cli.

ym'w white: havo (1.3%:er dictateu by a victorious cam, mate for rzegnnaucns; Up to

such deepscamd .contempt for munaer m u beaten wkemy 5W! now 116131 19mm 113% 33mph?

blackusto believe that we cun- , which :eully intended n to pew broadcaatm (hair com!!-

I not mink m; ourselves. that we ' weaken the organisation am: to . hairy: for negotmtwns
withnut

- gare mcapa'ule uf lighting (m our)mmlllawituleademD. . '- putdnz them directly to eac
h

gncliticzd rights without mciw- The key to lhe whole) snua- other. . ' ,

ration Him is u negotiates! settlement, . Tho wwnd Stage wnm ha

I In accusing the AN of dumb and ameatinx between thugmr- I the actual minimums tham-

f Iwunn bythe SACP, and In cnll- ernmen: arm tha ARC wm be t selves when the climb; is ri
pe

King On the ANC membavs to the first anm' step towards ! for dam: m, Any other an
renounce the paH'y, the govern lending wave in (he country. ' pmacn wauld mm tha danger
. meat is deliberately exploiting better re axioms withpur neigh- hfanirwwlvable smltmnw.
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respected despite the fact that ! ta anterxmional markris am! and to normalise ma naumrw;
.isa pmnvot' demucratic rule in i improved international rela- political siriuamvn. I'hop
e ywiz
5 many commas of the world. It I Mm; gwerany. . . . will seize 1: wkhuut twin. I'm?-
Hs a principle which 15 fully ac- Ar; accord with the ANS. and
memed m the white politica 0!" tin: introductzon (if a 'rmn-racm . maiarw
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thxs country' . scams! 1:: the' only way m which I Mack And whim. home 1:. ms: mu
0835/ MW mat the quirk rsai- our rich and beautiful country 1 ANC and the gmmmw work
113/ as dawned that apartheid win he saved Rom the gt: a , in; closely together m lay t
he
' has failed. and that blacks with I which repels the world.
one day have an effectjve voice ' Two political! isgtm le have
' ln ovemmenl.. are wa told by to be nddmssadm such a meet- .
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em Shanda. that majorlw rum 1 jocity rule 3r. tummy state, deathand dcskustmn will b
is a disaster to be avoided at all secondly, the conuam of was forgotten. . .
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able :6 Whites as long as it 13
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1 ol'whiie 'oliiice. , .
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' 'WM
does not raise blacks to a 1303!-
tinn of equality with whsiecs. '
' Yet majority rule and inter
m4! Izaaca are nus the two'sides
(vi a sin 19 coin, and white .
South M can simply bu to ac- '
cent that'tbnre will never be
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9 fully applied. '
' lth precisely because of Its
denial that the government Fm '

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7'XveGuardian
22 ,9_9..M..__Mau;
J tahmes wiid their respects: it' be- E
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of peace _
Mandalay,
offers '
E HEN NELSON Mandela
met Saul?! Africa's Presi-
2 dent P.W.Bama last July, It
wa-z appropriawly destrided m; u
mntast between "two cunning old
bulisJKThe full text of the statement
wmch ha tirxxzk to that meeUng.';mb-
lished for the hrs: nme ln todays
Guardian, aliuws us to sea just haw
decisively the ANC hem wan,
through Mr Mundela. the first
round. Mr Mandela's argument in
July 1989 was an the facv of :t defer).
sive - almost a plea tn the South
African governmem to Max its pre-
conditiuns and allow negotiations to
begin. But it was a shrewdiy judged.
move which appealed to Mr Butha's
desire for a last moment of glory as
he Sank frmn pawma Little more
than half a year later, Mr Botha's
, sumemr '13 trapped in the cycle of
' rising expecwlons which has set in
motion. Mr Mandela must be
relieased, and negotiations must
begin, or else President RW, De
Klerk's administration will quickly
Jase the shine otiits glossy new 100k
And since the Haram declaration of
the Organisatimi of Amgsan Unity in
August last year. it is increasingly
Hue ANG which has haen dominating
the. discussxon over- tha pre-commv
dam: and age .da for talks.,
Many of Mr Mandala's friends -
even briefly his wife __. were con.
Fused to begin with. But the release
of Mr Mandela was billed as top or
the agenda for Mr De Kierk's new
wbizwt And, as a stream of visitors
ih'cluding other samm- AFC (16-
much to
..-_. 2 nv
I the wider political (:Hmcf ihe four 1 did Lurimately'ir will still he deczdad
. years oflntrnal struggle led by the; 'by 'the (Warm bedam-e uf farms in
E E " South Africa. WhiteEpazvar has hum;
wvaened but tl'tere 13 m reason m
it to surrender. Mr Mandem Ins:
duly streasedhls mnmgum mum
. trgcturnl guarantsas" to em-
sure that EEmajority rule mil nu:
mean dminamn of the whim m2.
nor'ity by blacks? But he also am
phaslsed Um: 'E'nmiorlty mic: and inv
.E'EDIBBE'PQSCB am like the twrs sides Of
happening: a twmtage pranceea m; 1'6 '5hagld'icdn." In the light 31' the
historical; racord m) Em: of blank per-
sistence in pursuing the strtgglo,
. 2 this has mm viewed as; a :tataumt .

going public when no longer if) Mr. not just of principle but of fact,
Mandela is reasonable, this should be? There is a further
followed very soon by an announced Y. horns ahead.

Mass Democratic Movement were
E. Dower's study supplemented by me -
& a decisive economic effect of international
but it was still Mr
Mandela who judged the moment
normal reassurance.

right. and judged it rightly. 2
Mr Mandela's statement in July
1989 ended with an appeal for peace.
proposed what we can now see 19;
which the ANC and the Pretoria
government first work out the pre-
conditions for negotiations, before
conciliation and compromise. He also
2 sides 'Es

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input of the Earths on which talks will " 2.2.222-4:

will take place. The government
may well seek at first to dilute these
by, for example, only announcing a
partial lifting of the state of emer-
gency, or un-banning the United
Democratic Front but not the ANC.
But unless it is willing to suffer the
enormous loss of prestige if Mr Man-
del before long be obliged to accept
substantially the preconditions set
out at Harare. in essence these are
to release all political prisoners un-
conditionally, lift all sanctions pro-
scribed against the people and organisations.
end the state of emergency and all
political trials. While it may be an
article of faith with the ANC's exter-
nal organisation not to concede in
advance the possibility of ending
armed struggle. others would logically
also expect some substantial gesture
in this direction if the ultimate for
talks was transformed to the extent
that Mr Mandela was already pro-
posing last July. , - - v

All of this is only round one of the

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; de la's release fails to lead to talks, 2t

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E. contest. Compromise and reconcilia-
tion are excellent sentiments, but go :
one involved will easily forget that
politics in this case is continuing the
fight for majority rule by other
means. This issue is the nub of the
whole thirty years of conflict. If

4 then were any easy accommodation

E it would have been found long ago.

2-...-...A ... 2..7-...4....-...'-... , -

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