

THE
WEEKLY
MAIL

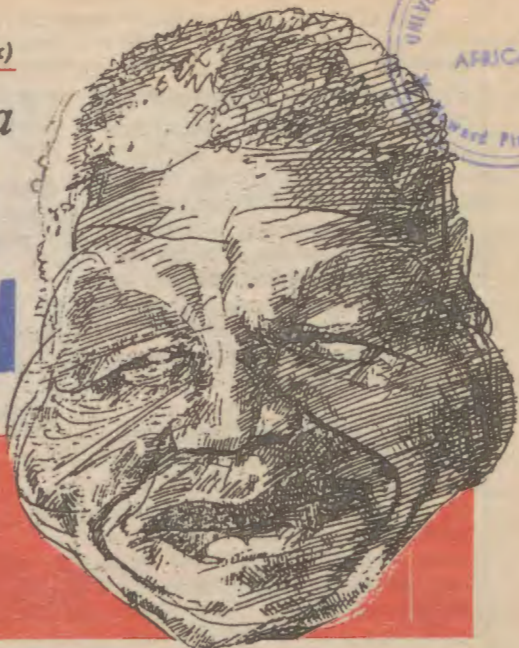


University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

THE WEEKLY MAIL

The paper for a changing South Africa

Volume 6, Number 5, Friday February 16 1990 to Thursday February 22 1990



SOUVENIR MANDELA SUPPLEMENT

Pictures, anecdotes and reminiscences from the early life of Nelson Mandela

WEEKLY MAIL INTERVIEW

MANDELA SPEAKS

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In his first press interview, the ANC leader talks about the need for flexibility

Interviewed by
GAVIN EVANS
and **SHAUN JOHNSON**

NELSON MANDELA said yesterday that he was willing to be flexible over fundamental issues — even minority rights. Interviewed at his Soweto home, the 71-year-old African National Congress patriarch told the *Weekly Mail* there was no such thing as a “non-negotiable” issue.

“Once you say this particular issue is not negotiable, you are destroying the whole process of negotiation. If you are not prepared to compromise, then you must not enter into or think about the process of negotiation at all.”

Asked if the issue of minority rights was negotiable, Mandela stressed that in referring to “compromises”, he meant on “fundamental issues”.

“Insignificant things, peripheral issues, they don’t need any compromise,” he said. “You need a compromise on fundamental issues. What those issues will be, and the extent of the compromise, will depend on the type of demand over which a compromise is required.”

Mandela relaxed, chatted and joked freely during the wide-ranging interview in the lounge of the home he has returned to after more than a quarter of a century’s absence. He relished the opportunity of talking “face to face” with representatives of the “alternative press”, he said, and made a point of greeting each of his questioners

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Picture: PAUL WEINBERG, Afrapix

I HAD A DREAM AND SO DID 150 000 OTHERS

Thami Mkhwanazi on Page 11

CONTROVERSY caused by Nelson Mandela's support for the nationalisation of key sectors of the South African economy was misconceived and unnecessary, the ANC leader told the *Weekly Mail* yesterday.

In a marked softening of his position on nationalisation, Mandela said his statements were designed simply to restate the existing policy of the ANC and that the movement was prepared to negotiate on all fundamental issues.

"I have said that we are prepared to compromise and that this is the policy of the ANC," Mandela said. However, he favoured nationalising some sectors of the economy because most black people did not have the necessary resources to own shares in the privatised companies.

Mandela softens on nationalisation

By EDDIE KOCH

"We must recognise that all this hullabaloo about nationalisation is totally misconceived, because nationalisation of certain sectors of the economy is part of the history of this country," he said.

Railways and telecommunications have always been owned by the state and the National Party promoted nationalisation policies vigorously in the past.

"All that time whites had the monopoly of political and economic power. But now the situation is changing.

It is clear that the day is not far off when blacks will have a dominant role in the political and economic structure of the country.

"Now the whites are turning around and saying: 'Nationalisation is not good. You must privatise'. Because they have got the economic and financial muscle, they have got the resources to buy the industries which are privatised. We don't have that."

Mandela's comments were made in

response to threats from the Conservative Party that it would use his support for nationalisation as an issue around which to mobilise white resistance against the government.

Later he told Sapa that state control of sectors of the economy was the only way a new government would be able to "finance reform in health, education and housing".

The flurry of activity on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange since his release may have had more to do with a reluctance by whites to "achieve a

real settlement" than a fear of nationalisation, which had always been a feature of South Africa's economy.

The comments came in the wake of SA Communist Party leader Joe Slovo's statement this week that nationalisation was not the only way to ensure a redistribution of wealth.

"In South Africa, for a long time, you had State ownership of basic sectors of the economy and that did not mean advantage for the people for socialism," said Slovo in an interview with the BBC.

"So the whole question of how we move towards generating resources so that injustices of the past are addressed is something that has to be worked out. The pace and approach on this question is something which can be discussed," he said.

FIRST FULL INTERVIEW WITH JOE SLOVO: SEE OVERLEAF

A relaxed Mandela praises FW, criticises Vlok

From PAGE 1

individually.

Discarding his suit jacket and pull-over before settling down on the sofa, he answered questions about his famous interest in boxing ("I stopped boxing before I went to prison — there was no opportunity for that type of thing — but I still follow it") and lamented the fact that he needed his glasses — "otherwise I won't be able to see".

Perhaps due to the relative informality of the interview, Mandela's famous charisma was allowed to emerge. At one point he chastised his questioners with an impish smile: "Why are you so serious? Why are you not laughing?"

Then, against the backdrop of a house filled with welcoming flowers and telegrams from all over the world, he returned to the business at hand. Despite having been in constant demand since the early hours of the morning, Mandela showed no signs of fatigue, nor impatience at the constant barrage of questions.

Mandela was conciliatory towards activists in the rival black consciousness camp, and said he believed there was a good chance of putting an end to Natal bloodshed.

He was clearly touched that representatives of the Azanian People's Organisation had visited the Vilakazi Street home that morning to pay their respects: "We worked with Azapo and the Black Consciousness Movement very well in fighting prison conditions," he said, "and in the

Mandela expresses thanks to 'alternative press'

By GAVIN EVANS and SHAUN JOHNSON

NELSON Mandela believes the "alternative press" in South Africa played a central role in bringing about the changes taking place in the country today and that it acts as a major influence on the government.

In an interview yesterday Mandela said he had made a special request to the National Reception Committee to meet members of the "alternative press", "so that I should have the opportunity of thanking you from the bottom of my heart for the stand you have taken".

He said the perspectives put forward in the "alternative press" had "compelled the conventional press into giving publicity to the same views", and in this way had been an important influence.

"The courageous stand which you have taken is to a

very large extent responsible for the changes that have taken place today.

"The alternative press has always had a direct influence on government, and as a prisoner I was able to assess this very well".

The only way to flourish in the growing market of black readers in South Africa is to "reflect the ideas for which we are fighting".

Courageous journalism had played "a very valuable contribution to the struggle in this country for change and peace", he said.

Mandela expressed strong views on the need for press freedom and said the suppression of this right had been "one of the tragedies of this country".

"Forthright views from the press are always important because a good press is a good opinion maker in any society."

course of those struggles very powerful friendships and solidarity were established.

"If I am allowed to by the national executive of the ANC," he added, "I will reciprocate their overtures."

While repeatedly stressing that he was "just an individual" who would assume whatever role the ANC chose to confer on him, he said "if I have any ideas which can give fresh momentum to our efforts to unite the masses ... I will make those views known to the ANC.

"I will also hold discussions with other political organisations in this country," he said. "We are not the only people committed to unity."

The "one-sided" role of the police in the Natal conflict had vexed attempts at reconciliation, he said, but "in my view, an accord between the UDF (United Democratic Front) and its al-

lies and Inkatha would be the first step toward resolving this issue. Because when we pool our resources, and there is every reason why we should do so, we have got a far better chance."

In contrast to his words of praise for State President FW de Klerk, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee and Constitutional Development Minister Gerrie Viljoen, Mandela lambasted Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok for "blaming the UDF and Cosatu for the trouble that is taking place in Natal" when Vlok had held meetings with only one side.

He said Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi had "played his part" in trying to resolve the issue of the Natal violence but specifically blamed the police for siding with Inkatha.

Asked what his attitude was toward Afrikaners, he said it should not be necessary to ask such a question. "For the last three years I have been negotiating with Afrikaners," he said.

"I am on the record as saying that I regard Mr De Klerk as a man of integrity. And I sincerely believe in this and I believe that he himself wants to have a new chapter in the history of this country. And that the two ministers around him (Coetsee and Viljoen) complement him very well in this task.

"I have of course made the reservation that I do not know whether Mr De Klerk is able to carry the NP and

Afrikaners with him. But the progress that has been made so far — and it is quite solid progress toward negotiations — has been made with Afrikaners. That in itself is sufficient comment on what I think of Afrikaners."

Mandela did not rule out the possibility of a future coalition between the ANC and the National Party in government, but stressed that it would be up to the ANC National Executive Committee to formulate strategies on such negotiations.

"All I have been concerned with in prison is how to get the ANC and the government to sit down and strive for a peaceful settlement," he said. "That is all. I haven't gone beyond that."

Mandela spent a large part of the interview discussing the problems of discipline and working structures within the resistance movements.

The problems of black youths "must be appreciated," he said, but they were aware of the need for discipline. The banning of the Congress of South African Students in 1985 had "removed a moderating influence", he said, quoting the report of Professor Tjaart van der Walt into the 1984-85 Vaal uprisings.

"He (Van der Walt) spoke as if he was Oliver Tambo," said Mandela. "He said it was tragic to ban Cosas ... he said the African youth were far more developed than their white counterparts."

5 000 angry teachers take to the streets

By THANDEKA GQUBULE

ABOUT 5 000 teachers took to the streets of Johannesburg this week in protest against the current crisis in black education.

Teachers presented a memorandum to the Department of Education and Training, detailing the problems facing educational institutions in Soweto and Alexandra.

A meeting was held between teachers, represented by the National Education Union of South Africa (Neusa), and the DET, but it was inconclusive. They did, however, agree to meet regularly to resolve problems.

The protest reflected a new and confident mood towards mass protest since the release of Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of the African National Congress.

In his address at the Soccer City rally this week, Mandela echoed the views of teachers, saying the crisis in education that exists in South Africa demands special attention.

He said the education crisis is a po-

litical crisis in black schools arose from the fact that black people have no vote and thus cannot make the government of the day responsive to their needs.

Mandela said: "It has been the policy of the ANC that though the school and the entire education system is a site of struggle, the actual process of learning must take place in the schools."

Mandela continued: "I want to add my voice therefore to the call made at the beginning of the year that all students must return to school and learn. We must continue our struggle for people's education within the school system and use its resources to achieve our goals."

Teachers demanded that the Department of Education collapse all its 14 departments into one and give equal pay to all teachers. They also demanded an end to separate education

and the opening of all schools, particularly empty white schools, to all children.

Asked whether the Department of Education and Training would consider this, Piet Truwig, head of the DET's Witwatersrand division, unwittingly confirmed Mandela's statements and said opening schools to all was a political matter. He also said he did not wish to express opinions on political issues.

There are indications that the crisis in education is going to receive concerted attention from the resistance movement. Teachers, anti-apartheid educationalists and students will continue to wage their struggle against separate education.

There have been repeated demands that students should return to the classrooms. "If I could I would drive anything in Soweto that barely looks like a child right into the classroom," said Curtis Nkondo, national president of Neusa.

CAP

Community Arts Project (CAP) is a progressive education and training institute working within the progressive cultural and educational movement. Programmes include full and part-time courses in visual arts, media, community theatre and children's art.

DIRECTOR

We are looking for a suitably qualified person with a sound understanding of the educational needs of such an institution and with community and cultural experience to play a leading role in the further development of this exciting project.

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- Provide overall co-ordination of the various programmes.
- Promote growth in new areas.
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- Develop funding.
- Be responsible for the development and application of general direction and policy at CAP.

While directly answerable to the Board of Trustees, the director will promote and sustain the democratic participatory management of the project.

REQUIREMENTS:

- A knowledge of the current socio-political situation.
 - A background in adult education.
 - Experience of community organisation.
 - Good cultural understanding.
 - Practised in one of the arts or performance discipline.
 - Administrative skills and organisational experience.
- Preference will be given to candidates with ability in two or more languages.

The closing date for application is 3 March 1990. A letter of application, CV and two written references should be sent to CAP, P O Box 168, Rondebosch, 7700. Tel: (021) 45-3689.

Nelson's next step — a truce meeting with FW

FOR Nelson Mandela and the African National Congress, the first stepping-stone to negotiations is a face-to-face meeting with the government to discuss a truce.

This is a key element of Mandela's political vision which has emerged in each speech and interview this week — and it has been largely overlooked by observers, according to close Mandela associate Dullah Omar.

While there has been shock in some quarters, notably in the Western press, at Mandela's insistence on the retention of the armed struggle and sanctions, Omar believes it was naive to expect that he would unilaterally renounce longstanding positions of his movement, and this has distorted the interpretation put on his speeches.

The pivotal early step (and Mandela says he is "confident" that day is not very far) is direct discussion between the two key actors about the "normalisation" of political life.

This would take place simultaneously with longer-term moves toward a broader "solution".

According to Omar, Mandela envisages such a meeting ending the "civil war". The armed struggle could be suspended and "in return Mandela would expect the freeing of all political prisoners ... the lifting of the State of Emergency, an end to all political trials and the abolition of the Internal Security Act."

Both the government and the ANC appear to be in broad agreement that such "normalisation" is a necessary

By SHAUN JOHNSON and EDDIE KOCH

condition for real negotiations.

Should the "truce" meeting succeed, "Mandela would then envisage non-racial elections to get people together from all sectors of South Africa to work out a new constitution," predicts Omar.

Omar's interpretation of the ANC veteran's thinking is supported by a close analysis of his utterances since his release and by a study of the August 1989 Harare Declaration.

Mandela's statements on the subject since Sunday follow this path. At his first rally on the Grand Parade in Cape Town, he said: "I wish to stress

that I myself had at no time entered into negotiations about the future of our country, except to insist on a meeting between the ANC and the government."

His calls for the ending of the Emergency, a general amnesty, and the continuation of sanctions and mass action, followed directly after this key phrase. The two should be viewed as sides of a single coin.

At his media conference in the grounds of Bishopscourt on Monday, Mandela was asked about the apparent contradiction between his stated commitment to peace and his continuing endorsement of the armed struggle. He said: "There is no conflict between those two statements ... the armed struggle is merely defen-

sive ... If the government gives us the opportunity, if they normalise the situation, we are ready to make a positive contribution towards the peaceful settlement of the problems of this country."

He then addressed the question of the NP/ANC meeting directly. "So far as (the release of Sisulu et al) was concerned, I have been negotiating (with the government). But the second issue has been one of a meeting between the ANC and the government."

He had been acting as a mediator in his "countless" meetings with the government, he said, "because I believe that the first step towards a solution of our problems is a meeting between the ANC and the government."

Having missed the big time, Jackson leaves

By THANDEKA GQUBULE

THE Reverend Jesse Jackson, who arrived in South Africa opportunely just after State President FW de Klerk's announcement of Nelson Mandela's release, left yesterday, cutting short his two-week "fact-finding" visit.

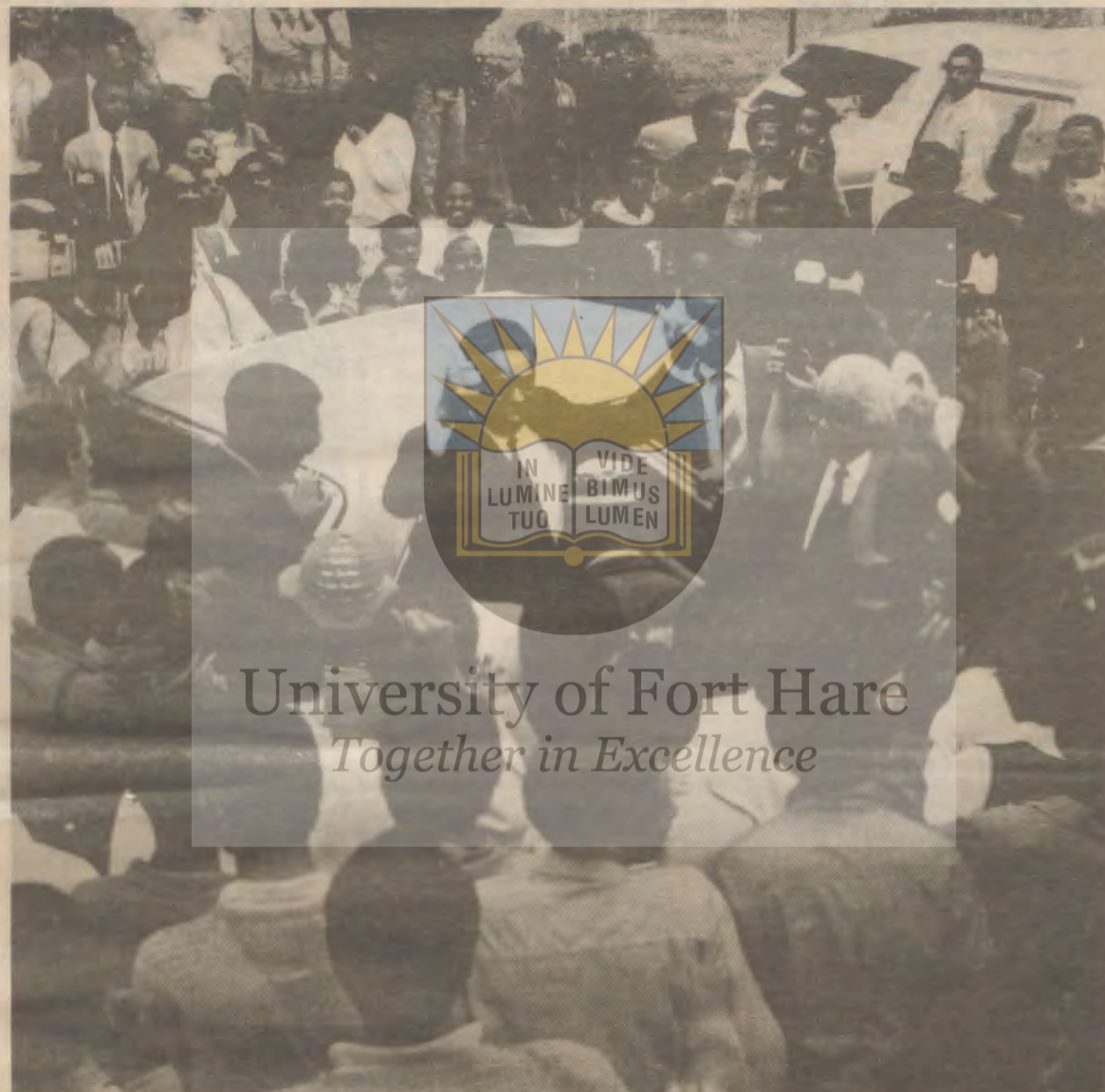
Jackson seemed eager to link himself to the dramatic release but was apparently unable to get close to Mandela until Sunday night.

De Klerk, asked whether Jackson's presence had anything to do with the timing of Mandela's release, said it was "totally irrelevant".

Jackson's limousine was virtually pulled apart when crowds mistook it for Mandela's car as he entered through the wrong entrance at Victor Verster Prison on the day of the release. The car, according to sources close to the American embassy, is now a wreck.

In a more happy accident, Jackson won the applause of the huge crowd waiting for Mandela at Cape Town's Grand Parade when he pulled a woman who was wounded by police fire to safety.

The well-known American civil rights leader flew to Windhoek to hold talks with the South West African People's Organisation leader Sam Nujoma. From Namibia, he will go to Zambia where he expects to meet with both President Kenneth Kaunda and the African National Congress.



The trip wasn't a total loss for American politician Jesse Jackson, who was welcomed by Sowetans

Picture: AVIGAIL UZI, Afrapix

General warns Vlok over 'interference' in hit-squad probe

By IVOR POWELL

POLICE investigating death squads in the armed forces are being so hampered in their work that Major General Jaap Joubert, the chief investigating officer, has complained to Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok.

Joubert warned Vlok he would resign and tell everything he knew about assassinations in the armed forces unless high-ranking personnel stopped interfering with his probe.

The general's complaints were made in an affidavit to Vlok.

Meanwhile, as two more men have been arrested under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, strong allegations have been made that men being held or hunted in connection with the murders of David Webster and Anton Lubowski were operatives of a secret arm of the Military Intelligence branch of the South African Defence Force.

The unit, known as the Civil Cooperation Bureau (CCB), is allegedly an official secret operations unit directly under the control of the Chief of the Defence Force, General Jannie Geldenhuys.

The allegations were made in an affidavit by senior police investigator Brigadier Floris Mostert during a Supreme Court hearing in connection with the detention of former police lieutenant Abrie van Zyl. The application had been brought by Van Zyl's wife, Brenda, after her husband's arrest two weeks ago in connection with the killings of Webster and Lubowski.

It was brought by Van Zyl on the grounds that her husband's detention was unlawful.

The allegations stand in stark contradiction of earlier claims made by police sources that members of the underground network were linked to the militant Afrikaner rightwing.

However, they bear out recent testimony that the former Brixton Murder and Robbery Unit policeman, Ferdinand Barnard, was on the payroll of Military Intelligence. At the time the claims, made by Barnard's lawyers, were dismissed by SADF officials.

In other developments related to the investigation:

● Two Cape Town men were arrested in connection with the investigation.

● Barnard has been released from Section 29 detention. Police said there was insufficient evidence to hold him.

● Another former Brixton Murder and Robbery policeman, Colonel "Staal" Burger, allegedly the leader of the CCB cell under investigation, has gone underground.

The Weekly Mail has confirmation from independent sources that all of these men were recruited by secret arms of the Military Intelligence octopus after being forced out of the police.

Natal's war spreads to Indian areas

By CARMEL RICKARD

WHISTLES in the streets of kwaMashu yesterday almost sparked a panic — residents, their nerves already stretched to breaking point, rushed into the streets ready to fight for their lives, only to find the whistles coming from rubbish collectors emptying garbage bins.

The whistles have become the daytime signal of imminent attack, and all who value their lives and property have learnt to respond instantly when they hear the sound.

KwaMashu and the squatter areas adjoining the township were this week the scene of some of the worst fighting yet seen in the Natal violence.

In all, at least 50 people died over the weekend of Nelson Mandela's release, and well over a thousand people have fled their homes, confirming fears that in the immediate aftermath of his release, political tensions in Natal would soar.

Jubilant youths marching in the streets were attacked by vigilantes, while in other areas comrades are said to have taken the initiative, attacking their opponents.

Despite police assurances of strong action to prevent further outbreaks of violence, and an announcement by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok of further security reinforcements for

Natal, Durban townships were in the grip of rumour and fear yesterday.

Adding to the township tension, anti-Indian violence of a scale not seen since 1985 led to many Indian families leaving Inanda and other areas.

At least six Indian-owned shops and a garage were destroyed in this week's violence, and the owner of one of the few surviving businesses in Inanda said last night he was staying at the shop day and night "to guard it with fire arms".

Hundreds of children from Oakford Convent were sent home yesterday morning after threats were reported to some of the children, and frightened residents of several Indian areas refused to go to town following rumours they would be attacked.

Unrest monitors blamed the upsurge of anti-Indian violence on an anonymous Zulu-language pamphlet circulated over the last fortnight, which urges action be taken against Indians.

The leaflet claims Indians are bribing union officials to call strikes so that black workers will lose their jobs and these will then be filled by Indians.

The unrest monitors also point to a



The Ilanga cartoon accused of causing all the trouble

cartoon and editorial in the Zulu-language Inkatha-owned newspaper Ilanga.

Ilanga accuses the Natal Indian Congress of leading the Mass Democratic Movement by the nose, and of poisoning them against Inkatha and the Zulus.

Editor TG Mthembu, however, denied Ilanga's opinion-piece was in any way responsible for the anti-Indian violence.

Both Mandela and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi slammed the anti-Indian violence and said it should immediately cease.

Are Mandela's guards SAP men?

EVIDENCE is mounting that the Mass Democratic Movement and the security police have been involved in low-key collaboration to arrange bodyguards and other security measures for Nelson Mandela.

News reports, broadcast yesterday on Radio 702, quoted United Democratic Front sources as saying that security measures for Mandela were arranged jointly by the exiled leadership of the African National Congress and the South African security forces.

This coincides with reports from intelligence sources in the frontline states that former Police Commissioner Johann Coetsee had travelled to Harare last month to discuss security arrangements at Mandela's release.

Colonel MJ Halgryn, police PRO for Soweto, asked if security police had assisted in guarding Mandela, said: "We feel responsible for Mandela's security and if we are responsible for someone's security, we do the security our way."

The government has stated that it is vital to ensure Mandela's safety. Constitutional Minister Gerrit Viljoen said at a press conference this week that the action of "maverick or lunatic elements" posed one of the greatest risks to the negotiation process. Mandela, however, has insisted that he will not accept the protection of the SAP.

There are two theories circulating about the identities of Mandela's bodyguards: that they are members of the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto weSizwe, or that they are former policemen who have been recruited into a private security firm set up especially to provide a service to the MDM.

APARTHEID BAROMETER

EMERGENCY DETENTIONS

Sixty-seven people were being held under the Emergency regulations as at February 14 this year, the Human Rights Commission said in their latest report.

The HRC said 63 people were being held in Natal, one in the Orange Free State and three in the PWV area.

GUERRILLA ATTACKS

There was a total of 26 "bomb attacks" in South Africa (excluding the "independent homelands") in the first six weeks of 1990, Major-General Herman Stadler, head of police public relations, said on Tuesday. He said that in 1989 there were 200 such attacks.

LISTED PEOPLE

A total of 279 people in South Africa are still "listed" and may not be quoted. They are all people who were convicted for political "crimes" under the Internal Security Act, or were convicted of treason. Now 177 people previously on the consolidated list can be quoted.

PRISONER OF CONSCIENCE

ERIC PELSER, 25, African National Congress and Umkhonto weSizwe member, was detained under section 29 of the Internal Security Act on July 29 1985, and was convicted of treason and sentenced to seven years jail on February 24 1986.

He has spent his whole sentence at Pretoria Central prison, and has now been behind bars for four years and seven months.

After matriculating in 1982 Pelsler began a BA degree at Wits University but left after his first year at the age of 19 in 1984 in order to avoid military service. In a written statement he told the court: "I did not want to be ... an enforcer of the perpetuation of injustice towards legitimately aggrieved people ... I did not wish to be part of a force which, as far as I was concerned, was illegally occupying Namibia and engaged in destabilising neighbouring countries".

Pelsler returned to South Africa in 1985 with an AK47 rifle, ammunition and two

handgrenades after an 11-week training course in Angola. He crossed the border illegally and rented a flat in the centre of Johannesburg under a false name. He did not get to use the weapons and was arrested several weeks later by security police acting on a tip-off.

As a result of his conviction he remains a "listed" person and may not be quoted.

BANNED BOOKS, PUBLICATIONS AND OBJECTS

Banned for possession:

Journal of the Socialist Workers Party of South Africa (Socialist Workers Party of South Africa, London); Racial Loyalty no 48 March 1989, and no 50 May 1989 (Church of the Creator, North Carolina). Banned for distribution and importation: Kingway Language College — London Correspondence Courses 1989/90 Book 1 Course 2 (Workers Revolution, London); badge with dagga leaf and wording "Legalize it"; badge with dagga leaf and word "pothead"; badge with dagga leaf and words "don't walf on it, smoke it" (all three not stated); Graveyard Shift — film; Adventures in Oral Sex (Jane Gillies); Gek no 59 and Frank no 158 (both by Sonskyn Uitgewers (Edms) Bpk, Jeppentown); Laughs in the Loo (Eric Bent); A Night in a Moorish Harlem (not stated); A Bite of the Apple (Molly Parkin); The Girls of Gent vol 13 1989 (Dugent Publishing Corporation, Coral Gables); Bounce no 38 (Tozenworkid Ltd, London); Truly Tasteless Jokes (Blanche Knott).

Restricted:

Sensual Massage — An Intimate and Practical Guide to the Art of Touch (Nitya Lacroix — not for persons under 18, not to be displayed with pages open, only to be distributed by bookshops, libraries and wholesale book distributors); Portrait of a Chinese Paradise (not for persons under 18, only to be displayed in a sealed wrapping).

Unbanned:

Staffrider vol 1 no 1 March 1978 and vol 4 no 2 July/August 1981 (Ravan Press, Johannesburg).

JOE SLOVO, secretary-general of the South African Communist Party, uses the following analogy to rebuff accusations that the African National Congress is showing less than due gratitude for State President FW de Klerk's recent moves:

"When a man has been consistently battering his wife, he shouldn't expect a bouquet of roses from her the morning after he promises to stop ...

"What have they really done? They've stopped battering us in the extreme way the did before, but beyond that, where are we?"

In Slovo's view, not very far. For one thing, he considers the ANC and the SACP, in real terms, to be not even half-way to where they were when the state's battering sent them underground 40 years ago.

Since then, he says, "we've been in the wilderness — and we don't see the promised land yet".

The long years of exile — during which his wife, Ruth First, was killed by a parcel bomb in Maputo in 1982 — at times "seemed interminable".

"What kept us going was the reality that most of those with whom we worked at top levels during the 1960s were incarcerated, and that our task outside was to try and get things going again."

What sustained him was commitment — on the personal as well as the political level: in London during the "early days" he kept on his wall a photograph of Nelson Mandela with Walter Sisulu.

"Everytime a feeling of tiredness overcame me, I would look at that picture and it would all disappear."

LUAS Slovo, once seen as the arch-enemy of the South African government, spoke in Lusaka this week, an SABC television crew was filming interviews with ANC officials at the movement's headquarters — an event once deemed inconceivable by both sides, now a measure of a new commitment. But words, even if they open up acres of once forbidden political space, do not necessarily remove fences.

Thus while both the ANC and the SACP intend resuming above-ground activity, strengthening their decades-old alliance and becoming "what we've always wanted to become — a legal political force with the right to contest for a following in the normal democratic way," the way ahead is marked with "proceed with caution" signs.

And De Klerk — "less of a street-fighter than his predecessors, and more realistic about the urgency of finding a solution" — is just one factor in a complex equation according to Slovo.

"He's embarked on a policy of finding new ways to retain as much as he feels able of white privilege. But having been forced to adopt new means of achieving this, he has created — without necessarily designing it — new space, new chemistry.

"In a sense South Africa after February 2 will never be the same again: not because De Klerk has transformed it but because, objectively, it has been transformed."

Progress, according to Slovo, will depend not so much on what De Klerk does but "by the pressure which is maintained on the ground by the people inside and by the international community."

But neither the ANC nor the SACP could be expected to emerge as a finished product at a legal level in 40 hours. A certain degree of wariness is required: it is not written in the stars that things will continue smoothly.

"De Klerk's speech is only 10 days old and already we've seen a rightwing backlash and the police showing their readiness to massacre people.

"Our re-emergence must accommodate many factors. We should not become too euphoric and act as if the political atmosphere has been normalised.

"We're far from the stage where a legal party can operate in confidence that the democratic process and the rules of the game will be adhered to either by the government or certain sections of the security forces," Slovo said.

Our timetable is not that of (Minister of Constitutional Development, Gerrit) Viljoen's, who sees 10 years passing before a National Party government disappears. Our timescale is tomorrow, but one's got to be realistic whether one can achieve that.

"We don't see the negotiation process as a business exchange — what emerges from it will depend on the clout of the people. So the struggle won't be called off just because of the prospect of negotiations looming ahead.

"You can't go to a negotiating table pointing a gun, but you've got to keep it over your shoulder."

Until the government accepted the terms of the Harare Declaration — the ANC's blueprint for creating conditions for talks, endorsed by the organisation of African Unity and the United Nations — "We're not going to be at a negotiating table".

"We've set out our conditions clearly and they've got to be complied with for the atmosphere to be created for genuine negotiations to begin."

And unless what was put on the table amounted to "an exchange on the process of moving, at speed, towards a united democratic South Africa then I don't think the table will lead to any results at the end of the day."

For Slovo, the crunch issue is the economic one. He reads the government's insistence on "group rights" as little more than a euphemism for virtually all the wealth of the country remaining in white hands.

"I have the feeling that if they were assured we wouldn't touch any of the white economic privileges we'd be there next month, in a majority rule situation.

"From our point of view there can be no liberation without economic liberation, and I'm not talking about socialism — yet. If they're going to dig in on the issue of entrenching the status quo in relation to the economy, and hold on to what they have, then I'm afraid *aluta continua*."

While the SACP went further than the ANC in believing the only rational way for South African society to be run was along social democratic lines, the question of a socialist future could "be settled in debate rather than in the streets — if we achieve a genuine democratic society".

The party still sees itself as the vanguard of the struggle — but not in the old, entrenched way: "we don't believe we have a natural right to lead workers. We must be the vanguard not by law but through social mobilisation and acceptance. If we can't achieve that, we've no right to represent them in any kind of power structure."

Support for the party within South Africa was "virtually impossible to quantify".

But Slovo attributes the groundswell of support for socialism in recent years — measured by SACP banners flying at virtually every political demonstration since the 1984-1987 uprisings — more to a negative reaction to "the depredations of racial capitalism".

"It's not difficult in South Africa for the ordinary person to see the link between capitalism and racist exploitation, and when one sees the link one immediately thinks in terms of a socialist alternative."

It didn't necessarily follow, however, that socialism was "a finished image in the minds of all those who shout the slogans."

"It's our task as a party to educate and explain, to transform the vague slogan into a fully understood concept — which we try constantly to do."

Likewise, the context in which the ANC and SACP understood negotiations had to be clarified and explained to people who saw a contradiction in terms between "negotiations" and "the struggle".

For Slovo, the crisis faced by socialism in Eastern Europe arose because of a yawning chasm which developed between socialism and democracy, "understandably so".

In his view, these "negative distortions" are not inherent in socialist doctrine but are the result of "the perversion of what I understood to be socialism."

"We had partly moved away from these distortions long before the explosions which took place in Eastern Europe — but we still have a great deal to learn from such failures."

Socialism's failure in Eastern bloc countries is also likely to affect the support — both material and moral — the ANC has so far enjoyed, as they turn their attention on their own problems rather than those of far-distant liberation movements.

Hungary's invitation to South African foreign minister Pik Botha indicates, for Slovo, that "the transformations which are taking place could lead to a different posture".

But in the case of the Soviet Union, there was "no evidence whatsoever" that support would end.

FACE TO FACE WITH JOE SLOVO



For forty years until his 'unbanning' this month, the views of Joe Slovo were too dangerous to be heard. Here the Communist Party chief talks to **GAYE DAVIS** in his first full interview in a South African newspaper

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De Klerk's men gamble all on ex-prisoner Mandela

IF FW de Klerk and his cabinet created a political whirlpool in South Africa by releasing Nelson Mandela, there are signs that they see the ANC leader as a bulwark that will prevent them from being sucked under by the currents.

Constitutional Affairs Minister Gerit Viljoen — in the government's first public response to Mandela's first public speeches — this week made it clear the cabinet is banking heavily on Mandela's legendary leadership to end political violence on the left and to appease the anxiety that is driving many whites into rightwing rebellion.

Thus, in his assessment of the statements made by Mandela, Viljoen placed heavy emphasis on Mandela's commitment to negotiations aimed at "normalising" the political life of the country and his concern to appease white anxieties about a system of one-person-one-vote.

There were other "positive" sides to Mandela's statements since being set free, the minister added. These included the ANC leader's praise for President de Klerk as a man of integrity — "a likely future partner in a negotiating process" — and his expressed "rejection of both white dom-

ination and black domination".

Viljoen even excused Mandela for insisting that the armed struggle would continue until preconditions for negotiations had been met. Such statements, he said, could be understood because Mandela was, after all, operating "within the confines and discipline of ANC policy".

"It is clear Mr Mandela is ... expressing support for a peaceful settlement and I hope that the normalisation of political life would be enough to reduce the need for armed struggle."

There was much in Viljoen's comments that indicate a desire to maintain the image of Mandela as a bulwark against the forces of chaos. Thus the violence that marred the rally on the Grand Parade in Cape Town on Sunday, he said, was a problem of "crowd control" rather than "planned violence".

It's not only the township masses who are counting on Mandela to deliver — so are the cabinet, who see in him a bulwark against chaos.
EDDIE KOCH reports

There were other areas where Viljoen indicated that the political eddies swirling around Mandela and De Klerk were pulling the supporters of the two men to the centre of the turbulence.

On the popular excitement that Mandela's "Welcome Home" rallies had generated, Viljoen said he hoped that co-ordination between the Mass Democratic Movement and the police would create order. "There has already been very good informal understanding and co-operation in the marches and the rallies," he said.

At times even the terminology that

Viljoen used was the same as Mandela's. "Normalisation of political life", the need for a "non-racial democracy", "structural mechanisms" to ensure protections for whites — these words were used by both the ANC leader and the government leader.

There was a clear sense in the tenor of Viljoen's press conference that the cabinet believed that, since the unbanning of the ANC and the release of Mandela, it had outmanoeuvred the ANC and broken the coherent strategies it had developed in the Harare Declaration.

There was now "a degree of confusion and contradiction on some issues" in the ranks of the ANC, he said. "It is incumbent on the ANC to adjust their positions rather than restate their preconditions (of the Harare Declaration) ... a shopping list that has been overtaken by events".

But, he said, with more than a little

condescension, the government was aware that the ANC needed time to sort itself out on these issues and was prepared to wait patiently until after the movement's executive meeting in Lusaka this week for a "coherent" response to the government's moves.

Viljoen used the occasion as an opportunity to hold out some carrots to the ANC on the eve of its big meeting. The lifting of the State of Emergency "was desirable and necessary to normalise political activity" and could be negotiated in early talks between the government and the ANC, he said.

This strategy was used by De Klerk in his interview with Ted Koppel, broadcast live during ABC's *Nightline* programme on Tuesday night.

Asked what was required from the ANC for the Emergency to be lifted, De Klerk replied:

"The test is that basically there must be stability. The occurrence of unrest-related things must be limited to, really, the marked exception ... If they want to send somebody to me, or to my ministers and say 'Let us sit down and discuss what is needed for the upliftment of the State of Emergency', they are welcome to do it."

Mandela's other major demand — that all political prisoners including those involved in armed struggle be released before a meeting between the movement and the government could take place — was also used by De Klerk to prod the ANC into accepting the need for preliminary talks.

"One will obviously have to decide what will be pardoned and what can't be pardoned. So it's a question once again for negotiation," he said.

Both the Viljoen and De Klerk interviews indicate that the cabinet has devised a coherent and sophisticated short-term strategy — based on the insight they have gained into Mandela's thinking on how the negotiation process could unfold. And, like Mandela, they are confident that the immediate obstacles to an early meeting with the ANC to discuss a truce can be overcome.

But it is in the longer-term, when it comes to bargaining around substantive issues like a new constitution and economic system for South Africa, that the centrifugal forces pulling Mandela and the men in the cabinet apart are strong.

Viljoen listed the ANC leader's support for continued sanctions and his reaffirmation of the ANC's nationalisation principles as the two negative factors in Mandela's speeches.

On the question of sanctions, he insisted that De Klerk's recent moves had proved the government was genuine about negotiations and there was no further need for punitive measures to be pressurised in this direction.

The ANC's policy of nationalising key sectors of the economy, he said, would put the negotiation process at risk. Here, instead of resorting to measured statements about the armed struggle, he said the government would "pillory" these ideas.

"Naive propositions on a future economic system could have negative effects on the future economy of South Africa."

A funny thing or two happened on the ride from prison

By JOHN PERLMAN

SOMEWHERE near Paarl there is a family of four who will be able to look at their photo album and say: "That's us with Nelson Mandela. It was taken a few minutes after he was set free."

People travelling with Mandela in the 12-car convoy that drove away from Victor Verster prison — pausing briefly to let him walk the final steps through the outer gate — were amazed when he suddenly asked his driver to stop.

Mandela had seen a white couple and their two small children standing by the side of the road on one of the few parts of the route that was not jammed with people. The man had been trying to take a photograph of the convoy as it passed.

When the car stopped Mandela got out alone and walked over to talk to the couple. "He talked to them for about ten minutes, and played with the little boy and the little girl" said one of his party.

"It was informal and they laughed and smiled, but you could see the couple were completely amazed."

Before leaving, Mandela posed with the family and asked one of his party to take the picture. And as he was about to go, the man said something like: "I've always voted Nationalist but you will definitely get my vote."

That, at least, is how the story will be remembered.

Mandela seemed to make an instant impression on those who travelled with him from Paarl. People noticed that after greeting the Mass Democratic Movement leaders, he then called the drivers of the cars over.

"He greeted them with the same feeling as he did the others," said one. "He didn't seem to care at all who you were."

People also remarked on how readily Mandela rolled down the car window to shake hands with well-wishers whenever the car stopped. "We thought he would be afraid to do that," said one.

Once in Cape Town, the convoy pulled off into a quiet street in Mowbray to plan how best to move through the large crowd to the Grand Parade.

They waited there for about half-an-hour, during which time Mandela



saw a woman walking with two young children. "He asked if he could pick them up and put them on his lap," said someone who was there.

"One of the kids — they were twins — was a bit shy but the other one looked very pleased to be getting into the car. Then his father came and took a picture of him with Nelson Mandela."

The convoy's final stop before the Grand Parade was a house in Rondebosch where the party went in — somewhat unannounced — "to freshen up" before the rally.

While inside, the three traffic cops who had escorted the convoy, sent one of the drivers in to ask if Mandela would autograph their notebooks. He agreed readily, then laughingly remarked that he had left his glasses in the prison. No problem said his hosts. There was a pair belonging to an aged relative in the house which might just do. And they did.

Those who travelled with Mandela that afternoon say they cannot remember much of what was said. He was calm throughout, "never a frown on his face to show it had been a long day," said one.

Another said he never saw Mandela

walk past an outstretched hand or ignore a greeting.

And as he arrived at the Grand Parade, the story goes, his first remarks were: "I didn't expect such a turn out. It's so late and there are still a lot of people waiting. I'd better go and speak to them."

Relaxing at last, back at home in Soweto, Nelson Mandela looks a little dubious as a gaudily dressed waiter offers him a card-board box draught of 'tropical fruit nectar'.

Picture: JUDA NGWENYA, Reuter

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EVEN before Nelson Mandela walked out of Victor Verster Prison, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher lifted the ban on new investment in South Africa and other minor voluntary curbs.

Hours later, in his first pronouncement as a free man, Mandela urged the continuation of international sanctions until apartheid is completely eradicated.

Briefing British journalists the next day, Bernard Ingham, Thatcher's influential press secretary, said unattributably: "The truth is that the prime minister is in command in this situation ... she is leading the world."

The only trouble with Ingham's statement and with Thatcher's perception of world opinion is that few, if any, governments share Britain's formal view. And none appears to be led by Thatcher.

The picture that has emerged in the aftermath of Mandela's release is this:

●US President George Bush's administration is bound by law to keep its sanctions programme in place until apartheid ends. Bush made this clear to Thatcher in a series of telephonic and other exchanges in recent days.

Nor, according to State Department officials, is Bush prepared in a midterm congressional election year to try to persuade legislators to amend that sanctions law or to influence institu-

Even before Mandela stepped out, Thatcher had leapt the queue

THE WORLD SHOWS FEW SIGNS OF FOLLOWING BRITAIN
By ARTHUR GAVSHON in London

tions like the International Monetary Fund to ease its embargo on credits for the South Africa.

●All 48 Commonwealth countries are refusing to slacken their sanctions pressure despite Thatcher's written plea to them at the weekend to adopt what she described as a "more positive" approach to President FW de Klerk's reforms. Informally, the British leader has been seeking to reinforce that plea with warnings that De Klerk could be ousted by a far-right backlash if his peace programme is not internationally acclaimed and rewarded.

Commonwealth secretary-general Sonny Ramphal has made it privately and publicly clear that neither he nor those Commonwealth countries with which he has consulted will buy the

Thatcher line unless and until the State of Emergency in South Africa is lifted, discriminatory legislation repealed, troops pulled out of the townships and negotiations for a new democratic constitution started.

●The commission which presides over the 12-nation Community has taken a hard line against easing its collective trade embargo against South Africa no matter what Britain cares to do about it.

Manuel Marin, the responsible commissioner, on Monday ruled out any change while the main elements of apartheid remain. Marin, who recently visited South Africa, thus heralded a likely clash between British foreign secretary Douglas Hurd and his 11 fellow foreign ministers in the community when they meet in Dublin

next Tuesday.

In his stance, he appeared to be backed by Irish Prime Minister Charles Haughey to whom Thatcher wrote at the weekend as part of her international campaign to achieve an end of the worldwide investment embargo on South Africa.

Haughey is the incumbent president of the community and he has signalled his own view that ending sanctions now would be premature.

European Community sanctions are not, however, unduly significant. They cover less than one percent of South Africa's exports at a time of rising trade.

The timing and manner of Thatcher's attempt to project herself into a leadership role in the unfolding South African political drama have been assailed editorially in influential British newspapers, politically in the House of Commons, but most significantly in key sectors of the British business community.

Lifting of the voluntary ban on investments, for instance, concerns the major banks whose directors report that they were not consulted by the government. Their criticism of the Prime Minister is that she may have prematurely raised South African expectations that new lines of credit might become available immediately when that is not the case.

The factor that led British as well as US and European credit institutions to refuse to roll over existing loans in 1985 and onwards was the fear of not being repaid. Market forces — so often cited by Thatcher as sacrosanct — seemed to make nonsense of her insistence that sanctions have been, and always would be, ineffective.

The meaning of all this is that the international lending institutions are unlikely to become available to South Africa while the political landscape remains clouded by uncertainties. De Klerk's initiatives have by general consent promised a brighter outlook, but bankers, traditionally, are far more cautious than politicians and they would want to see greater stabilisation before returning to the South African market.

Right now the situation is that South Africa has repaid just 15 percent of the \$14-billion of frozen debt and has undertaken to work off another 15 percent by 1993. Therefore the general feeling is that banks in Britain at least will want to wait and see more clearly what lies ahead before committing themselves to volunteer any more funds for investment.

Thatcher's rush to identify herself

Visit us, say Lesotho workers to Mandela

By MZIMKULU MALUNGA

WORKERS in Lesotho plan to invite Nelson Mandela to their country — even though they know they may wait a long time.

"It does not matter how long it takes as long as we know that he will come to this country and address the thousands of Basotho mineworkers who have contributed a great deal to the South African struggle," said Puseletso Salai of the Basotho Mineworkers Labour Co-operatives (BMLC).

Consequently a National Reception Committee has been established in Lesotho to cater for the contemplated visit.

"We do not want the government to receive him, we want him to be received by the workers," added Salai who said the main reason for their move was the fact that since 1986 the Lesotho government has been discouraging migrant workers to South Africa from participating in trade union activities.

Salai said in addition to the induction course conducted at Chamber of Mines recruiting centres where workers were being discouraged from joining trade unions, the government sent a delegation from the ministry of labour to the South African mines to emphasise the message.

"They said Basotho workers should stop chanting 'Viva Mandela' because he is a Xhosa whom they did not even know, but we were surprised that they were among the first to welcome his release," he said.

with De Klerk's reform programme has contrasted with her foot-dragging approach to the prospective reunion of East and West Germany. It also is being seen in Washington, according to US officials, as part of her refusal to display any enthusiasm for the progress the Americans and Russians are making in the field of arms control and cutbacks.

In these attitudes, one common denominator has become evident: her isolation from mainstream strategic and geopolitical thinking in the US and Europe. The consequence has been that the Bush administration is paying more attention to West German and French leaders than they are to Thatcher.



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We'll stir whites into action, say conservatives

Stompie murder: Team coach out on R5 000 bail

By CASSANDRA MOODLEY

JERRY RICHARDSON, coach of Winnie Mandela's soccer team, was granted R5 000 bail yesterday in the Rand Supreme Court. He is appearing on 11 charges including the murder of teenage activist Stompie Mocketse Seipei.

The case was postponed to May 2, and Deputy Judge President Mr Justice L le Grange said Richardson would be granted bail on condition he agreed to appear in court on that date.

Certain conditions were imposed. Richardson may not leave the magisterial district of Johannesburg and has to report to Captain Frederick Dempsey at the Orlando East police station every week day between 8am and 6pm. He is also not allowed to contact state witnesses.

Other charges against Richardson include four counts of abduction, five of assault with intent to cause grievous bodily harm, and one charge of attempted murder.

The charge of murder relates to the killing of Seipei in January last year. According to the indictment in December 1988 the 14-year-old Seipei, along with three other people, was allegedly forced by Richardson and others to go with them to the home of Winnie Mandela in Dipekloof, Soweto.

At the time the four were residing at the home of a Methodist church minister in Orlando West. The four were allegedly assaulted in an outside room on the property.

The state alleges that on the evening of January 1 or 2 Richardson removed Seipei from the outside room at the Methodist minister's home. Seipei was not seen alive again.

His body was found on January 6 1989 in an open field near Soweto. The cause of death was "penetrating incised wounds of neck".

Advocate L van Vuuren appeared for the state and H Joubert for Richardson.

See also PAGE 12

ANC office opens in Luthuli's home town

By CARMEL RICKARD

THE spirit of African National Congress president Albert Luthuli is alive and well in his home town, Stanger.

This week two enterprising ANC supporters set up an office in this Natal north coast town and said they have had "hundreds of calls and visits" from interested people.

In consultation with the Mass Democratic Movement, Justice Mpanza, veteran of 15 years on Robben Island, and long-time sympathiser of the ANC Abdul Mangera, have opened an office in Stanger, close to Luthuli's home in Grootville.

They are having an ANC sign made to hang outside the office, and also plan to fly the organisation's green, gold and black colours over the door.

Mpanza said he joined the ANC when he was a young man and continued to be a member after serving a term in the same jail as the now-freed ANC leaders Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and others.

Mangera said he had ties with the Luthuli family stretching back to his youth when he was taken by his father to meet the Nobel Peace Prize winner. That began a life-long sympathy with the ANC.

So far the two are not joining up would-be members — they do not yet have registration cards — but they are taking names and addresses and say they will get back to interested people once the ANC executive in Lusaka decides on the procedure for signing on members.

"We have had hundreds of calls and visits since we opened our doors on February 12," Mangera said.

"People from town and from the rural area around here are very interested. It helps that this is Luthuli country and everyone knows about him and the ANC. They are right behind us."



THE Conservative Party has abandoned plans for a mass stayaway but still believes it will force the government to another white election by the end of the year.

"We will stir the white people into action by exposing the political fraud of the National Party," CP representative Koos van der Merwe told the *Weekly Mail*.

"Neither (State President FW) De Klerk nor any of those people with him will be in any position to stop us from having an election, and it will be before the end of the year."

For now however, the only method being suggested by the CP for bringing the government to its knees is a series of political meetings culminating in a "mass rally" in Pretoria on May 26.

"We'll be holding hundreds of them all over the country. De Klerk will have to concede when he sees that there are hundreds of thousands of whites prepared to take to the streets."

He made it clear that his party had backed off the call for 900 000 people to join a stayaway, and said he "hoped it will never happen".

Van der Merwe, who is the MP for Overvaal and the CP's Defence representative, said that a stayaway was "not being seriously considered", because De Klerk would agree to an election before such moves were necessary.

"What we say to De Klerk is that it doesn't sit in your pants to strip the Afrikaner people of their right to hold an election."

He said he was not sure what Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen meant when he said on Tuesday that the 1989 general election was "the last in which blacks did not participate".

"I don't think he means there will not be a white election again," said Van der Merwe, who stressed that the party now had the basis of mass support to force a white general election before 1991.

At this stage the CP has made no plans to join the Afrikaner Weer-

The black people think it's going to be heaven on earth now," complains a CP spokesman. GAVIN EVANS reports on the angry mood on the far-right

standsbeweging in a programme of militant extra-parliamentary action or to heed their call to try to force an election by resigning their seats.

"The fact that the rightwing people are now calling on us to resign I think is a sign of the negative mood in the country as a result of moves made by De Klerk."

Asked about his opinion of the events following the release of Nelson Mandela, he said it had "incensed the black community and created the most unbelievable expectations."

"The black people think that heaven will dawn on South Africa now that Mandela has been released, and that thousands of jobs and houses and schools will suddenly appear."

"They think it's going to be heaven on earth now, and I can tell you it's just not going to happen."

Van der Merwe said "at this stage" they were not prepared to enter any negotiations in which the ANC was included.

Meanwhile the CP is pressing ahead with its decision to press charges of high treason against Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Pan Africanist Congress leader Zeph Mthopeng.

The charges were laid at Caledon Square Police Station on Monday by CP law and order representative and Ermelo MP Moolman Mentz and two colleagues.

Mentz said documents handed to the police included all published statements and speeches by the three men, including Mandela's speech in Cape Town on Sunday, "in which he supported the armed struggle".

The basis of the treason charges is that in terms of the Internal Security Act it is illegal to bring about constitutional or economic disruptions in the country, or to incite people to bring about such ends.

Peering into the future — with new hope given by the release of ANC leader Nelson Mandela. On Tuesday tens of thousands gathered at Soccer City, just outside Soweto, for a welcome home rally. Awaiting his arrival, the crowd keep a keen watch

Picture: STEVE HILTON-BARBER, Afrapix

Mandela and BCM leaders agree to further talks

By CASSANDRA MOODLEY

A SENIOR delegation from the Black Consciousness Movement visited Nelson Mandela at his Soweto home yesterday and agreed to a follow-up meeting with the ANC leader before the end of the month.

Azanian People's Organisation Deputy President Lybon Mabasa said the second meeting would discuss "matters of interest in the liberation struggle" and would be followed by a report-back to Azapo's national conference to be held next month in Johannesburg.

"Mandela was keen to meet the BCM

while still at Victor Verster Prison, but state officialdom — where letters to and from the ANC leader went astray — prevented such a meeting," Mabasa said.

Mandela "could play a unifying role among the oppressed if he acted above the normal confines of the ANC", he said. This meeting and the next would serve this end.

He said Azapo was proposing unity with both the ANC and the Pan African-

ist Congress, and not the ANC alone.

At yesterday's meeting, Mandela "commended the BCM on its work among the oppressed", said Mabasa.

The meeting also saw the reunion of Mandela and the BCM's Nkosi Molala, Muntu Myeza and Strini Moodley, all former Robben Island prisoners.

Azapo's national conference in March will discuss FW de Klerk's recent reforms, including releases and unbannings; last December's Conference for a Democratic Future; and the political changes in Eastern Europe, Mabasa said.

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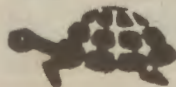
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THE party really came alive on Sunday. Soweto, Hillbrow, Sharpeville, Katlehong ... in fact the whole country, broke into impromptu celebrations.

It was on Saturday night that it actually began. Thousands took to the streets the moment the announcement was made, marching in the streets of Soweto (in pouring rain), singing and toyi-toying until well after midnight.

And on Monday, the celebrations continued as thousands of people stayed away from work.

There was no official call for a stay-away, no pamphlets were distributed, neither were there the usual nocturnal evangelists calling on workers to stay at home. It just happened and the people stayed away on their own to welcome the released African National Congress leader.

"Inkohlhele ibuyile asi phangele namhlanje (The leader is back, we are not working today)," was the

message.

A few taxis and buses were running to town early in the early morning, but they disappeared shortly after 7am. A handful of students in uniform went to school, but hung around the premises rather than going into classes.

At about 8am, hundreds of people had already lined up the main road in Orlando East, Afrika Street, which leads onto the Soweto Highway to the city. An amorphous group of youths sat in the road anxiously waiting for Mandela.

"We are here to form a guard of honour for Comrade Mandela when he enters Soweto for the first time in many years on his way home," said one youth wearing a gold, green and

'If I can just touch his hand, I will go home in peace'

IT WAS THE BIGGEST PARTY THE COUNTRY HAD SEEN. IT STARTED ON SATURDAY NIGHT

black T-shirt at the Orlando/Diepkloof entrance to Soweto.

The Old Potchefstroom Road, the main route for people travelling to the city from the west and eastern parts of Soweto, was overcrowded with people hoping Mandela would use that route on his way to his Orlando West home.

As I headed for the Orlando railway bridge, which connects Orlando East to Orlando West, about 200 people came running down Mooki Street singing: "Mandela sabela uyabizwa (Mandela respond, you are being called)."

A large crowd had already assem-

bled outside house number 8115 Orlando West, hoping to catch a glimpse of the 72-year-old ANC leader. They came with crutches, wheelchairs, walking sticks; others chanted and ran all the way to welcome their hero.

"If I can just touch his hand, I will go home in peace," said an old man, David Phumo, who had come all the way from Mofokeng Section, Katlehong. "I knew him when he was still young but now his hair is as white as mine."

"He was the best lawyer in town but the Boers made him to spend all his life in prison," lamented Phumo.

The whole street leading up to the Maoponya shopping complex was a hive of activity as thousands more joined in the vigil.

A battery of cameras were focussed on Mandela's house, flashes popping all the time. Journalists had virtually camped outside the house and some have been sleeping there for days in caravans and trucks parked in the street.

The marshals, frequently taking orders from their superiors, had a busy time throughout as the crowds surged forward to be nearer the house.

The South African Police had an easy day leaving the whole thing to

WARMED UP ON SUNDAY AND WAS GOING STRONG ON TUESDAY. PHIL MOLEFE REPORTS

the people to handle it for themselves. Police representative Colonel Tienne Halgryn, said the mood in Soweto was "normal".

"We have sent out our normal patrols and we have been on the line to them every five minutes. They report everything as normal. Few celebrations have taken place ... and there has been no need for us to intervene in any action," he said.

Scores of vehicles including taxis and buses had joined in the merry-making, blaring their horns.

"O kae jwale a sa fihle? (Where is he now?)," said one old woman as she patiently waited in the blazing

sun. Just before midday word had already spread in the sprawling township that the leader would be addressing the masses at Orlando Stadium soon after his arrival from Cape Town.

"It is going to be full at the stadium, we should be making our way to Orlando now," said Florence Masekwame, a student at a nearby high school as she persuaded her friend that they should leave.

"I want to shake his hand first before I listen to him speak at the stadium," replied Maki, Florence's friend. Some old people who could not

make their way to the stadium waited patiently outside the Mandela household. "In the African tradition he can't go to the stadium before he goes into his house and thanks his ancestors for keeping him all these years," remarked one old man.

From the Orlando West hill top next to Mandela's house, scores of people could be seen making their way to the stadium. They marched from Mzimhlophe, Dube, Mofolo and Meadowlands in the West, and from Klipspruit and Orlando in the East.

Never before was Orlando Stadium so full. A Pirates-Kaizer Chiefs cup final at the stadium used to draw a

crowd of about 60 000.

But on Monday the Soweto soccer mecca was full beyond capacity. Two children were reported killed in a stampede and scores of other people were injured.

The people waited and Mandela did not arrive. His failure to arrive did not dampen the spirits. Thousands chanted and toyi-toyed in the streets on their way home after the rally had been called off.

The news late in the evening that Mandela had finally landed in Johannesburg and would be addressing a rally at the First National Bank stadium on Tuesday sparked another round of celebrations.

Scores of people headed for Orlando West hoping he would sneak in at

the last hour. Television cameras took fresh positions and the marshalls were down to work again.

Some journalists had already heard through the grapevine that Mandela was whisked away to a secret place in Honeydew and he was likely to spend the night there.

But the people hung around. The real moment for him to be seen in Soweto came only at about 2pm on Tuesday when he appeared at the FNB stadium. Even Abdul Bhamjee, the National Soccer League public relations officer, admitted that day that Soccer City had never been that full.

After the speech, when the National Reception Committee chose to fly Mandela from the stadium in a helicopter, they made him miss what was happening on the ground.

"Mandela belongs to us, he belongs to the masses so why fly him above the people," grumbled one activist.

Standing in the crowd, I wished Mandela had been able to see it all.



Sign of the times ... Supporters of Nelson Mandela find a vantage point to wait eagerly for the moment of his appearance as a free man. Picture: PAUL GRENDON, Alrapix



University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Patience, people, patience. Then suddenly, he was there

By DAVID BERESFORD

SO the history books can show that it was at 4.16pm on Sunday, February 11 1990, that he finally came out of prison — 27 years, six months and six days after he was captured in the little town of Howick, supposedly betrayed by a CIA agent.

As it happened, the timing was all wrong. President FW de Klerk had promised he would be out at 3pm, so he was one-and-a-quarter-hours late, which, when you think about, is a little strange for a man who must have been longing to get the hell out of there for more than quarter of a century. But then that was just one small element in a pretty surrealistic day and, besides, he was having a cup of tea in the prison with his family and nobody was begrudging him that.

But by the time he made that magnificent, if fleeting, appearance at the gates of Victor Verster Prison, the air was electric with all the waiting and the excitement. The media had been there, of course, in growing numbers from about eight in the morning, one American network setting up a "cherry picker" with hydraulic lift for the best angles; rival networks flitting overhead from time to time in search of better angles; the hoi poloi behind the ropes on the ground, strapped by more limited expense budgets, squabbling over who was to enter a "pool" which would give them a 20 foot advantage when the great man came

striding out to freedom.

Others were gathering as well; a crowd of well-wishers swelling to some 2 000 who danced and sang their way through the day with a stamina to be expected of supporters of one of the world's longest-running liberation struggles. There were about 100 uniformed police standing more tiredly at the gates themselves; a few dozen more loitering under pine-trees on an adjoining rugby field; two truck-loads over-looking the scene from a nearby mountain-side; groups of plain clothes men hanging about in surrounding vineyards and troops lurking in nearby bushes — one bunch of whom were highly embarrassed when a woman photographer stumbled into their dug-out in search of a public convenience.

The end of the long wait was heralded, inevitably, by the networks, when four of their helicopters, tipped off by radio, came hurtling over the hills and went zigzagging across the ground like an angler's floats signalling a shoal of hooked fish. In this case it was a joint catch and as realisation dawned on the waiting crowd that it was the man's car they were tracking, on its way from his prison bungalow, the shouts and cheers reached hysterical proportions.

The car drew up and he stepped out



Relaxed and regal ... Nelson Mandela with Winnie Mandela at the Soccer City rally. Picture: ANNA ZIEMINSKI, Alrapix



Joyfully reunited ... proud grandfather Nelson Mandela — the day after his release — with his wife Winnie and their daughter Zinzi (far right) and her children, Zoleka (left), Gadiifi (centre) and the newest baby (in Zinzi's arms). Picture: BENNY GOOL, Alrapix

We'll follow Mandela, the people sing

By VUSI GUNENE

FREEDOM songs are one of the most powerful and original forms of "folk" music in South Africa, a product of the experiences of the people, their anger and their determination to be free. Their origins are diverse, emanating from the changing political scenario.

But, during the Welcome Home rally at the Soccer City stadium this week, activists struggled over their choice of freedom songs — as so many call for the release of Nelson Mandela.

But one song that still works and was sung in most of the townships during the euphoria of the African National Congress leader's release is the one calling for Mandela to answer

back: "Nelson Mandela, sabela uyabizwa" (Nelson answer back, you are being called).

Most of the freedom songs created for campaigns such as the defiance campaign, the pass campaigns and the women's march on the Union Buildings, are still sung today, with slight modifications.

Such songs, despite being "outdated" on one level, still have the power to mobilise communities around a variety of issues.

Some of the songs are influenced by the rhythms and lyrics of church hymns and are reworded to fit a particular event at a particular time.

During the nationwide uprising of 1976, the most popular song was *Senzani na? Sidutshulwa nje nge zinzi* (What should we do when we are being shot like dogs?). The song uses the same rhythm as a well-known hymn.

Later the songs shifted from their defensive stance to assume a tone of more positive protest. Some praised the military wing of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe, while some praised the organisation's leadership.

During the rise of the workers movement, many songs called on the workers to unite and join the unions.

During the 1980s, a lot of songs were levelled at the government, in

Outside Victor Verster Prison, waiting for the world's most famous political prisoner to walk to freedom, the ANC flag is hoisted. Picture: PAUL GRENDON, Alrapix



Sunday chaos in Cape Town ... a youth was shot and killed when violence broke out at the Grand Parade rally on the day of Nelson Mandela's release

IT was a tale of two cities: two rallies in two days in two centres of the country. The one, at best a partial success. The other, a triumph, remarkably free from major hiccups.

If there was a single cause of the troubles at Nelson Mandela's first release rally in Cape Town on Sunday afternoon, it was that everyone had been taken by surprise.

Neither the National Reception Committee nor the Cape Mass Democratic Movement leadership had any clear indication that Mandela was coming out on Sunday, nor that he would be giving his first speech in Cape Town.

In one day they managed to get together over 100 marshals, which may have been sufficient for a crowd of under 10 000.

As it happened over 100 000 people turned up. In groups of 20 or more, they squeezed into bakkies and kombis and they just kept on coming.

By 3.30pm the press enclosure at the city's Grand Parade had been overrun. Minutes later the marshals were literally driven to the wall and by 4pm the City Hall balcony which doubled as a makeshift podium had been seized.

Most of those who arrived and fought their way to the front were youths from the townships. Unlike their Soweto counterparts, most had not been active in political organisation, and many clearly lacked any notion of discipline.

They refused to get off the television platform, which broke. They refused to get off Jesse Jackson's Mercedes, which was stomped into a

Cape Town chaos teaches Jo'burg a quick lesson

THE HASTILY ORGANISED CAPE TOWN RALLY EXPLODED INTO LOOTING AND VIOLENCE. FORTUNATELY, JO'BURG WAS A MODEL OF DECORUM, reports GAVIN EVANS

wreck. They jeered at their regional leaders.

Mandela was due to address the crowd at 3pm, and it was over an hour after that when the looting began.

Some of those involved arrived as early as 9am, which meant that by 4pm they had been seven hours in the hot sun. While many involved in the window smashing and the bottle throwing were criminal elements taking advantage of the situation, the five-hour delay in Mandela's speech compounded the problem.

The police were not blameless too. While most were relatively restrained, when they opened fire it was often at point blank range and at the wrong targets.

In one incident I witnessed, the marshals were trying to restrain the

crowd when a bottle was thrown from several rows behind. The police fired indiscriminately at the marshals.

"We were trying to keep order when they shot at us," said one of the marshals, Nic Borain, who was hit by a rubber bullet. "The guy next to me was hit from a few meters, and it was with buckshot, not birdshot".

At about 4.30pm, hopes were raised when marshals struggled to haul a surprisingly calm Jesse Jackson onto the balcony.

He was followed by Allan Boesak, who, for the next three hours, tried without success to keep control. Other UDF and church leaders wisely withdrew, perhaps sensing the impossibility of their predicament.

Mandela finally arrived at 5.20pm, but his drivers made the mistake of

Picture: MIKE HUTCHINGS, Afrapix delivering him to the front rather than the back of the City Hall. By that time the mood was angry and a decision was made to wait a little longer.

It was another two-and-a-half hours before he would finally address the crowd, many of whom had returned home by that stage.

Over the next two days confusion continued to reign while the National Reception Committee found their feet.

The first Mandela press conference was initially planned as a pre-rally event, then it was postponed until afterwards. Over 200 journalists dutifully arrived to be told it would be held the next day in Johannesburg, but it was later switched to Bishopscourt in Cape Town.

The next announcement was that the Soweto rally would be held at Jabulani stadium. Seventy thousand people arrived and several were injured in the rush.

By Tuesday the local and national reception committees had stabilised plans and the Soccer City rally in Soweto was relatively well organised. United Democratic Front assistant publicity secretary Murphy Morobe publicly apologised for the previous day's problems and the air was cleared.

One reason for the success of the Soweto event was that the venue was more conducive to crowd control. But, predictably, it was not nearly big enough.

Its official capacity is 85 000, but the number inside totalled at least 130 000, with up to 70 000 outside. When it ended at 5pm, scores of cars

Victor Verster: We know the name, but who was he?

IF Nelson Mandela was the world's most famous prisoner, then Victor Verster must surely have become the world's most famous jailer, albeit several years after his passing away.

According to an obituary in the SA Prison Service's magazine *Nexus*, Verster retired from the service in 1963 after reaching the rank of Director of Prisons.

Following his departure, the civilian post of director was given its present title of Commissioner of Prisons as a result of a reorganisation for which Verster himself has been given much credit — and the honour (if you will) of having a jail in Paarl named after him.

Nexus also credits Verster for having a guiding influence on the 1959 Prisons Act, which, it says, established the Prisons Service as a separate entity less subject to control by and dependence on other branches of the government.

The Act also brought South Africa's prisons administration into line with "the standard minimum rules for the treatment of offenders which are subscribed to by the United Nations," *Nexus* says.

As Director of Prisons Verster established "contacts with international bodies and persons in the field of prison administration," says the magazine, adding that "these contacts led to many foreign visitors visiting South African prisons".

Verster died in December 1984, survived by his wife, a daughter, two grandchildren and one great-grandchild.

were still arriving.

Had the event taken place on a weekend, and had it not been for the lack of publicity and the previous days' confusion, the crowd would probably have been 500 000 or more.

"We tried our best but we couldn't get a bigger venue than this," said UDF general secretary Popo Molefe, appealing to Soccer City management to keep on building in expectation of the return of the exiled leaders.

Much of the stress in Mandela's address and Walter Sisulu's short introductory speech was on discipline.

Perhaps because he spoke only in English, sections of the youthful crowd clearly did not listen, and some left early. Most, however, were glued to his words.

Unlike the all-day-picnic atmosphere of the rally in October to celebrate the release of Walter Sisulu and six others, the mood was tense and almost sombre.

The few incidents of indiscipline seemed to be a direct result of intense overcrowding. Where I was sitting there were three-to-a-seat, and the pressure from outside was enormous. Without the over 1 000 marshals present, the Cape Town chaos could have been repeated.

The NRC had learnt the lesson of punctuality. The rally started at its allotted time of 2pm, and Mandela spoke exactly one hour later.

INSTITUTE FOR A DEMOCRATIC ALTERNATIVE FOR SOUTH AFRICA

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BY THE WAY

As the choppers rise into the sky, I count dreams

THERE were 150 000 dreams at Soccer City on Tuesday. The dreams unfolded, in broad daylight, amid the strains of muted jazz trumpet, screams, toyi-toyi chants and poetry.

Little Boitumelo Sisulu had been sleeping on the lap of a woman in the grandstand as the dream unfolded. A massive balloon of black, green and gold colours stood in the air above the pitch as the girl slept soundly under a black, green and gold umbrella.

The dreams continued unfolding. Six helicopters arrived at 2pm and hovered around South Africa's biggest stadium amid cheers and chants of "ANC, ANC, ANC". Four of the choppers disappeared and two remained, hovering above the pitch.

Clad in pink slacks, with black, green and gold ribbons in her hair, four-year-old Boitumelo had been munching away at a hard peach before she dozed off. After all, she had been at the stadium from as early as 8am to see the game for which South Africans had been yearning for decades. She is in pre-school, and sitting and waiting all day without the occasional nap was totally strange. She had thought, however, the spectre of Nelson Mandela would perform a miracle and make her stay awake all day on Tuesday.

Boitumelo is the daughter of Sheila and Mlungisi Sisulu, son of Walter Sisulu. She and the throngs of South Africans of all hues had come to see Nelson Mandela make a triumphal return to his home town.

The sea of people from all segments of South African political opinion occupied every single space in the stadium, which was already bursting at the seams two hours before Mandela was scheduled to arrive. Many were to remain outside and and hear their idol speak. The crowds outside jostled for entry at the gates outside the stadium. In the process some children were almost crushed.

An elaborate system of doctors, nurses and other members of the South African Health Workers Congress was at hand to care for the injured and ferry them to hospital.



The old lion roared out a cry little heard since the 1960s: "Afrika!" The crowd roared back: "Mayibuye!"

Picture: GILL DE VLIEG, Afrapix

There was self-discipline and order enforced, not by the police, but by South African Youth Congress marshals. The marshals enforced order on the police too. I saw a contingent of policemen being led in convoy into the open parking area by a marshal, who held a large ANC sign high. I'm not sure how committed they were to the struggle, but the convoy too shouted "Viva Mandela" as they followed the grinning marshal.

The two helicopters landed on the pitch. The stadium thundered with screams of "Viva Mandela", followed by "ANC, ANC, ANC" chants. Then Mandela arrived, followed by fellow African National Congress leaders Walter Sisulu, Andrew Mlangeni and Ahmed Kathrada.

Next came Winnie Mandela, Albertina Sisulu, June Mlangeni and Caroline Motsaedi, as well as Rivonia trial lawyers, Arthur Chaskalson and George Bizos.

As the party took their seats, the crowds stood up and cheered. Then they sang: *Somlandel 'uMandela* (we'll follow Mandela). Sisulu then presented Mandela to his followers. They rose again and 150 000 fists punched the air as the throngs sang the people's national anthem.

Mandela spoke: "We are going forward. The march to-

wards freedom and justice is irreversible ... Your struggles, commitment and your discipline has released me to stand here before you today ... We call on the police to abandon apartheid and to serve the interests of the people ... Join our march to a new South Africa."

The old lion roared: "Afrika!" at the end of his speech. The crowd roared back: "Mayibuye!"

The ANC rallying call was popular in the 1950s, but was later abandoned with the rise of socialism among young militants in the movement. It was clear Mandela the unifier was fired by a spirit of nationalism.

We again sang the national anthem. The helicopters returned. The drum majorettes in their black, green and gold uniforms did their bit. Mandela and his entourage sauntered towards the aircrafts, amid the strains of Miles Davis' muted trumpeted. The tune *Tutu* had been dedicated to Archbishop Desmond Tutu by the legendary trumpeter.

"It's a dream," said pop singer Mercy Pakela, as the choppers rose and disappeared in the blue sky. So said everyone. I counted the dreams. There were 150 000.

Thami Mkhwanazi



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These should be addressed to: The Co-ordinator, COSAW, P.O. Box 421007, Fordsburg, 2033. Tel. 833-2530/1/3



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Delicate diplomacy ... and for now, Winnie's in favour

HUGH MASEKELA'S dream of seeing Nelson and Winnie Mandela "walking hand in hand" finally came true this week.

For the moment he may only see it on television, but after 28 years the couple were together again, and the line from the popular Masekela song became a reality for millions.

For the wife of the country's first person, the past five days have returned her, for now, to a state of respectability.

While several dark clouds loom over what some have called her "rehabilitation", in the short term at least she is back in something approaching good favour.

Walter Sisulu introduced her at Tuesday's rally in Soweto, noting she had "also suffered and sacrificed", though the cheer greeting her from the 150 000-plus crowd was noticeably mute.

On several occasions Nelson paid tribute to the support of his wife, who, since Sunday, has seldom been absent from his side.

Unlike UDF president Albertina Sisulu, Winnie's role has now been trimmed to one of the wife of the leader. But there is also little doubt that once again this status has returned her to at least international acceptability.

A year ago, even six months ago, a rehabilitation of such proportions was difficult to imagine, at least in such a short period. But the prospect of Nelson Mandela's release, followed by the event itself, made it inevitable.

The event which ensured Winnie's fall from grace as the "Mother of the Nation" was the murder of 14-year-old Free State activist Stompie Moekele-Seipei, allegedly by members of the Mandela United football team.

The team, which doubled as her bodyguard, had already attracted a reputation for thuggery. It is now widely held that they were infiltrated

For now, Winnie Mandela, prominent at all the recent rallies, is back in favour. But dark clouds may loom on the not-so-distant horizon, reports GAVIN EVANS

by security police agents.

Seipei and several other activists were kidnapped, held against their will at Winnie's Soweto home, and according to abduction victims were beaten by soccer team members as well as by Winnie herself.

Seipei was later murdered while another activist survived a murder attempt.

The team's former coach, Jerry Richardson, is currently on trial for murder and eight other members are facing charges of assault and kidnapping.

For at least three years prior to these events Winnie Mandela's star had been waning in the eyes of many activists and sections of the general public.

Her 1986 speech suggesting support for necklacing opponents was widely quoted as an excuse for the State of Emergency by government representatives.

Her decision to build a luxury "palace" in Orlando, Soweto was not well received by many in anti-apartheid circles.

And her relationship with controversial American Robert Brown, who was after a "franchise" on the Mandela name, had to be blocked by ANC and MDM leaders, including Nelson Mandela.

After the Stompie incident came to light the UDF publicly condemned Winnie, while the ANC issued a softer statement criticising Winnie's judgment but placing the blame on the soccer team itself. The ANC statement also called for Winnie to be reintegrated into structures.

For a few months Winnie virtually disappeared from public view, but more recently she has re-emerged as a speaker at public meetings and other MDM activities.

The national leadership of the South African Youth Congress in particular developed a close relationship with her. Recently family members have referred the press to Sayco general secretary, Rapu Malekane, for comment when asked about family issues.

Two weeks ago Molekane issued a press statement attacking those criticising Winnie for building the "palace", noting she was not responsible for the poverty in areas like Soweto.

Nelson Mandela's decision to move into Winnie's current Soweto "matchbox" seems to have put an end to the issue. It is possible the palatial house may now be used as offices.

It is possible, however, that Winnie's return to the good eye of the public may not be too long-lasting.



Winnie Mandela ... status trimmed from political leader to wife of a leader

Several potential obstacles stand in the way.

The Richardson trial has begun, and may soon reach the front pages.

Perhaps because of the government's apparent desire to ensure that Mandela's release is not complicated by extraneous factors, they have kept their hands clean of the Winnie issue.

What is clear, however, is that the state has a welter of information, allegations and statements which could cause further damage to Winnie's reputation.

Already fresh information of a "hit list" being found in the Mandela home has emerged in the Rand Supreme Court trial arising from the death of football team member, Sanela Madondo.

The suggestion of further potentially damaging allegations emerged this week in the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into the death by hanging of Clayton Sizwe Sithole.

Sithole, said to be a boyfriend of Zinzi Mandela, allegedly committed suicide while being held in detention under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act on January 30.

One of the reasons cited by the state for his alleged suicide was that he had made a statement which included serious allegations against Winnie and Zinzi Mandela. Mr Justice R J Goldstone ruled that these should not be heard in court.

Another recent incident which has attracted controversy is Winnie's relationship with French businessman Alain Guenon, who is believed to have worked for the SABC, with the SADF and against sanctions.

He is said to have worked with Winnie, and in co-operation with the Sayco leadership, in setting up a press centre to co-ordinate news relating to Nelson Mandela.

While it is possible that all these issues will blow over or be swept under the carpet, there is no guarantee.

For one thing not all in the state with information on Winnie's affairs, have the best interests of either Nelson Mandela or FW de Klerk at heart.

Long after the initial euphoria around Mandela's release has subsided the "Winnie issue" could still be around.

University of Fort Hare

Together in Excellence

A message from the people who work at Mobil



Nearly three thousand of us work at Mobil, and many thousands more work with us in service stations, general dealers, spazas and supermarkets. Many people reading this use Mobil products every day.

We are a local company in every way with a very real stake in South Africa's future. We are truly committed to this country.

As in any large group of South Africans we come from different backgrounds, religions and languages. And, of course, we have different political views.

Without shouting about it, for many years we have negotiated with all shades of opinion. Through the Mobil Foundation, and our extensive community programmes, we have made substantial investments to help bring about a new and better South Africa. Our company's operations, too, have made an important contribution to job creation and economic development in our country.

But, until now, we felt that too many people were saying too much... while talking past each other. Violence, rhetoric, posturing and jargon seemed more important than finding real solutions.

Now we see significant changes which unite us in the hope that common sense and a common wealth will replace the selfishness of the past. Leaders on all sides are now showing real courage and starting to talk — and more importantly, to listen — to each other. Let us join hands with them!

The solutions might still be some time in coming, but the fact that the process has started, gives us hope that very soon now unique economic and political solutions will be developed here at home — by South Africans. In time, we believe South Africa will be restored to its rightful place in the world community.

Until then, we will continue to do everything we can to facilitate this urgent process. We at Mobil are firmly committed to progress, and we dedicate all of our energy to this goal.

This week it feels especially good to be a South African.

Mobil

Nurses go nationwide in fight against residence segregation

MORE than 130 angry Hillbrow hospital residents, who forcibly occupied the "whites only" Johannesburg hospital residence after their quarters were damaged by fire in December, have launched a national campaign to desegregate residence facilities for hospital staff.

The campaign highlights the growing seriousness of the country's health crisis and is a result of a fire at the Hillbrow hospital residence last December which rendered the residence uninhabitable.

Despite objections from the Johannesburg and Hillbrow hospital superintendants, the group of "homeless" doctors, nurses and radiographers moved to the Johannesburg hospital's "whites only" nursing home in December. "We will occupy until it is desegregated," said Dr Oupa Mpe, a resident and one of the co-ordinators of the support committee formed to implement this national campaign.

Until recently the Johannesburg Hospital did not employ black nurses; however, even after this restriction was relaxed, the nurses home remained segregated.

The committee, which includes community members, adds that hospital authorities are refusing to accommodate any more of the "homeless" Hillbrow staff members at the Johannesburg Hospital nursing home and have "forced 15 first-year medical students and 15 staff members to occupy rooms in the dilapidated Hillbrow residence where even the fire escapes have not been reconstructed".

Transvaal health services executive committee member S Ferreira denied that first year students were forced to stay at the Hillbrow residence saying: "The residence, except for block E (which was damaged in the fire), has been investigated and, according to the Department of Works, it is completely safe."

The residents and students have enlisted the support of members of community, health and labour organisations including the National Education Health and Allied Workers Union, the National Union of Public Service Workers, Community Health Awareness Project, South African Health Workers Congress, Congress of South African Trade Unions and the National Council of Trade Unions. A petition is being circulated and pamphlets, pickets and demonstrations are planned.

The committee is critical of Democratic Party MP for Parktown Dr Zac de Beer's "failure to intervene in the situation".

De Beer, however, said the DP was constantly campaigning for desegre-

Singing freedom for Mandela

●From PAGE 9

particular, at the then State President PW Botha.

With the 1980s also came the era of the toyi-toyi, a dance which many activists claim began in the Eastern Cape.

Other songs emanate from ANC camps during times when the cadres recall loved ones, and dream about going home.

These songs, usually sung and broadcast on the ANC's Radio Freedom, somehow always filter through to South Africa.

Others still are inspired by political prisoners while in detention or serving their sentences.

Freedom songs grow directly from the experiences and emotions of the people.

Already there is a new one, which was sung this week at the Soccer City rally for Mandela. It called on people to intensify the struggle in anticipation of the exiles, to be led by Oliver Tambo, returning:

"Zabalaza, nako e fihlile. Ke bale ba tshela Limpopo ba khuhlela hae ba etetswe pele ke Tambo. Ba khullela hae."

At the close of Mandela's speech the crowds sang: "Somlandela, somlandela uMandela" (we will follow Mandela). But that was not a new song — it was first sung during 1950s when people sang "we will follow Luthuli".

gation. "The situation in regard to the facilities at the Johannesburg Hospital is undignified, unseemly and inefficient," he added.

Sahwco representative Dr Aslam Dasoo said Sahwco would use the Hillbrow residence issue as "a fulcrum to relaunch the MDM defiance campaign launched last August since the residence incident fell under the ambit of defiance".

Dasoo added that the Hillbrow campaign was taking place against a background of inadequate health facilities, shortages in hospital staff, and cutbacks in patient admissions.

A fire last December in Hillbrow Hospital's residential block for nurses has ignited a wider campaign for desegregating health workers' accommodation, reports CASSANDRA MOODLEY

"The ultimate aim of the Hillbrow hospital campaign is to commit the government to desegregating all health facilities so that the health system comes under one department and

not 14 as is presently the case. This results in mass duplication of services which leads to shortages at some hospitals."

Co-director of the Wits University Centre for the Study of Health Policy, Cedric de Beer, felt that segregation of residence facilities at Johannesburg Hospital added to the crisis by contributing to the "degeneration in the quality of health care at the hospital."

"The segregation undermines the morale of the staff — this is an insult to black staff and furthermore must create tension between black and

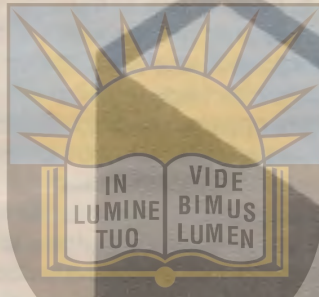
white staff members."

De Beer said the roots of the current health crisis lay in the size of the private sector which basically served a small elite, the government's privatisation programme, low funding of the public sector and the fragmentation of health services.

"In essence the problem is the lack of political will on the part of the government to provide adequate health care," he added.

De Beer said that a national health service by which the state takes on greater responsibility, should be a long-term goal.

Commenting on Health Minister Rina Venter's announcement this week that an increase in nurses' salaries would be considered, De Beer said an increase was an important, but not an adequate step, since it ignored such aspects as fragmentation and reducing the size of the private sector.



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HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

The Human Rights Commission welcomes the release of Nelson Mandela and urges the South African Government to implement all the measures considered essential for

Declaration on apartheid and its destructive consequences in Southern Africa

(A/RES/S-16/1)

PREAMBLE

We, the States Members of the United Nations, assembled at the sixteenth special session of the General Assembly, a special session on apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa, guided by the fundamental and universal principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, in the context of our

efforts to establish peace throughout the world by ending all conflicts through negotiations, and desirous of making serious efforts to bring an end to the unacceptable situation prevailing in southern Africa, which is the result of the policies and practices of apartheid, through negotiations based on the principle of justice and peace for all:

Reaffirming our conviction, which history confirms, that where colonial and racial domination or apartheid exist, there can be neither peace nor justice;

Reiterating accordingly that while the apartheid system in South Africa persists, the peoples of Africa as a whole cannot achieve the fundamental objectives of justice, human dignity and peace which are both crucial in themselves and fundamental to the stability and development of the continent;

Recognising that, with regard to southern Africa, the entire world is vitally interested that the processes in which that region is involved, leading to the genuine national independence of Namibia and peace in Angola and Mozambique, should succeed in the shortest possible time, and equally recognising that the world is deeply concerned that destabilization by South Africa of the countries of the region, whether through direct aggression, sponsorship of surrogates, economic subversion or other means, is unacceptable in all its forms and must not occur;

Also recognising the reality that permanent peace and stability in southern Africa can only be achieved when the system of apartheid has been eradicated and South Africa has been transformed into a united, democratic and non-racial country, and therefore reiterating that all the necessary measures should be adopted now to bring a speedy end to the apartheid system in the interest of all the people of southern Africa, the continent and the world at large;

Believing that, as a result of the legitimate struggle of the South African people for the elimination of apartheid and of international pressure against that system, as well as global efforts to resolve regional conflicts, possibilities exist for further movement towards the resolution of the problems facing the people of South Africa;

Reaffirming the right of all peoples, including the people of South Africa, to determine their own destiny and to work out for themselves the institutions and the system of government under which they will, by general consent, live and work together to build a harmonious society, and remaining committed to doing everything possible and necessary to assist the people of South Africa, in such ways as they may, through their genuine representatives, determine to achieve this objective;

Making these commitments because we believe that all people are equal and have equal rights to human dignity and respect, regardless of colour, race, sex or creed, that all men and women have the right and duty to participate in their own government, as equal members of society,

and that no individual or group of individuals has any right to govern others without their democratic consent, and reiterating that the apartheid system violates all these fundamental and universal principles;

Affirming that apartheid, characterized as a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind, is responsible for the death of countless numbers of people in South Africa, has sought to dehumanize entire peoples, and has imposed a brutal war on the region of southern Africa, which has resulted in untold loss of life, destruction of property and massive displacement of innocent men, women and children and which is a scourge and affront to humanity that must be fought and eradicated in its totality;

Therefore we support and continue to support all those in South Africa who pursue this noble objective. We believe this to be our duty, carried out in the interest of all humanity;

While extending this support to those who strive for a non-racial and democratic society in South Africa, a point on which no compromise is possible, we have repeatedly expressed our objective of a solution arrived at by peaceful means; we note that the people of South Africa, and their liberation movements who felt compelled to take up arms, have also upheld their preference for this position for many decades and continue to do so;

Welcoming the Declaration of the Ad-Hoc Committee of the Organisation of African Unity on Southern Africa on the Question of South Africa, adopted at Harare on 21 August 1989, and subsequently endorsed by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries at its Ninth Summit Conference held in Belgrade in September 1989, as a re-affirmation of readiness to resolve the problems of South Africa through negotiations. The Declaration is consistent with the positions contained in the Lusaka Manifesto of two decades ago, in particular regarding the preference of the African people for peaceful change, and takes into account the changes that have taken place in southern Africa since then. This Declaration constitutes a new challenge to the Pretoria regime to join in the noble efforts to end the apartheid system, an objective to which the United Nations has always been committed;

Noting with appreciation that the Commonwealth Heads of Government, at their meeting in Kuala Lumpur in October 1989, noted with satisfaction the strong preference for the path of negotiated and peaceful settlement inherent in the Harare Declaration and considered what further steps they might take to advance the prospects for negotiations;

Also noting with appreciation that the Francophone Summit in Dakar in May 1989 likewise called for negotiations between Pretoria and representatives of the majority of people with a view to the establishment of a democratic and egalitarian system in South Africa;

Consequently, we shall continue to do everything in our power to increase support for the legitimate struggle of the South African people, including maintaining international pressure against the system of apartheid until that system is ended and South Africa is transformed into a united, democratic and non-racial country, with justice and security for all its citizens;

In keeping with this solemn resolve, and responding directly to the wishes of the majority of the people of South Africa, we publicly pledge ourselves to the positions contained hereunder, convinced that their implementation will lead to a speedy end of the apartheid system and heralding the dawn of a new era of peace for the peoples of Africa, in a continent finally free from racism, white minority rule and colonial domination;

UNITED NATIONS PRESS RELEASE OF 2nd FEBRUARY 1990

The Special Committee against Apartheid welcomes the significant measures announced today in parliament by F W De Klerk: the lifting of the ban on the African National Congress (ANC), the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) and other anti-apartheid organisations, the release of certain political prisoners, the sus-

pension of the imposition of the death penalty and the relaxation of media restrictions, as well as the announcement of the imminent release of Nelson Mandela.

Nevertheless, the appropriate climate for negotiations can only be created when the following measures are also implemented, as set forth in the United Nations General Assembly Declaration on South Africa adopted by consensus on 14 December 1989: the end of the state of emergency; the repeal of all legislation, such as the Internal Security Act, designed to circumscribe political

creating the climate necessary for the commencement of negotiations which would lead to the dismantling of apartheid and the creation of a democratic South Africa.

These measures are set forth in the United Nations Declaration, reproduced here, which was adopted by consensus on 14 December, 1989 by the General Assembly Special Session on Apartheid.

DECLARE AS FOLLOWS:

1. A conjuncture of circumstances exists, which, if there is a demonstrable readiness on the part of the South African regime to engage in negotiations genuinely and seriously, given the repeated expression of the majority of the people of South Africa of their long-standing preference to arrive at a political settlement, could create the possibility to end apartheid through negotiations.
2. We would therefore encourage the people of South Africa, as part of their legitimate struggle, to join together to negotiate an end to the apartheid system and agree on all the measures that are necessary to transform their country into a non-racial democracy. We support the position held by the majority of the people of South Africa that these objectives, and not the amendment or reform of the apartheid system, should be the goals of the negotiations.
3. We are at one with the people of South Africa that the outcome of such a process should be a new constitutional order determined by them and based on the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. We hold therefore the following fundamental principles to be of importance:
 - (a) South Africa shall become a united, non-racial and democratic State;
 - (b) All its people shall enjoy common and equal citizenship and nationality, regardless of race, colour, sex or creed;
 - (c) All its people shall have the right to participate in the government and administration of the country on the basis of universal, equal suffrage, under a non-racial voters role, and by secret ballot, in a united and non-fragmented South Africa;
 - (d) All shall have the right to form and join any political party of their choice, provided this is not a furtherance of racism;
 - (e) All shall enjoy universally recognised human rights, freedoms and civil liberties, protected under an entrenched bill of rights;
 - (f) South Africa shall have a legal system that will guarantee equality of all before the law;
 - (g) South Africa shall have an independent and non-racial judiciary;
 - (h) There shall be created an economic order that will promote and advance the well-being of all South Africans;
 - (i) A democratic South Africa shall respect the rights, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries and pursue a policy of peace, friendship, and mutually beneficial co-operation with all peoples.
4. We believe that acceptance of these fundamental principles could constitute the basis for an internationally acceptable solution that will enable South Africa to take its rightful place as an equal partner among the world community of nations.

A. Climate for negotiations

5. *We believe that it is essential that the necessary climate be created for negotiations. There is an urgent need to respond positively to this universally acclaimed demand and thus create this climate.*

6. *Accordingly, the present South African regime should, at the least:*

(a) *Release all political prisoners and detainees unconditionally and refrain from imposing any restrictions on them;*

(b) *Lift all bans and restriction on all proscribed and restricted organizations and persons;*

(c) *Remove all troops from the townships;*

(d) *End the state of emergency and repeal all legislation, such as the Internal Security Act, designed to circumscribe political activity;*

(e) *Cease all political trials and political executions.*

7. *These measures would help create the necessary climate in which free political discussion can take place - an essential condition to ensure that the people themselves participate in the process of remaking their country.*

B. Guidelines to the process of negotiations

8. We are of the view that the parties concerned should, in the context of the necessary climate, negotiate the future of their country and its people in good faith and in an atmosphere which, by mutual agreement between the liberation movements and the South African regime, would be free of violence. The process could commence along the following guidelines:

(a) Agreement on the mechanism for the drawing up of a new constitution, based on amongst others, the principles enunciated above, and the basis for its adoption;

(b) Agreement on the role to be played by the international community in ensuring a successful transition to a democratic order;

(c) Agreed transitional arrangements and modalities on the process of the drawing up and adoption of a new constitution, and of the transition to a democratic order, including the holding of elections;

C. Programme of action

9. In pursuance of the objectives stated in this Declaration, we hereby decide:

(a) To remain seized of the issue of a political resolution of the South African question;

(b) To step up all-round support for the opponents of apartheid and to campaign internationally in pursuance of this objective;

(c) To use concerted and effective measures, including the full observance by all countries of the mandatory arms embargo, aimed at applying pressure to ensure a speedy end to apartheid;

(d) To ensure that the international community does not relax existing measures aimed at encouraging the South African regime to eradicate apartheid, until there is clear evidence of profound and irreversible changes, bearing in mind the objectives of the declaration;

(e) To render all possible assistance to the front-line and neighbouring States to enable them: to rebuild their economies, which have been adversely affected by South Africa's acts of aggression and destabilization; to withstand any further such acts; and to continue to support the peoples of Namibia and South Africa;

(f) To extend such assistance to the Governments of Angola and Mozambique as they may request in order to secure peace for their peoples, and to encourage and support peace initiatives undertaken by the Governments of Angola and Mozambique aimed at bringing about peace and normalization of life in their countries;

(g) The new South Africa shall, upon adoption of the new constitution, participate fully in relevant organs and specialised agencies of the United Nations;

10. We request the Secretary-General to transmit copies of the present Declaration to the South African Government and the representatives of the oppressed people of South Africa and also request the Secretary-General to prepare a report and submit it to the General Assembly by 1 July 1990 on the progress made in the implementation of the present Declaration.

activity; the removal of all troops from the townships; and the release of all political prisoners and detainees.

We expect that the international community, recognising the importance of the decisions announced by Mr De Klerk, will, nonetheless, remain fully aware that the system of apartheid, which cannot be reformed, remains intact.

So long as the principles and objectives for negotiations as set out in the United Nations Declaration on South Africa are not met, the Special Committee Against Apartheid deems entirely prema-

ture any change of policy by the international community towards the apartheid regime.

POLITICS

Marches for bread and butter issues

AS politicians and the media waited for the world's best-known political prisoner to walk to freedom last week, the people of the townships seemed to have something more immediate on their minds.

They, too, took advantage of Pretoria's astroika to take to the streets: but the demands they raised were not those we might expect in these stirring times.

In Cape Town on the day Parliament opened, a few thousand people marched to demand that it dissolve. Last Saturday, a couple of hundred demonstrated against the rebel cricket tour.

Between those two events, an estimated 50 000 marched in Alexandra, 40 000 in Atteridgeville, 70 000 in Garankuwa. Tembisa, Tokoza, Daveyton, Vosloorus and Wattville also saw stirrings of grassroots protest.

In each case, people rallied to demand better houses and conditions, reduced rents and service charges.

While the size of the crowds might be overestimated, there is little doubt that it is bread and butter issues which are mobilising people at the grassroots now.

This does not mean township residents have no political aspirations. In all the marches, African National Congress flags were displayed. But, as expectations of change grow, what the township rank-and-file want changed most of all is their immediate conditions.

Some grassroots reaction to Mandela's release confirms this. At his Soccer City rally, the crowd reacted most warmly when he talked of education, housing and crime. Many people, reports tell us, believe he will deliver them equal pay and lower rents.

This places obvious pressure on the government. Raised expectations of change could lead to a new round of township mobilisation around bread and butter issues.



Worm's Eye
Steven Friedman

It was this sort of protest which sparked the 1984/86 unrest. On the East Rand, it has already prompted a tough police reaction. If it is not handled skilfully, we could face another bout of violent conflict.

The government may only be able to avert this if it ensures that police do not act as they did on the East Rand — this may be difficult because many policemen are frustrated now.

But, as a previous column noted, it will not find it easy to defuse the protests by meeting people's expectations.

Township material protest may be sparked by the present political climate. But it has just as much to do with the authorities' failure to improve significantly township conditions despite a concerted attempt in the mid-1980s.

One of the immediate causes, for example, may be that township councils still can't pay their way and that the provinces have had enough of paying their mounting bills. They have insisted that the councils raise charges for services and several of the townships where ferment is emerging have done just that.

The government wants to cut spending now and is unlikely to pour millions into improving conditions. Scrapping apartheid local government and Group Areas would be longer-term solutions but would take time to take effect; in any event, our rulers might want to keep these issues as bargaining chips for negotiations.

Some extra-parliamentary activists are aware of the problems and see them as an opportunity for mass mobilisation. They hope that crowds of 40 000 or 50 000 may swell to ten times that. This, they believe, will place the government on the defensive — much as it did in Eastern Europe.

This strategy would almost certainly be doomed. Events through the 1980s showed repeatedly that, while mass mobilisation is an important weapon for resistance movements, it cannot on its own force the government into retreat.

Unlike Eastern European political systems, this one enjoys the support of the security forces — and of several million people. If the system is threatened by mass protest, it will curb it.

More importantly, mobilisation on its own probably wouldn't change people's immediate conditions — and that could be a severe problem for resistance movements.

If people at the grassroots expect Mandela — and the resistance movements — to yield material changes, their support might wane if conditions don't improve. The ANC and its allies may be under as much pressure to deliver improvements as the government.

If they want to do this, they may have to choose the option community leaders are pursuing in Soweto and parts of the Eastern Cape: there, activists are trying to negotiate interim solutions which will improve conditions among their constituents.

They obviously hope that, if they can win improvements, their support will grow and they will strengthen their organised base. Thus far they have succeeded in getting the authorities to talk to them: they have yet to win concrete changes.

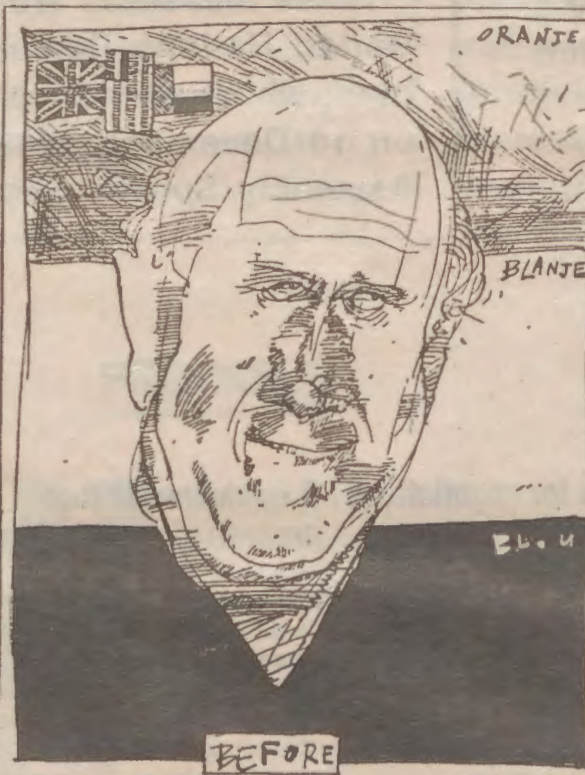
The mounting problems in the townships give the government one incentive to talk to them.

Another reason it might choose to do this is its desire to find negotiating partners. Some Nat strategists believe that the best way to do this is to bargain on real material interests, rather than on abstract issues.

If resistance movements choose this strategy, not only might they strengthen their support on the ground, but they might recapture the political initiative. Instead of reacting to government moves, they would be forcing it to confront issues it cannot solve on its own — but which demand at least temporary solutions soon.

National political leaderships are not comfortable with these issues and it is unlikely that they will take them up themselves. But local leaderships are ideally placed to negotiate them: if they get the go-ahead from national leaders to do that, the danger bubbling in the townships now could become an opportunity.

DEREK BAUER'S WORLD



LETTERS

THE coverage of Nelson Mandela's release by SABC TV's news department was truly abominable. If TV viewers had been wondering whether the spirit of the new era was really moving through SABC-TV's *News* and *Network* programmes, the pathetic coverage of the Mandela release should dispel any lingering doubts.

While the TV networks of the world devoted enormous resources to cover the event, SABC-TV did the bare minimum. The rest of the world were treated to extensive background reporting on all aspects of the Mandela story as well as

interviews with a range of people on the South African and world stage giving their views on the significance of his release. What we saw was an embarrassed Clarence Keyter standing outside Victor Verster with nothing to say — apart from what a beautiful prison it was. There was no crossing over to the rally at the Grand Parade in Cape Town, no crossing to other parts of the country where people celebrated in the streets nor was there any contextualisation of the event.

To add insult to injury, the *Network* coverage at 8pm could not even offer Mandela's speech live. Instead we saw bumbling and discredited homeland leaders reading their statements on the release, while the rest of the world watched Mandela speak for the first time in 27 years. Presumably the news department wanted to censor the speech before broadcasting it.

I suppose it is too much to expect anything else but this mixture of incompetence and political selectivity from the SABC. The sooner they are swept away by the tide of history the better! — **Video for Freedom, Johannesburg**

AFRIKAANSE Demokrate welcome President de Klerk's announcements and would like to congratulate him on his courage, realism, and pioneering spirit, qualities on which Afrikaners like to pride themselves, but seldom display.

We welcome his announcements as necessary steps in the long process towards a democratic, non-racial, united South Africa, but would also like to point out that the statutory structures of apartheid are still largely intact and that there are still serious obstacles impeding the free participation of all in the political process.

We also recognise his announcements as a victory for all those organisations and individuals who, through continuous pressure, striving, and sacrifice, have ensured that the unrealistic, unjust and oppressive aspects of the current dispensation in South Africa are shown up and must be addressed. President de Klerk's concessions are a product of this struggle, and a sign that the struggle of the past has not been in vain, and is still worthwhile. As many Afrikaans-speakers as possible should become part of the Mass Democratic Movement

TV's Mandela coverage left us all dancing in the dark

in order to help ensure that the transformation process does not get stuck at this point, but could jointly be taken further.

Government propaganda has left most Afrikaans-speakers totally unprepared for the strange situation that the "demons" of yesterday are now suddenly respectable conversation partners with whom one can work together. But within organisations such as UDF affiliates there already exists a long tradition of non-racial, democratic practice which can offer a glimpse of the future. Those who want to find out about and participate in the building of this process can approach Afrikaanse Demokrate, a non-racial, non-sexist organisation which aims to show Afrikaans-speakers that they have a place and a contribution to make in the Mass Democratic Movement — **Linda Dietrich, Afrikaanse Demokrate, Johannesburg**

AS President FW de Klerk and his colleagues are lauded daily from all corners of the globe following the earth-shattering speech made at the recent opening of parliament, we would do well to remember those brave and indefatigable South Africans who for so many years have devoted themselves to the pursuit of justice and peace in our country: Philip Kgosana, Helen Joseph, Albert Luthuli, Beyers Naude, Helen Suzman, Steve Biko, Van Zyl Slabbert, David Webster, Molly Blackburn and countless others who persevered in the face of the severest opposition, derision and even persecution, in their quest to promote the very policies which are now being hailed as the brainchild of the National Party.

South Africa salutes those pioneers of democracy — **Julia Smuts, Wynberg, Cape Town.**

DESPITE events in Eastern Europe the loony left still hammers away trying to flog a dead ideology.

I refer in particular to that buffoon of an economics professor, JK Galbraith. Disregarding how authoritarianism in

government has been so soundly rejected, he (like our local loonies at Wits) is still trying to dupe us into coercive arrangements that steal from the rich and give to the greedy. This institutional thieving and parasitism he still persists in calling "welfare", and the society whose government is implicated in such acts of theft and coercion he still persists in calling a "caring" society.

For heaven's sake! When are those supposed intellectuals going to wake up to the fact that, in essence, democracy means protecting every-

one's property, not ripping it off in the name of the law. The game's up, academics. After Stalin and Mao's genocide of 80-million of their own people and Marxist imperialism that subjugated a quarter of the world by bayonets and lies, the world has rejected your crop. Awake now from your Marxist slumbers, forget about dominating and controlling people, and instead learn to love and respect your neighbour and his justly-acquired property. — **Frank Dube, Johannesburg**

THE Black Sash is outraged by the government's targeting of the Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre as a "reporting organisation" in terms of the Disclosure of Foreign Funding Act. We are aware that many organisations have already been visited by inspectors, had their books examined and seen their work disrupted by this kind of interference, and we ourselves have not been immune to it.

However, this is the first declaration of a "reporting organisation" and it should alert the public once again to the sweeping powers given to the Registrar by this legislation. It is not only the legislation itself, but the long history of the government's use of control over funding to hamper and curb the work of its opponents.

We offer our support and encouragement to the Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre for the continuation of its work and its right to pursue it. — **Mary Burton, Black Sash, Cape Town.**

NOW that Nelson Mandela has been released, national and international attention must focus on our most famous remaining prisoner — politician, poet, existentialist philosopher, raconteur and, above all, man of action — **Dmitri Tsafendas.**

Tsafendas is a specialist in non-verbal communication and terminal conflict resolution. His continued incarceration casts doubt on the legitimacy of the negotiations process. Provided he is disarmed of any sharp instruments, he has a vital role to play in any discussions.

He has by now passed retirement age and is an unlikely to obtain further employment in parliament. It is virtually impossible for him to repeat the crime for which he was originally imprisoned. — **Robin Edwards, Cape Town**

Address letters to Letters Page, The Weekly Mail, Box 260425, Excom 2023. Shorter letters will be given preference. The editors reserve the right to edit letters for clarity or space.



The end of a sad tour that brought a familiar spiral ... police shot at demonstrators and hundreds were injured

Picture: STEVE HILTON-BARBER, Afrapix

THE English rebel cricket team will play four more games before going home next week. But the tour, in effect, is dead.

There will be a wake, of sorts. Crowds at the remaining games, all but a busful of them white, will drink loudly to Mike Gatting (he's got guts, that oke) curse the times and tell themselves it didn't have to end like this.

But anyone in doubt about what a sorry, short-sighted exercise this tour has been should have been at the sombre press conference called to announce cricket's "gesture of conciliation and compromise".

South African Cricket Union managing director Ali Bacher, team manager David Graveney and Gatting all tried to extract something positive from the situation.

It's difficult to believe people when they're struggling to believe themselves. It was, in fairness, perhaps not the time and place for them to admit that the mess they were in was precisely what they had been warned to expect.

Gatting tried to say it wasn't quite so. "Nobody knew what Mr De Klerk would do," he said. He was "very happy that doors had been opened between the NSC and Sacu, which is a big plus."

Graveney said that "as someone who is not South African I felt honoured to have witnessed what has taken place in the country over the last 10 days".

He clearly did not think that he should have known this was coming, not even after hearing from the anti-tour delegation who had gone to England last year to dissuade the 16 rebels. "They were saying the same thing as the anti-apartheid groups in Britain," he said rather plaintively.

The Sacu statement said their action had been prompted by "the recent dramatic political developments" in the country.

Presumably they meant Nelson Mandela's release — after all Sacu president, Geoff Dakin, had earlier claimed that the unbanning of the ANC vindicated the decision to continue with the tour.

It was left to Bacher — to whom all the ambulance work has been left — to talk with at least some candour. "We must acknowledge that the tour has been divisive," he said.

He said that the games had been played in grounds surrounded by police, an "abnormal" situation. "I didn't expect this to that degree," he said. Bacher conceded that the tension at the very first game in Kimberley was such "that I got quite frightened by it. The mood I sensed among the people was

It's difficult to believe people who're finding it difficult to believe themselves

It was quite evident that he and his colleagues were absorbing many of the attitudes of the people around them. You just had to listen to them talk.

There was John Emburey's version of what happened at Jan Smuts when they arrived. No problem that he was three hours away and airborne at the time; what really happened was that people had been smashing buildings elsewhere in the airport and had run into the demonstration to get away.

There was Neil Foster's view of the demonstrations — "they just come out for the media, don't they" — delivered to his hosts in Kimberley who couldn't have put it better themselves.

But they are the sideshow. Bacher was cautious about their return — "it would be acutely insensitive to talk about that now," he said.

Surely, Sacu will not be so foolish again. Thus far they have had to learn the hard way. Back in April last year, Bacher expressed a fear that tours could damage the township programme. This week he admitted his may already have happened.

What good comes out of the tour's collapse will depend on how honestly Sacu reflect on the reasons for the tour's collapse. Bacher said compromise with the National Sports Congress had not been possible before because the NSC had not offered anything in the past.

And yet other sporting bodies have seen in the NSC's statements, incomplete as they are, the opening up of other routes into world sport.

There is no doubt that the tour has done harm. It is not solely measured in the number of people who got hurt. More lasting damage has probably been done in the racial division it may have caused.

Bacher said not all cricket fans would agree with the decision, but he hoped "people who value the future of the country and the game will see the need to accommodate all political aspirations and will see our decision in this light. We support what's happening in the country and we would like to be part of it."

The fact is, Sacu is basically a white organisation, its township efforts notwithstanding. Its real contribution could have been to understand sport's role in political change and try and share that with their constituency.

Shelving the tour now is a late attempt at that. Sadly, most of the white people who pack the grounds for the last four games, will see the decision as capitulation, not compromise.

An obituary to the late and largely unlamented cricket tour

By JOHN PERLMAN

very, very hot."

He said that if Sacu had decided to push ahead with the full tour they would have been able to complete it. "But there would have been more and more police present.

"And the pressure would have intensified as we moved to areas like Port Elizabeth and Cape Town. We have to say there's a time when, in the interest of wider things, it's just not worth it."

The Sacu's first task now will be to make up its losses. Bacher said he would soon be involved in "intense lobbying" of businesses who have "pledged support in the past".

That will be comparatively easy. Far trickier will be working out the next move. There is the question of the second leg of the rebel tour, scheduled for November.

Graveney said the 16 players would "honour their contractual obligations" to which Gatting confidently added that the "circumstances by then won't be the same".

They certainly won't. But it is difficult to imagine this, or any rebel band, being welcome here again. Nor can one see what they could possibly contribute.

Gatting said he had "seen a lot more of South Africa for myself now" and understood "a lot more" about the country.

But the truth is he spent most of his time surrounded by cricketers, officials, and thickset men whose short pants and day-glo shirts could not conceal the fact that they were policemen.

University of Witwatersrand
Togelapane

STATE THEATRE

HORRORS!
NATIONALISATION!
THE ANC LOOSE!!
MESSAGES FROM
GORBACHEV!

FW. AND HIS RED PALS
REMINDE ME OF THE KREMLIN!
TO ME EVERYTHING IN SA
LOOKS LIKE THE KREMLIN...

EVEN THE UNION
BUILDINGS!



Abe Berry

ON THE SOUTHERN TIP



Krisjan Lemmer
Krisjan's Diary

YOU KNOW, there are times when even the bottomless fount of wisdom that flows from the minds gathered round the the Dors Bult bar dries up. And that is when Oom Krisjan knows he must turn to higher authority to see what the future holds. Enter again William Smith, star-gazer supreme with Sunday's omens for the week ahead.

For Nelson Mandela and other Cancerians, he wrote in *The Star* on the day of The Release, "there should be plenty of variety in your surroundings. You may be tempted to place your life on a new track. However you may be too impressionable and unwise changes are possible. Besides getting more fun out of life, you will have plenty happening in family life to keep you interested."

Smith is pretty sober on the question of Aquarians and Andries Treurnicht: "You can put yourself on the map from the social angle, may be fortunate in gambling and sport."

But what does he advise for Pisceans like FW de Klerk? "Train yourself to make immediate decisions during this round because swift and timely action should help you to score in many ways. A sudden inspiration could enrich you somewhat."

Sounds like Smithy's a week out on this one.

■WELL there was only one thing bigger than Mandela this week — the pack of press people dogging his every stop. It's great how this glanshot can work for all of us.

US television network, ABC, found themselves short a plane on the day of the great walk to freedom. No problem. Talk to the men whose aerial supremacy in our blue skies is as yet undisputed.

The South African Defence Force were only too delighted to hire out a plane — presumably at weekend rates.

■ANOTHER deal didn't go off quite so smoothly. A great rival of ABC's, called CBS, decided they needed two lawyers for the day. "\$150 a day, boys," they said. "Let's sort it out later," said the legal eagles, as lawyers are wont to do.

At the end of the day, the two men of law walked away with \$150 an hour, which will teach the TV boys a lesson. If you're thinking of hiring help at Third World rates, do some homework — and don't hire the two sharpest labour lawyers in town.

■YES we are certainly making headlines, some of them stranger than others. "WHITE RULE ENDS IN SOUTH AFRICA" — that is how London's Evening Standard saw things recently.

It took an editorial in the *Tehran Times* to put things in perspective:

"It appears that the racist regime in South Africa is only trying to save its skin from the inevitable, i.e. a victorious revolution of the oppressed blacks that might lead to a harsh revenge on the whites for so many centuries of oppression and tyranny."

Fair enough.

■THERE is a doctor at Baragwanath whom Oom Krisjan would very much like to buy a drink — and offer a job.

This fine son of the scalpel got a call from someone with a distinctly northern suburbs tone. She simply couldn't even think of hiring this new Malawian gardener without getting him to have a test for Aids first.

She would not be dissuaded by ethics — it ought to be up to the man himself you know — nor by common sense. At the end of his tether the doctor said: "All right. Just make sure he wears a condom each time he mows the lawn."

It is not known who hung up first.

■OOM Krisjan is not yet able to confirm whether a well-known marketer of beauty products has applied to change her name to Viva Forman.

He can, however, confirm that the betting on the next Nobel Peace Prize has swung dramatically.

Any money that hopes to make money on a joint award for Nelson and FW had better be placed now — while the odds are reasonable.

■THERE are times when even the best journalists get bitten back. How is the Appeal Board and the rest of the censorship machinery going to adapt to the changing climate, asked a reporter from a well-known weekly paper that often gives Oom Krisjan casual work?

How is your well-known weekly going to cope if *Sechaba* comes out on the streets every Friday? Touché, I'd say.

LIFE ON THE SOUTHERN TIP, Parts 132 and 133

"THE South African Bureau of Standards said on Monday it is to conduct field tests to determine whether a cockroach would prefer a new type of poison bait to jam, chocolates, savouries or other delicacies.

The tests, to be conducted soon in hotels, restaurants and cafes, follow laboratory examinations, according to a statement issued to Sapa.

It said an American firm had requested the SABS to test 15 types of poison bait on their behalf, using standard cockroaches bred by the bureau."

— SAPA, 12/2/90

"NELSON Mandela began his first morning of freedom with a hearty breakfast at Bishopscourt, where he and his family slept last night. A spokesman for Archbishop Desmond Tutu, whose official residence it is, said Mr Mandela was served with cornflakes, bacon, eggs, toast and tea.

He took milk and sugar in his tea, she said."

— SAPA, 12/2/90

K. Lemmer.

BUSINESS

IF nothing else, the flurry on the stock-market and on world minerals markets in response to Nelson Mandela's statements on nationalisation indicates the shallowness of the approach of investors or their advisors. Why should they have expected that Mandela would depart from African National Congress policy on this or any other major issue?

Perhaps the stock-market had believed government propaganda, put out to justify its changed position and to protect itself against the far right, that Mandela was departing from ANC policy and took a more centrist position.

Since his release, Mandela has confirmed that he did not enter negotiations with the government about the shape of the country's future; only about conditions under which negotiations could take place. Mandela has been notably insistent about his accountability to the ANC and its democratic processes.

Nevertheless, many might find it difficult to understand why Mandela has adopted such a firm and unambiguous position on the nation-

alisation of the mines, banks, and monopoly firms.

It is probably easier to understand why Joe Slovo, general secretary of the South African Communist Party, has adopted a more conciliatory position. In an interview on BBC television two weeks ago, Slovo referred apologetically to the idea of a "socialist utopia, if such a thing exists".

More recently he is reported to have called for the whole issue of nationalisation to be the subject of negotiations. While he acknowledged that any democratic government would need to address the issue of redistribution, this did not mean that sectors of the economy had to be nationalised. He is also reported as saying that if land was redistributed it did not mean all white-owned land would be confiscated, or

Perhaps there are good reasons for Nelson Mandela to assert the state's right to intervene in the economy on behalf of the masses, argues ALAN HIRSCH

that former owners would not be compensated.

Slovo's reported statements reflect the SACP's new position on the crisis in the USSR and Eastern Europe, which backs economic reform and a multi-party political system. It is a timely shift in position for the SACP, for it comes just as the possibility of real political negotiations enters the picture. 15 years ago it didn't really matter if Slovo favoured the free market or the dictatorship of the peasantry and the proletariat.

Today Slovo, the communist, seems to offer

a more flexible position on the economy than Mandela, the democratic nationalist with socialist sympathies.

But are Mandela's ideas on nationalisation 30 years out of date, and simply a reiteration of an old policy, now under review? Perhaps there are still good reasons why a political leader might reassert the right of the state to intervene powerfully in the economy on behalf of the mass of the people.

Calls for economic justice are very high up on the list of demands of many black South Africans. Individual trade unions and the Congress of South African Trade Unions, as the major representative body, have consistently pushed an uncompromising socialist position which appears to resonate very strongly with their members.



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Together in Excellence

Highrise Celebration . . . Los Angeles style.

Special moments are m

onalisation

Workers do not need to be told that the South African economy is one of the most highly monopolised in the world, and that the power to allocate economic resources is currently held in a very small number of white hands in the private and public sectors.

It is worth noting that when Stellenbosch economist Attie de Vries recently told a conference that it was imperative to "privatise the private sector", a Chamber of Commerce officer responded in an offended and incomprehending way. As De Vries implied, the white monopoly of economic power in the private sector remains a major obstacle to equitable economic growth.

It could also be argued that the reaction to Nelson Mandela's statement is as over-the-top as many recent responses to the economic cri-

sis of Eastern Europe. The economies of Poland, Hungary and so on are now portrayed as devastated wastelands, testimonies to the failure of command economies in general and of nationalisation in particular.

It is forgotten that in the early post-war decades Eastern Europe grew far more rapidly than Western Europe, and that when communist regimes seized power in the late 1940s, most Eastern European countries were the exhausted economic colonies of their neighbours East and West.

To suggest, as many have, that the rapidly growing economies of the Far East can attribute their success simply to the free market, is less than accurate.

Japan's development in the 1950s and 1960s was directed to a large extent by powerful government ministries and a by state-owned investment bank.

South Korea's rapid growth was based on

●To PAGE 20

Coal and steel exporters start counting the days to the end of sanctions

COAL and steel are two industries which will be watching political developments carefully in coming months.

Both were severely affected by the imposition of sanctions in 1985 and 1986. And although they have found new export markets, they are hoping the lifting of sanctions will allow expansion and/or improve profits in the medium to long term.

For steel producers, higher exports could mean they could expand capacity. The coal mines, on the other hand, hope for higher prices — they have had to increase exports by lowering prices, offering a "political discount" on their coal.

Highveld Steel chairman Leslie Boyd said this week: "The far-reaching announcements made by State President FW de Klerk at the opening of parliament will not only have a positive impact on the South African economy, but should also lead ultimately to the lifting of sanctions and the reopening of Highveld's steel markets in North America and the EEC."

Anglo American's Highveld, South Africa's second largest steel producer after Iscor, increased its after-tax profits for the year ended December by a whopping 165 percent to R322-million, in large part as a result of export earnings from steel and particularly from vanadium. More than 60 percent of Highveld's sales of R1,6-billion in 1989 came from exports.

Vanadium has not been affected by South Africa's political status in the world as it is regarded as strategic by most countries. Highveld produces 40 percent of the world's vanadium and so can set its own terms.

But with sanctions, the South African steel industry lost access — at least officially — to what were at the time its most important markets, in the United States and Europe.

Since then it has found new markets, particularly in the Far East, in a context in which the world market for steel has been growing rapidly. Last year it reached a record 791-million tons, 9-million higher than in 1988.

Thanks to exports and strong domestic sales, Highveld's rolling mills and iron and steel plants were running at full capacity last year. A one percent downturn in the world steel market is expected this year, as is a slowdown in the domestic market. But Highveld is still looking healthy.

So is Iscor, which is due to release its interim results next month, the first since it was privatised in November. Analysts expect the corporation, which produces more than three quarters of South Africa's steel, to be on target to meet its forecast 20 percent growth in earnings for the year.

So it seems that, if sanctions were to be lifted, the South African industry would have to be looking at increasing capacity.

This might be the case for the coal industry too. But what coal producers want most is higher export prices. The "political discount" varies from country to country, but is as high as 10 to 20 percent on ruling market prices.

Their ability to increase volumes immediately would be limited, because the bulk of coal exports go through the Richards Bay Coal Terminal. At the moment it can move 44-million tons a year, although it is increasing capacity to 48-million tons. It has plans to raise this still further to 53-million tons, assuming export prospects improve.

But if political developments did change the sanctions scenario, this would not necessarily affect the South African industry immediately — coal contracts with the big buyers (particularly the public utilities such as Enel in Italy, the equivalent of our Eskom) are negotiated for a year in advance. Contracts with European buyers have already been concluded for this year. Negotiations with the Japanese are

Steel and coal producers are hoping political change will regain them the markets they lost when sanctions were imposed. ANN FRIEDMAN reports



Highveld's Leslie Boyd

due at the end of this month.

Three countries which specifically imposed sanctions on South African coal were Denmark, France and the US — together they had accounted for one quarter of the country's exports prior to 1986. In several other countries, state-owned public utility companies stopped buying South African coal. Japan was an important market and became more so after 1986. But that country's Ministry of Trade and Industry (MITI) froze imports from South Africa at 1987 levels in money terms. This has meant export tonnages to Japan have dropped.

Japanese buyers showed some enthusiasm following De Klerk's speech, enquiring about options to increase their tonnages, according to Trans Natal Coal chairman Brian Gilbertson. But it's not clear that any of this will affect export prospects — Gilbertson is cautious.

But the fact that South African coal mines have been successful in finding new export markets was highlighted by Trans Natal's interim results, released last week.

Bottom line profits, at R56,9-million for the six months to December, were 113 percent higher than in the same period in 1988. "This increase is due largely to an increase in sales revenue, mainly because of higher export volumes, improved dollar prices and a weaker rand/dollar exchange rate," said parent company Genmin (Gencor mining). Exports of 5,1-million tons made up one third of total tons sold, compared to 26 percent for 1988.

Trans Natal is the most export-dependent of the coal mining houses — and has therefore been most vulnerable to sanctions. Anglo American Coal (Amcoal) and Rand Mines' Witbank Collieries have much higher domestic sales, most of this to Eskom.

Trans Natal's fortunes plummeted in 1987 and 1988. This was not only due to falling exports but to problems in the structure of the company.

And for South Africa's coal industry, sanctions in that period simply exacerbated the situation on world coal markets, where there was oversupply. But markets have since swung into balance.

Coal export volumes dropped from over 45-million tons in 1986 to 42,5-million tons in 1987. They then increased by one percent to 43-million in 1988.

South African coal producers too have found new markets in the East and South East Asia. A significant amount of South African coal is also said to travel to Eastern Europe, although this trade goes through middlemen and pre-dates sanctions.

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to enjoy.



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Eau dear, please don't pass the Perrier

PERRIER said this week it is withdrawing its mineral water from sale worldwide after traces of the chemical benzene were discovered in water on sale in several countries.

"Half measures are not possible," company chief Gustave Leven said in Paris. Perrier had already recalled stocks in the United States.

Leven's announcement on Wednesday came only after trading was over for the day on the Paris Bourse. Perrier's shares had already tumbled by a further 4,1 percent after losing a quarter of their value since the weekend.

In the US, 72-million bottles were withdrawn from sale over the weekend after 13 sample tests showed unacceptably high levels of benzene, which is regarded as cancer-inducing. Authorities in Denmark, Britain, Japan and the Netherlands reacted by imposing a provisional ban on sales.

Perrier said no benzene was found at source in regular tests, indicating that one of its work-force may have used prohibited cleaning materials on production machinery. — Deutsche Presse Agentur

BUSINESS

Motor industry's misfortunes move into '90s

SOUTH AFRICA's motor industry in the 1980s was hit by a recession which industry sources have described as the longest and harshest in its history.

From 20 manufacturers operating in the industry employing some 48 000 people in 1982, there are now only seven passenger vehicle manufacturers left, employing just over 31 000 people.

And the tale of woe for the industry is likely to continue into the 1990s, with only rampant car price increases keeping the manufacturers out of the red.

Commenting on the turbulent 1980s, the National Association of Automobile Manufacturers recently said motor manufacturers had probably lost all the profits they ever made in their lifetimes during the decade.

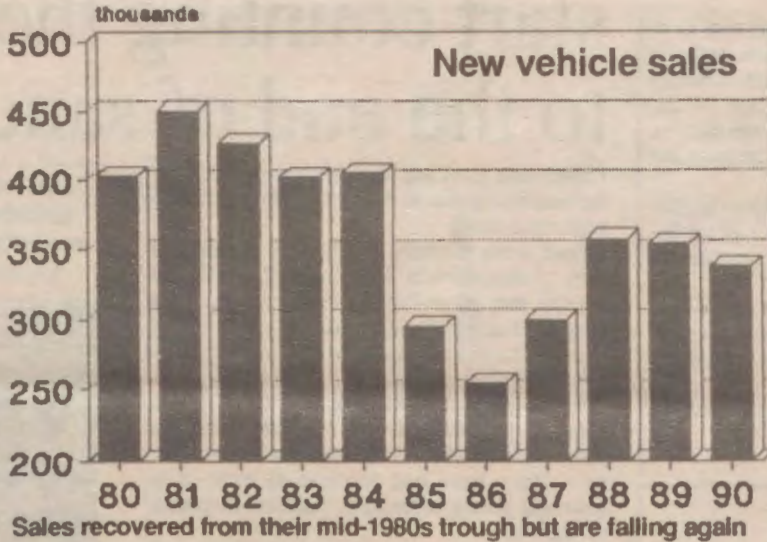
Total vehicle sales reached a peak of 450 000 units in 1981, but since then the industry has stumbled from one disastrous year to another, under the weight of negative political and economic factors.

Sales slumped steadily hitting a low of 250 000 in 1986. By then the damage had been done.

Many leading manufacturers had joined the disinvestment wave, notably the American giants General Motors and Ford, which sold out to local companies.

The French were among the first to leave, although recent speculation indicates that the privately owned Peugeot-Citroen group and state-controlled Renault, are waiting for the right political atmosphere to return to the country.

With disinvestment came the plung-



Sales recovered from their mid-1980s trough but are falling again

The motor industry has relied on price increases and the black taxi industry to keep up its profits. But the future looks tough. KURT JENSEN reports

in 1988 to R13,2-billion last year. The major contribution to this improvement has been the steep rise in car prices as total vehicle sales over the year declined slightly by 4 268 units to 353 620.

New car sales for 1989 amounted to 222 351 units, a drop of 3,5 percent compared with sales in 1988. Economist analyst, Tony Twine, estimates that the consumer price index for the motor sector rose by 26 percent last year, while the price of an average car surged from about

R29 500 to over R34 000.

Against this background profits of the manufacturers received a significant boost last year.

Most manufacturers do not provide details of their financial performance but analysts, using an average profit margin on about 5,5 percent of turnover, estimate that the companies have netted about R600-million in 1989 — up to 20 percent higher than the previous year.

However the picture looks less optimistic this year.

For one, unit sales are expected to show a far more significant decline this year than in 1989.

Already fourth quarter new car sales were down 8,6 percent compared to fourth quarter sales in 1988, and in December monthly car sales fell to their lowest in over two-and-a-half years.

Naamsa estimates total vehicle sales could decline by over five percent to about 335 000 units, while new car sales could fall from last year's 223 351 to 210 000 units.

"Prevailing high financing costs, the slowdown in the economy coupled with a fall in aggregate domestic spending, are all expected to impact adversely on the industry's short to medium term prospects," Naamsa said in a statement accompanying the latest sales figures.

This is supported by recent Bureau of Economic Research figures, which forecast that spending on motor vehicles is likely to drop by 11 percent this year.

Car sales are usually the first to be influenced by a slowdown in consu-

mer spending and would already have fallen by far greater numbers, had the corporate sector not sprung to their rescue.

Cost pressures on the manufacturers are also likely to surge.

"The overhead contribution per unit rises alarmingly when the market is in a downturn, impacting directly on profit margins," says Twine, adding that labour costs in particular could once again exceed the inflation rate.

Imported cost pressures are likely to be more moderate, particularly for Japanese parts, which make up the bulk of imported commodities, but could increase in terms of Deutsche mark and Sterling.

The industry is once again expected to make up for this shortfall by raising prices, but the scope of the increases is limited given the fragile financial state of consumers.

Twine estimates prices could rise by up to 18 percent this year, while Naamsa itself forecasts increases of between 12 and 14 percent. A spokesman for Toyota Marketing adds, however, that the figure of 14 percent depends largely on the stability of the Rand exchange rate.

A big question mark also hangs over the impact of Phase VI of the local content programme on the industry.

According to the programme, cars are required to have a local content value of 75 percent by 1997. To meet this, many manufacturers will have to make huge investments in new plants or refurbish old ones. Many analysts fear the end result will once again be a hefty increase in retail prices.

The serious business of matching big and small, black and white

The MatchMakers project is no charity — it suits the interests of both small and large business. HILARY ANDERSSON reports

AS April approaches black businessmen, white businessmen and members of the American consulate's commerce department prepare for the week of handshakes at Nasrec known as MatchMakers.

This year the tone of the project, which began in 1986 as an attempt to channel the social conscience of large white companies to help small black businesses get off the ground, is undergoing a subtle change.

The days of kindly MatchMaker seeking out and guiding new black businesses to charitable white patrons are fading. The new approach holds that no one really appreciates hand-outs, but that a leg-up at the right time can be invaluable.

Sellers exhibit their products, while the keen-eyed buyers from companies such as Anglo-American, Gencor and Rand Mines scrutinise potential investments.

This change serves as a mark of success for a project which from the beginning refused to see itself as a charitable enterprise, insisting from the start on payment of a substantial fee for each stall.

An 18-year-old Mozambican, Edward Makuna, who walked from Maputo to Johannesburg without a cent to his name, but with a striking talent for crafting hardwood furniture, is going to display his wares at MatchMakers this year.

He complains of the difficulty of getting business to come into Soweto — "people are too afraid". Getting out of the township to do business, he believes, is likely to serve him well.

The exposure that MatchMakers can

offer a young company has proved invaluable for many, such as Lucia Mothiba of Ludo Curtains, Alexandra. She describes MatchMakers as "a window for my business". As a result of her exhibition at MatchMakers '88 shops such as Biggie Best and Barristers Interiors in Sandton and Rosebank now sell her wares.

White companies are making leaps, too. Instead of gratifying aching consciences, as the cynical might expect, they speak of their pleasure in doing business with the people who often make up 90 percent of their market.

Perhaps more importantly trying out new and untested businesses has proven to be an even greater advantage for them.

Anglo-American sees MatchMakers as a reservoir of talent and an opportunity to build up a directory of business contacts. For that reason it will participate again this year.

Anglo also takes the long-term view that if it is in the interests of the country's future to support a project that exposes the talent of small black businesses, it is in their interests, too.

The success of MatchMakers is borne out by similar projects in Cape

University of Fort Hare Together in Excellence



Working... Mozambican craftsman Edward Makuna

Town and Pietermaritzburg, organised in both cities by progressive-minded chambers of commerce, although Johannesburg's chamber of commerce was not interested.

USAid will give MatchMakers \$50 000 (R130 000) this year, helping the project to expand with the recently formed MatchMaker Services, a non-profit company formed to provide all-round services for both buyers and sellers, and to build on the co-operation between big businesses and emerging entrepreneurs.

Among other things, the new company will offer, for a fee, both a marketing service, and training in basic marketing principles.

The acceptable face of nationalisation?

●From PAGE 19

planned expansion in the state-owned energy industry, and on public enterprises operating in steel and other metal industries, and the Korean government set unusually strict conditions on foreign investment. In recent decades, the Indian economy has achieved steady growth on a diet of widespread state intervention.

Perhaps the ANC will nationalise some enterprises when they come to power, perhaps they won't.

Perhaps the government of a new South Africa will find more subtle

and efficient ways of guiding economic growth and the redistribution of wealth.

Undoubtedly, the ANC needs to think carefully about economic policy — much more carefully than when the prospects of power were faint. In the meantime, why shouldn't Nelson Mandela reassert the desire of his supporters, as expressed in the Freedom Charter, for decisive intervention in the economy on their behalf?

Too few jobs, too many people, says bank report

Weekly Mail Reporter

THE number of jobs in the productive sectors of South Africa's economy increased by only 19 000 during the 1980s, while the economically active population, excluding the TBVC countries, grew by 2,5-million people to 10,7-million.

The figures are supplied in the latest *Nedbank Guide to the Economy*, which adds, however, that the growth of government countered this trend to some extent, providing employment for an additional 308 000 people. But this was partially offset by a 65 000 decline in South African Transport Services and Posts.

In the productive sector, mining employment declined from 715 000 in 1980 to 704 000 by August 1989. Manufacturing employment declined but by August last year was back to the 1980 level of 1,46-million people. Employment in construction peaked in the early 1980s at 447 000 but declined to 417 000 by last year.

During the 1990s the situation is likely to worsen, because there is likely to be no significant increase in either government or productive sector employment, says Nedcor economist Edward Osborn.

"Although there could be a steady expansion of employment growth in the private service sectors, there is unlikely to be an alleviating burgeoning of the government sector as in the 1980s."

Looking at the outlook for the manufacturing sector for this year, Nedcor economist Kevin Lings forecasts real growth for the sector of 1,5 percent, compared to an estimated 2,5 to three percent last year and six percent in 1988.

Manufacturing production was 4,5 percent lower in the third quarter of 1989 than in the same period in 1988, while average employment for the first half of the year was almost 3 500 down on the last half of 1988.

But Lings notes industries within manufacturing vary considerably on their sensitivity to business cycle

conditions. The food industry is the most stable, while the motor vehicle manufacturers are highly sensitive to the ups and downs of the business cycle. Other "highly sensitive" industries include textiles, furniture, transport equipment and electrical machinery. Industries in this category make up a quarter of total manufacturing output, and could experience very low or even negative real growth in 1990.

Industries of "average sensitivity" include iron and steel, metal and plastic products, printing and publishing. Some industries in this category have already experienced substantial falls in production of up to 10 percent.

"Relatively stable" industries include food, footwear, beverages, leather, paper and other chemical products. These industries, which together make up 37,5 percent of total manufacturing output, should show steady growth in the coming year.

The fur trade ends at Harrods

BRITISH animal protection groups claimed a major victory this week as Harrods, the exclusive London department store, announced it would halt fur sales.

Harrods' owners, the House of Fraser department store chain, had already stopped offering furs in its 62 other stores last year.

The shutdowns followed years of sagging sales for the haired animal hides, which changed hands to the tune of £80-million in 1984 but declined to only £11-million (about R47-million) in the first half of 1989.

The sales collapse came amid repeated anti-fur media campaigns by Greenpeace, Lynx and other groups advocating wildlife protection. Recent years also saw many fur outlets hit by arson attacks by militant animal rights activists. — Deutsche Presse Agentur

Special souvenir supplement

MANDELA

Pictures and anecdotes from the life of the newly released ANC leader

Not Guilty! A hug for Nelson from Winnie as the Treason Trial verdict is given
Picture: ALF KUMALO

(Courtesy Penguin Books, publishers of the forthcoming 'Mandela: Echoes of an Era' by Alf Kumalo and Es'kia Mphahlele)



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Prisoner Mandela touches a child ... and weeps
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'Nelson, here's sixpence. Go buy me shampoo'
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The Black Pimpernel dodges the police again
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Hens scurry today at the site of the 'Mandela gym'
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The elders remember young Mandela PAGE 3



The prisoner who broke all the rules PAGE 21



THE WEEKLY MAIL
WORLD
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Soviet rebuff for 'president Gorbys'

SOVIET leader Mikhail Gorbachev's proposal to create the office of state president endowed with sweeping powers drew opposition in the Supreme Soviet parliament on Wednesday.

Gorbachev defended his plan and rejected insinuations that the presidency would enlarge his personal power. He complained that the debate had been overshadowed by "pressure and emotions".

There was lively criticism of the timetable proposed by Gorbachev's deputy, Anatoly Lukianov, for the necessary constitutional changes.

Lukianov suggested that the Congress of People's Deputies, the supreme lawmaking body, should convene on February 27 to discuss the

proposed presidency and a change of article 6 of the constitution which guarantees the monopoly of power to the Communist Party.

Members of the radical opposition around Boris Yeltsin argued that such far-reaching changes required "serious thinking". They said the president should not be elected by the Congress of People's Deputies, as had been proposed, but in direct, secret and general balloting by all voters.

Gorbachev told the deputies he had initially been critical of the idea of presidency, but "life demands changes". A strong power was needed to protect democracy.

He refuted accusations that the presidency would increase his powers

and said it was not certain he would be placed on the list of candidates.

Earlier in Wednesday's session, Gorbachev had pointed to the necessity of changing the constitutional status of the Communist Party. He was seconded by Lukianov, who said the People's Congress must urgently deal with changing articles 6 and 7 of the constitution.

Article 6 cements the leading role of the Communist Party, article 7 regulates that of the trade unions and communist youth organisation.

Gorbachev urged the 434 deputies to take "quick and decisive" action in carrying out a radical economic reform. Further procrastination could aggravate the present problems. — Deutsche Presse Agentur

All smiles as both Germanys move towards unity

A JUBILANT West German government said yesterday that the final obstacles to German reunification after 45 years of postwar division have been removed, even though Poland this week demanded a major role in the creation of the new Germany.

A West German official, however, indicated that Bonn would reject the Polish demand.

On Wednesday morning, placards appeared on the streets of West German cities showing the smiling faces of Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Soviet Premier Mikhail Gorbachev under the slogan, "The way is clear. Now comes unity."

These campaign posters for Kohl's Christian Democratic Union were only one sign of the Bonn government's celebration of the decision on Tuesday by the four victorious World War II allies to meet with the two Germanys later this year to discuss the security aspects of German unification.

Although East German leaders complained that Kohl had sent them home from a German-German summit emp-

East and West Germany, divided for the past 45 years, have finally removed the obstacles towards unity

reports

MARC FISHER, Bonn

ty handed, the chancellor announced that "we are, so to speak, jumping with a single leap into unification."

Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki said in London on Wednesday that his government — anxious about a new Germany's possible design on once-German land that is now part of Poland — will demand participation in the conference on Germany unity agreed to on Tuesday in Ottawa by Britain, France, the United States and the Soviet Union.

"Our security matters cannot be settled by proxy for us," he said.

A high government official in Bonn said later that "there is no room for Polish participation" in the conference on unification.

"The same right could be claimed by Holland or Czechoslovakia or our other neighbours. They all suffered from the German aggression in the last war. I don't see any specific moral or political right for the Poles," the German official said.

West German officials said the interests of nations other than the two Germanys and the World War II allies will be considered at a 35-nation European summit later this year.

The two German states are to hold talks on unity after East German elections on March 18. The four powers would join the negotiations at a later stage.

East German Prime Minister Hans Modrow left Bonn on Wednesday after agreeing to Kohl's proposal that the West German mark become the currency of his economically suffering country.

But a disappointed Modrow lamented that "more could have been achieved". His aides were less diplomatic. "Modrow is steaming mad," one said.

West Germany's cabinet, however, approved \$2.4-billion to modernise East Germany's decrepit factories, roads and telephone system, making clear that the funds were for specific long-term projects and not to prop up Modrow's government.

The opposition Green Party said Modrow's visit made it clear that Bonn intends "an unconditional annexation of East Germany."

Modrow's own party, the former Communists, now known as Democratic Socialists, said their leader came home with little more than leftovers from the West German table, failing even to win guarantees that East Germany would not lose their extensive social-welfare benefits as part of unification. — The Washington Post

People who die just trying to get across Beirut

MOST of the 480 people who have been killed since the latest round of violence broke out in Lebanon on January 31 were unfortunate civilians who simply took the wrong way home.

Communications and mobility here have been hindered by the maze of new demarcation lines drawn up across small neighbourhoods bordered by alleyways, ringed with snipers and littered with landmines.

Dala Bahdarian, 25, only wanted to join her parents in safety in the Moslem sector of the capital. A journey of 20 minutes by car in normal times.

On this occasion, the trip involved a hazardous 12-hour boat trip from her bombed-out neighbourhood in Juniyeh, north of Beirut, to Cyprus and a flight back to Beirut airport.

The coastal highway linking Beirut with the north is blocked with piles of sand and roadblocks to separate Christian soldiers and militia fighting to control the Christian enclave.

A newly-built tunnel between Beirut and Juniyeh has been stuffed with rocks and cement blocks, restricting passage to pedestrians who are obliged to walk along a narrow road winding along a steep cliff above the Mediterranean.

The 200m crossing strip that separates East and West Beirut has been rendered out-of-bounds by snipers seemingly eager to shoot at anything that moves.

Anyone wanting to cross from one half of the capital to another has to take a two-hour drive to the eastern mountains, cross to the Druze areas and enter Beirut through its southern gate. — Deutsche Presse Agentur

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THE WORLD

Another giant leap, but Gorby's still a step behind

FOR seven decades, the Soviet media have habitually described any Communist Party activity as "historic". Last week they finally used the word correctly in reporting the abrogation of Article 6 of the Soviet Constitution. The Central Committee's action may lead to a system in which the Communist Party will be just another political party vying for public favour. That the plenum took that gamble should not be surprising.

To be fair it must be noted that Mikhail Gorbachev, Alexander Yakovlev and other reformers in the top leadership were not enthusiastic supporters of Article 6. Their chief objection when the issue was first raised — at the second Congress of the People's Deputies last December — was that the time was not yet right to consider its fate.

But the question grew ever more urgent especially since similar constitutional provisions were being

repealed throughout Eastern Europe. Since the beginning of *perestroika* in 1987 events in the Soviet Union had a positive effect on the process of democratisation in Eastern Europe — inspiring the growth of democratic opposition in Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, East Germany and Bulgaria.

Lately, however, the speed of change elsewhere resulted in pressure on the Soviet Union to follow a more radical course. At last week's plenum, the party — seeking to regain the confidence and authority it had held — tried to make it appear that its decision to relinquish its own

The Soviet decision this week to scrap the Communist Party's monopoly on power was its most daring leap yet. But not yet daring enough, argues Soviet economist ANDRANIK MIGRANIAN

monopoly on power was voluntary. Quite a few reformers — in and out of the party — maintain that ending the political monopoly will help restore the people's confidence in the

party and its authority.

For the last two years Gorbachev has not succeeded in keeping up with events — his moves were always too little, too late. The crises of Nagorno-Karabakh, the relationship between Moscow and the republics, labour strikes, even the question of private property, were not solved by Gorbachev. Quite the contrary: they become more acute and added to the government's inability to govern.

But last week it seems Gorbachev attempted to regain the initiative. While resisting pressure from conservative forces, he tried to bring about a quick transition of power

from the party to the government. It is possible that he hopes to distance himself from the ultimately discredited party-government apparatus — just as Poland's former president General Wojciech Jaruzelski did — and be directly legitimised by the people. This would enable him to strengthen his own authority and proceed with radical *perestroika*. Whatever the cause, if the plenum's decision is to be confirmed at the coming party congress, it will mean the end of the Communist Party as it has existed from its inception.

The next step in the transfer of power from the party to the government could be the internal factionalising of the party. That could come before, or during, the congress. The rise of factions would further weaken the organisational and political role of the middle level of party *nomenklatura* and severely limit its ability to resist the transfer of power to the newly created government structures. It would also hinder the more radical measures advocated by the reform-minded wing of the party.

The plenum's decisions further suggest that Gorbachev and his supporters have finally realised that *perestroika*'s success depends on a systematic self-liquidation of a Communist Party constituted in accordance with the principles of Lenin. Only such a liquidation can result in the creation of a normal state, with several parties replacing the former "monster party".

It is important to note that the plenum decided to propose a presidential government structure for consideration by the People's Congress. This change would revolutionise the Soviet political system. For the first time it would not be personal rule based on force — as it was since Stalin's time — but personal authority legitimised by free elections.

The crucial step in the destruction of the current *nomenklatura*-dominated system would be to allow the president to select his own "team" without consulting the Politburo or the Central Committee, and then to take steps towards a programme approved by the voters.

This would saddle the president with real responsibility. Lack of accountability now forces us to guess at the reasons for the lack of more radical steps taken by the architects of *perestroika*. We have no way of knowing whether Gorbachev chose not to do certain things, or whether he was unable to act because of opposition from the Central Committee and the Politburo. In a normal presidential system he would be responsible for both successes and failures, affording the opportunity to end the system of collective irresponsibility that has brought Soviet society to its current hopeless state.

Events of the last two years have revealed that the longer radical decisions are postponed, the greater is the strength of opponents. At the same time, we must beware of the euphoria over the decisions already taken, because the absence of social and government structures makes further developments unpredictable.

To successfully accomplish the transition to non-party rule it is essential to find an answer to a number of questions:

What will be the role of the local party bodies, from the republican to the regional levels? What will be the relationship between the party hierarchies and the new government bodies? Will it be possible to nominate and elect independent candidates for the new power structures?

If we recognise that all reforms have taken place at a time when the financial system is out of kilter, with chronic shortages of consumer goods and an overall deterioration of the economy, we must recognise that *perestroika* still faces its most difficult trial. — Los Angeles Times.

Liberty beckons - and so do chaos and crime

EAST GERMANY'S opposition parties have been persuaded by Communist Prime Minister Hans Modrow to take part in a coalition "Government of National Responsibility" to avoid the prospect of national collapse.

The opposition has also accepted Modrow's proposal to bring the state's first free elections forward by two months, to March 18.

The momentum of events in the German Democratic Republic (GDR) continues to be dictated in the streets — the economic collapse signalled by 2 000 emigrants leaving for West Germany every day, the anti-SED (Communist Party), demos in Leipzig every Monday, the escalation of warning strikes and the influx of neo-fascist youths from the West.

There is no certainty that the Government of National Responsibility will succeed in stemming what Modrow describes as the slide into lawlessness and economic chaos. For a key problem in East Germany remains its political vacuum.

The opposition groups dominated by lawyers, clergy and housewives are even less based in the workplaces than the SED, for which popular hatred has grown.

The indecisive, televised Round Table discussions between the ruling Communists and the opposition do little to win the confidence of impatient workers, whose main concern is to achieve living standards comparable with those in West Germany.

The opposition parties and groups were faced with the impossible task of preparing viable election programmes in seven weeks. The earlier

The momentum of events in East Germany is dictated by the streets, where thousands leave daily, strikes escalate and neo-fascists pour in.

By PRUE CHAMBERLAYNE

date of May 6 was pressing enough. And just as the government has been pushed, so the opposition parties are propelled to tailor their programmes to the pressure from the streets.

The speed with which the entire party leadership was ejected from office in November at first gave rise to optimism. But the party rank and file has shared the population's frustration at the slow pace of change, particularly in dealing with the state security service, the Stasi.

By mid-January only 25 000 out of 85 000 members of the state security forces had been redeployed, some to services such as customs. Fury that those inserted into industry would be paid compensation for their loss of earnings led to one of the first warning strikes. Meanwhile, only 400 out of 2 000 state security buildings had been cleared while the opposition groups remained without premises.

Popular fury erupted at all this, and at the regime's prevarication over reporting on investigations into the activities of the Stasi.

A major problem for the party is that members of the state security services, virtually all party members too, refuse to leave. With nowhere else to go they are clinging to the party as the only possible source of protection.



Despite the communist collapse, the daily flight West continues

They, the police and the faceless bureaucrats and placemen (nichtsköner) in the labyrinthine administration might even resort to violent means of self-protection, such as a *putsch*.

The election was brought forward out of fear that the regime could not contain the situation until May. It is not obvious that any coalition of forces of whatever complexion will be able to hold the situation even after

the elections.

West German bankers and businessmen insist on the need for gradual change. The unscrupulous among them had hoped to make a killing out of cheap East German labour of several years. That may be exactly what East German workers refuse to contemplate.

There has been a long-established, implicit alliance in East Germany between Lutheranism and reform Communism. While the reformed communists hoped that the end of Stalinism might usher in a new era of democratic socialism, the Lutherans hoped to retain the values of East German society. Both eschewed the crass materialism and ruthlessness of West German affluence and efficiency.

Many fear now that the GDR will pass from one form of dependency to another, from the monopoly of the party to the monopoly of finance. — Gemini News

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As one of its objectives The Association of Black Accountants of Southern Africa (ABASA) has committed itself to recognise and respond to a basic need in the black community for grassroots accounting support for community based organisations and the emerging enterprise sector.

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THE WORLD

PRESIDENT BUSH'S latest proposal for troop withdrawals in Europe demonstrates his continuing reluctance to seize the opportunities created by the Eastern bloc's flight from communism.

The Bush plan, announced in his State of the Union address last week, calls for cutting US and Soviet troops in Central Europe to 195 000 each, with 30 000 American troops to be left elsewhere in Europe. It replaces an earlier negotiating proposal to trim US forces in Europe from the current 305 000 to 275 000.

Bush is moving in the right direction, but he has already been overrun by events. The transformation of Eastern Europe has dramatically eased the military threat from the Warsaw Pact, curtailing the need for a large US troop deployment on the continent.

The point now is not to haggle over the number of American and Soviet troops to be left in Europe — that was the focus of conventional arms control in the Cold War era. US policy-makers now need to consider a minimal American troop presence in Europe that reflects the radically reduced threat and Western Europe's capacity to defend itself. It is time for the superpowers to stand aside and let the Europeans take the lead in overcoming the division of their continent.

The latest Bush troop plan is remi-

A superpower's obstacle to making Europe whole again

niscient of Bush's earlier passive responses to the changes sweeping Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Last year his policy came to be known by the oxymoronic slogan "status quo plus," and the administration was widely accused of harbouring nostalgia for the Cold War. At the December summit in Malta with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, Bush temporarily put to rest the timidity charge by presenting a long list of American measures designed to show support for political and economic liberalisation in the Soviet Union.

But the thinking behind the new troop-cut plan seems a return to status quo plus. National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft asserted that the troop cuts were as far as Washington could go: "The 195 000 is a policy floor for the United States and ceiling for the Soviet Union."

Scowcroft will almost certainly eat those words. Much deeper troop cuts will be needed to reintegrate Eastern Europe with the West and, for Americans, to shift resources from military

The United States' long-held goal of European reunification is now within sight, but President Bush's responses could well undermine his country's own objectives, argues THOMAS OMESTEAD

to domestic programmes and deficit reduction.

A strong American military presence in Europe became necessary because the Warsaw Pact posed a serious offensive threat, and, to a lesser extent, because the Soviet presence outside its borders enforced the suppression of East European independence.

But now the threat is declining rapidly and Eastern Europe's governments are throwing off communist rule, democratising and reasserting their independence. For the West, the importance of the unilateral Soviet cuts to date has been overwhelmed

by the disintegration of the Warsaw Pact.

Moscow is no longer able to order Eastern bloc troops into action, those decisions now lie with civilian authorities in Budapest, Prague and Warsaw, who are forswearing an offensive military posture toward the West.

At this point Soviet troops probably would have to fight their way across Eastern Europe to reach the West. A Warsaw Pact ground offensive, always unlikely, is now all but inconceivable.

The Soviets, in fact, have encouraged the democratic revolution in Eastern Europe and Gorbachev has effectively renounced the Brezhnev doctrine, which claimed a right to intervene in the region to preserve communist gains.

What the Soviets appear to want in return for recalling their troops from Eastern Europe are comprehensive security guarantees against any military threat from the West, principally from an eventually reunited Germany.

Bush's plan for setting a still-high "floor" for US troops in Europe fails to grasp the radically different strategic situation on the Continent. It is much larger than is necessary for a residual force to serve as a prudent hedge, an insurance policy, against the Soviet Union resuming its aggressiveness.

By insisting on keeping a large American force, the Bush administration could itself become an obstacle to the reunification of the Continent, including Germany. Ending the Soviet military occupation of Eastern Europe and encouraging the full independence of the region's countries have been fundamental US policy goals throughout the Cold War.

But as the Soviet threat continues to recede, European countries, East and West, will increasingly see a large US military presence as a cause of unwelcome delay in erasing Europe's division.

To avoid this danger requires more than tinkering with lower troop levels, it means accepting the need for a mutual US-Soviet military disengagement from the Continent.

A large US military presence contributed greatly to the long-run goal of making Europe whole again. With that goal now in sight, it must not become an obstacle. — The Baltimore Sun



Coal and wood fires are the major source of heat in Eastern Europe, as in most of the world. This Albanian family will require a giant technological leap to take them into a solar-generated future

Tomorrow's world, today's technology

FOR the human race to hold its own, the next 40 years must see a move away from fossil fuels, a downturn in birth rates, an end to the destruction of forests and farmlands and a rejection of the "throw-away society," according to the Worldwatch Institute.

Such conditions can be satisfied with current technology, producing a strikingly more liveable society in the process, according to the institute's 253-page study, *State of the World 1990* — its seventh annual assessment of the global environment, released this week.

"If we succeed in building a sustainable society, we will do so within the next 40 years," said Lester Brown, the institute's president and director of the report.

"If not, environmental deterioration and economic decline will be feeding on each other, causing social structures to disintegrate."

Based in Washington, Worldwatch Institute is a non-profit organisation which monitors global economic and environmental trends and attempts to project their future impact.

The study by Brown and co-authors Christopher Flavin and Sandra Postel is not intended so much as a forecast of events in the coming four decades as it is to describe the requirements of a society that can continue supporting succeeding generations.

By RUDY ABRAMSON

Saying that "it is already accepted that continuing heavy reliance on fossil fuels will cause catastrophic changes in climate" and that nuclear power will remain politically unacceptable, the study envisions a massive shift to solar power in the years ahead.

"By 2030," it states, "solar panels will heat most residential water around the world. A typical landscape will have thousands of collectors sprouting from rooftops much as television antennae do today."

Noting that a solar power plant producing 80 megawatts of electricity went into operation in the Mojave Desert last year, the study envisions a time when "solar thermal plants may stretch across the deserts of the United States, North Africa and Central Asia".

As the technology becomes widespread, it notes, these regions could become large exporters of electricity.

The conversion to solar and wind-generated electrical power will be driven less by the gradual depletion of coal and oil deposits than by the need to limit pollution of the atmosphere by carbon emissions, the study says.

World carbon emissions now reportedly exceed five billion tons per

year and are increasing at a rate that will reach more than 12 billion tons by 2030. The institute contends that the level must be reduced to two billion tons per year to avoid a destructive warming of the atmosphere.

Consequently, the institute envisions not only a gradual move away from coal-fired and oil-fired power plants, but a significantly reduced role for petrol-powered motor cars in industrialised countries.

Brown and his colleagues not only see the world of 2030 with fewer cars, they also assume that the global population will be about eight billion, or roughly one billion fewer people than the figure projected by the United Nations.

The lower estimate reflects the contention that some countries with current birth rates that would double or triple their populations in 40 years — such as Ethiopia, Nigeria and India — have so overwhelmed their natural resources that such growth cannot be sustained.

"Either these societies will move quickly to encourage smaller families and bring birth rates down, or rising death rates from hunger and malnutrition will check population growth," the report predicts. It suggests that by 2030, the global population may even be declining. — Los Angeles Times

The Likud of Sharon plots to bring down the Likud of Shamir

By ROBERT RUBY

OF all of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir's current political foes, the most threatening and implacably hostile are probably those to be found within his own fractious bloc, the Likud.

Led by Trade Minister Ariel Sharon, hero of the extreme right, Likud dissidents have been openly plotting a coup to topple Shamir as the bloc's leader. Their goal is to move the Likud further to the right and in the process scuttle the government's talks with the United States and Egypt about Palestinian elections.

Their showdown with Shamir was scheduled to take place on Monday at a meeting organised against the wishes of the prime minister. With Sharon as chairman, the 3 200 members of the Likud Central Committee are to meet in Tel Aviv for a vote of confidence that Shamir cannot afford to lose.

Shamir and Sharon have vied to raise the stakes as high as possible, if only to guarantee the loyalty of their supporters. Through a variety of spokesmen, they have traded invectives, argued about the site of the meeting, disputed who is entitled to attend and issued contradictory agendas.

Shamir, whose abilities at political infighting are often underestimated, has issued the ultimate threat of resigning if things do not go his way. He has said repeatedly that if he loses the vote, he will quit as Likud leader and as prime minister.

"If the Likud Central Committee does not support me," Shamir said, "I will not be able to stand at the head of the Likud or the government. That is clear."

Even some of his challengers would find his leaving worrisome. Members of all the factions agree that a sudden resignation could set off a wild scramble among rival claimants to the top post. Among the likely contestants are Sharon and two leading allies, Deputy Prime Minister David Levy and Yitzhak Modai, Minister for Economic Planning.

Most Israeli commentators predict Shamir will win any Likud vote with ease, but perhaps only at some cost to the government. Shamir, they say, will convincingly declare that he will



Yitzhak Shamir ... infighter

never agree to give up the West Bank and Gaza Strip and never agree to talks with the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

That could satisfy members of the Likud but create additional pressures with the centre-left Labour Party, the Likud's partner in the coalition government. Shimon Peres, the Labour Party's leader, has maintained that he would suggest that the Labour Party leave the government if Shamir sacrificed the peace process to the demands of the Likud.

For Likud dissidents, the 74-year-old Shamir is a traitor to his cause. They view his proposal for Palestinian elections in the West Bank and Gaza Strip as a recipe for Israel's eventual surrender of the territories and for creation of an independent Palestinian state.

They object even to talking about elections before the two-year-old Palestinian uprising is crushed. As a result, Sharon bitterly criticises diplomatic efforts to organise formal talks between Israel and a delegation of Palestinians, a plan promoted by the United States and Egypt.

Sharon and his allies say that if talks were to take place, Palestinians living in East Jerusalem should be barred from participating, as should Palestinians deported from the territories.

Sharon is Israel's super-hawk. As Defence Minister he was the architect of Israel's 1982 invasion of Lebanon but was forced to resign in disgrace. He was quickly rehabilitated as the most charismatic figure on the political right and a constant critic of the Likud's mainstream elements. — The Baltimore Sun.

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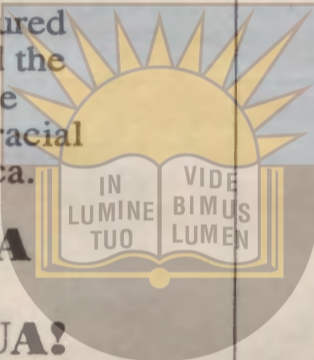
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The President, Enos J Mabuza, the National Executive and members of the Inyandza National Movement welcome the unconditional release of our leader and comrade Nelson Mandela.

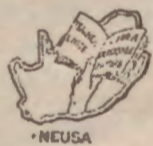
We salute the courage and fortitude with which he has endured his long years in prison and the sacrifices he has made in the struggle for a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa.

VIVA MANDELA

ALUTA CONTINUA!



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THE WORLD

We'll make it better, says confident Ortega as election day looms

Nicaragua is in dire need of economic revival. The government and the opposition promise all will be fine after the elections reports **NICHOLAS YOUNG, Managua**



Daniel Ortega: election promises of a better future

AS Nicaragua moves towards a historic poll the ruling Sandinistas are waging a confident campaign based on the simple promise that "everything will be better".

Meanwhile, the opposition offers drastic remedies based partly on the return of exiles with their capital and vows to end inflation "in a matter of weeks". Both sides hope to get Nicaragua back into the good books of the international lending agencies.

Election promises can seldom have been so simple and audacious as those chosen by the Sandinista Front for the February 25 polls. Spray-painted walls, billboards, television and radio slots proclaim the message that under the continued leadership of the FSLN and President Daniel Ortega, "Everything will be better" (*Todo sera mejor*).

Yet in a sense things could hardly get worse in Nicaragua. Living conditions are extremely hard. A school-teacher's basic wage, for example, is \$14 (R35) per month. A litre of cooking oil costs \$1 at official prices, but is often scarce and more expensive on the black market.

Many urban families depend, at least in part, on money sent from relations living overseas, principally in the United States. Poorer, rural families have no cushion against hardship.

Industrial output continues to decline. Export earnings stand at little more than half pre-revolutionary levels, and world markets are unstable for leading crops such as coffee, cotton and sugar. The national debt is more than three times the annual gross national product.

Against such a background optimism is surprising, but it is the keynote of the FSLN campaign.

Planning Minister Alejandro Martinez Cuenca argues that 1989 saw an improvement in all the major economic indicators. Inflation was cut from 33 000 percent in 1988 to below 2 000 percent through stringent austerity measures to cut public spending.

During the most intense years of the Contra war, 1985-87, the govern-

ment subsidised food and services heavily to sustain public morale, but at the expense of creating a sharp inflationary spiral, says Cuenca. He calculates that the war cost the economy \$17 000-million in direct damage and lost production.

With the progressive removal of price controls and subsidies in 1987-88, the government reined in inflation and balanced its domestic budget, although a huge trade deficit remains. This deficit has largely been made good by aid and credit from the Warsaw Pact countries.

Certainly the Sandinista Front has imposed austerity without violent dissent. Many private producers and businessmen are thought to support the Sandinistas not out of ideological kinship but because of the relative stability the present government can offer.

Cuenca, insisting that the Sandinistas favour free enterprise and a mixed economy, maintains that "our economy can forge ahead because the basic, class contradictions have now been resolved".

His projected growth rates, based on the rock-bottom year of 1988, nonetheless seem slender grounds for the promise that "everything will be better".

Last year, with the easing of the Contra war, the Soviet Union withdrew military aid to Nicaragua, and it is widely believed that the socialist countries, beset by domestic problems, wish to reduce economic aid. There is no official indication of how the Sandinistas intend to make up this shortfall. — Gemini News

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THE WEEKLY MAIL

ARTS

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books • food • travel

Dance Umbrella ready for another twirl

THE 1990 Dance Umbrella will be opened at the end of the month to reveal an exciting, eclectic mix of contemporary dance styles.

Over 50 choreographers and dance companies will congregate in Johannesburg for the event which has grown enormously since its modest launch by the Wits Performing Arts Administration last February. It has also acquired a second sponsor: AA Life/Vita, which will present awards in contemporary choreography and dance on the final night of the Umbrella series.

The event this year comprises a Main Umbrella and a Fringe. The work, all original pieces by South African choreographers, will be presented in evening performances at

the Wits Theatre from February 28 to March 9, culminating in an all-day Fringe programme on March 10.

Several major names in South African choreography have written works for inclusion. Among them: Carly Dibakoane of the Soweto Dance Theatre and Marlene Blom on February 28 and March 2; Adele Blank, Jeanette Ginslov and Sylvia Glasser on March 1 and 3, as well as David Krugel, whose award-winning *After the Rain* will be performed by the Napac Dance Company; Transvaal talents Christopher Kindo, Esther Nasser and Yda Wait on March 6 and 8 and Grayham Davies of the Johannesburg Dance Theatre, Robyn Orlin and Alfred Hinkel of Cape Town's Jazzart on

March 7 and 9.

On the Fringe on Saturday, March 10 there will be a variety of contemporary dance forms in the main theatre and amphitheatre at Wits, every hour on the hour from 10am until 6pm.

● The "new look" Pact Dance Company will be introduced to audiences at the Johannesburg Art, Ballet, Drama and Music School on February 24 from 10am to 1.30pm.

The event includes a contemporary dance class, followed by rehearsals at which choreographers Esther Nasser and Christopher Kindo will talk about works being presented at Dance Umbrella. To book, telephone Pact at (012) 322-1665, ext 412.

Boycott 'breakthrough' for G'town festival

CULTURAL, community and sports organisations in Grahamstown have given conditional approval to participation in this year's National Festival of the Arts, after two years of boycott threats by progressive organisations.

At a meeting convened in Joza township last week by the Grahamstown Cultural Workers' Committee, 1 000 representatives of local groups agreed it was "inappropriate" to call for a boycott of this year's Grahamstown Festival, which begins on June 28.

Final approval, however, will depend on the outcome of a national meeting planned for next

The Grahamstown arts festival seems finally to have shaken free of its snow-white image — at least free enough for progressive cultural organisations to call off the boycott

month, bringing together cultural organisations from around the country.

In a statement issued this week the CWC listed "local problems" whose resolution would be sought including: "the festival's Eurocentricity, its inaccessibility and its costs, as well

as the issue of free tickets and of not imparting skills to local artists on a year-round basis".

The latter two points — free tickets and workshops — were tackled last year by the festival committee in an attempt to make the 10-day event relevant for the local black community.

About R12 500-worth of free tickets were distributed through community organisations for last year's festival; workshops were scheduled in movement, fine art, acting and music to run in township venues concurrently with the festival.

These strategies — plus the use of three township venues — were only partly successful. Some of the township shows were attended and others were not; some of the workshops were successful, while others were boycotted.

Delegates to last week's meeting accepted the broad concept of free tickets, township venues and workshops. But they noted certain problems with their execution. For example, the meeting agreed to free tickets, but wanted more say in the selection of the shows; they agreed

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Capital pips bangbroek broadcasters to the post

Ten years after it first crackled into life, Capital Radio remains the punchiest station around ... if you're lucky enough to be able to tune into it. By ARTHUR GOLDSTUCK

IT'S five minutes past five on a Saturday afternoon at Capital Radio's HQ in Milpark, Johannesburg. The air is filled with the sound of the German anti-war pop hit *99 Red Balloons*.

In the telex room, news editor David O'Sullivan watches the machines intently. Suddenly, one of them chatters into life.

"Here it is!" he shouts. Reporter Janet White rushes in, whips the sheet of paper from the telex machine, and dashes for the studio.

The song is just ending, and she breaks into the programme with the breathless announcement: "Nelson Mandela is to be freed tomorrow."

And so, Capital Radio beats the rest of the South African media to the newsbreak of the decade.

Five minutes later, 702 makes the announcement. Radio Five follows within minutes. At SABC-TV, where TopSport is entertaining part of the nation, there is confusion among the news and sports presenters on how to handle the story.

Finally, in one of those ironies that only history will fully appreciate, the announcement is made shortly before six o'clock by sports presenter Hendrik Verwoerd — grandson of Hendrik F Verwoerd, architect of grand apartheid and the man who effectively sent Mandela to jail ...

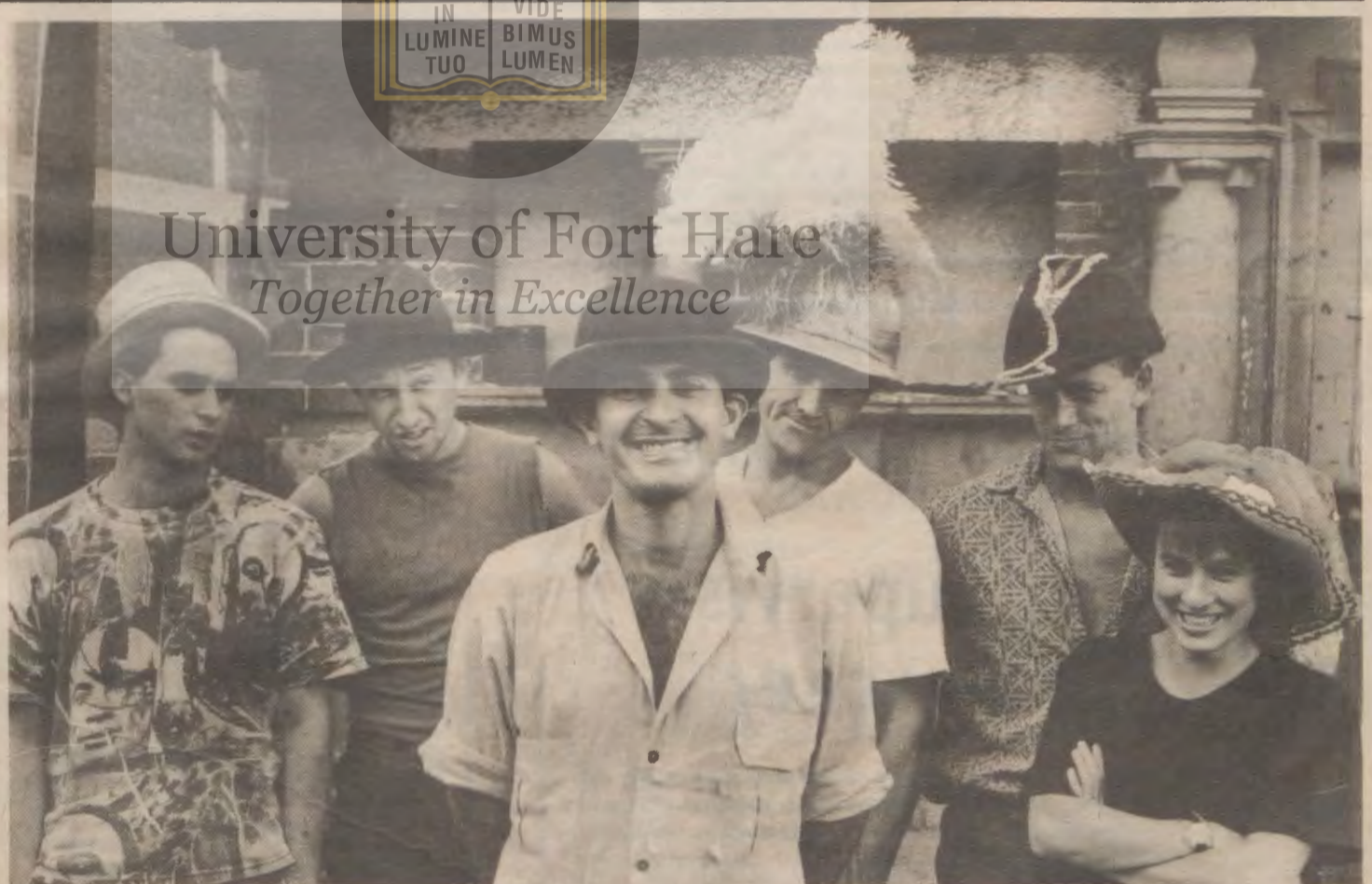
Ironies aside, the SABC's delayed reaction was a textbook example of the state mouthpiece's difficulty in escaping the mental straightjacket imposed by years of *bangbroek* broadcasting.

They could take more than a few lessons from Capital Radio.

The station was formed 10 years ago as a partnership between private enterprise and the Transkei government. That government, and its successors, proved to be so corrupt, even the South African government did not raise a finger to prevent a military coup in its vassal state.

Yet, Capital Radio retained its credibility as one of the most reliable news sources in Southern Africa. Barring a few lean periods, when they experienced a crisis of confidence and staffing, they have tended to lead the trends in

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Nicky Rebelo returns in the black comedy *The Good Soldier Svejk*, opening at the Laager on March 8. The other cast members are, from left, Barry Burke, LI Newman, Andrew Buckland, Gys de Villiers and Jennie Reznek

Posters with perfect timing — they're history

IT was probably not intended that way but the timing of the one-day exhibition, *Posters in the Struggle Against Apartheid*, organised as part of the Wits History Workshop Open Day last Saturday, was perfect.

The posters on show — for the most part protest posters produced by trade unions and cultural collectives with roots in the democratic movement — were collected and shown at almost the same moment that they ceased to be living propaganda and entered the more reflective if less vocal realms of history.

The release of Nelson Mandela was announced that day and would happen on the following day. The African National Congress, technically unbanned for more than a week, was about to emerge decisively into the light of South African day.

In that historically overwhelming moment not only the posters calling for Mandela's release and the unbanning of the liberation movement turned overnight into relics of the struggle. The particular use of the poster medium was also changed into something belonging to a remembered past more than to the living present.

'Struggle' posters on exhibition at the Gertrude Posel gallery underwent an unexpected change of status on opening day when the news of Nelson Mandela's release turned some of them into instant relics. IVOR POWELL reports

South African realities have changed more dramatically and more suddenly than anybody could have imagined. Where formerly the struggle for democracy was guided by relatively abstract issues relating to morality and justice, now we are entering a new era in which the issues are practical and increasingly complex. In the past the struggle was to get to the point where the problems of South African life — which now need to be worked through — were merely acknowledged and addressed.

In terms of information and publicity in the liberation movement — of which poster making formed a central part — this meant that issues and events needed to be located within a moral dimension. The rights and wrongs of

what was happening in the country were what guided poster making as much as they did anti-apartheid media practice in general.

But now, the white heat of indignation is cooling. And new and different functions need to be developed for the information and propaganda machinery of the liberation movement.

The posters on show were for the most part unashamedly propagandist. They were made in order to persuade and to mobilise, and their appeal was thus to a mass audience.

Given this kind of purpose, "art" hardly comes into it — though of course the hand and eye skills which make for art do. Propaganda posters are successful insofar as they distil and dramatically persuade their viewer. Conversely, they fail insofar as they contain within themselves doubts or ambiguities.

In the propaganda sense, many of the finest posters on show are those which were produced under the auspices of the trade union movement. Often employing photographic imagery and coupling this with hard sloganising, they offer direct and immediately emotive argu-

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Sorry, Richard. (It is Richard, isn't it?)

DUST kicked up by the whirlwind events of the weekend had hardly settled before the second episode of *Whirlpool* glugged into view to assert itself as South Africa's homegrown *Dynasty*/*Dallas*/*Knott's Landing* ... what you will.

From what I can make out so far, *Whirlpool* is about a family called Armstrong. The Armstrongs are rich, powerful, well-known enough to be gossiped about and they all hate each other. Furthermore, this family features an old bitch of an ex-wife, a young bitch of a daughter, a very stupid new wife and a central husband/father/despot figure who, we are led to believe, thinks scruples are a kind of potato chip.

Is it beginning to ring any bells? Monotonously, yes.

An interesting documentary on Sunday afternoon explored the Hollywood-style portrayal of the "businessman" in television serials. This show was interrupted to bring us the SABC-style portrayal of the "released prisoner", but the point was made: people generally find businessmen too boring to bother with as subjects of intriguing entertainment — unless they're terrifically mean and nasty.

So far, *Whirlpool's* chief character, Richard — I think it's Richard — Armstrong, played by Michael McGovern, has proved to be only as mean and nasty as the rest of us.

He has casually dismissed his first wife as a "bitch" for the benefit of his second and he has proved he doesn't listen to her half the time. ("Do you still love me, Richard?" "Mmmm?" "I said, do you still love me?" "Unumm.")

Well, I'm sorry, Richard — I hope it's Richard —, but that's not good enough. Everyone does that.

We want to be shocked and titillated, Richard, and the sight of you lying there stoney-faced in your blue striped pyjamas while your stupid second wife bounces up and down on top of you in a saucy white nightie saying "You're so big and important and I'm nothing," is hardly the stuff that drama is made of.

So far, the only thing you've put your foot down about, Richard, is to insist "that a woman

should know how to pour a drink". This revelation as to the true toughness of your pin-striped soul was brought to us by your horrible daughter, Janice (Billie Second).

Now there lurks a black heart. Janice, your meanness has got me convinced. Your hairdos are spectacularly frightening for a start — especially the one that looks like a Guinness Book of Records-size sausage roll.

You manage to make "I'm going to slip into something more comfortable" sound like the passing of the death sentence.

You are clearly the power behind your ageing father's throne and I have no doubt about your ability to usurp it should he develop prostate problems — a strong possibility considering all that bouncing the stupid second wife does.

Invariably, there has to be a clown in such a show, and publisher Joe Lipman (Anthony Fridjhon) is no doubt intended to be to *Whirlpool* what Cliff Barnes is to *Dallas*.

Joe, an over-weight, middle-aged mensch who lives in a permanent state of lunchtime with his sight unseen mother, plays funny man to his star author's romantic straight man.

Joe keeps moth eaten marshmallows in his safe and speaks in neurotic mouthfuls punctuated by flying bits of cream cheese bagel.

It is Joe who manages to persuade well-travelled author Somebody-or-other Matthews to accept a commission from the Armstrongs to write a sort of "life and times" biography of the family empire.

This is the gist of the story so far, although we have been given teasing glimpses of the corruption, adultery, back-stabbing and even a possible murder, whose bones will still fall out of the Armstrong closet during *Whirlpool's* run.

It might be unfair to dismiss Ken Leach and James Ambrose Brown's script as uninspired at so early a stage. If they will forgive my forgetting the names of principal characters for the same reason, I will keep an open mind on further developments.



Television
Charlotte Bauer

ARTS

Capital radio would shock SABC news manipulators

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radio news broadcasting in this country.

"We started off with hard and fast on-the-scene dramatic reports," recalls O'Sullivan. "It was largely influenced by the Radio Today people who came over to Capital in the beginning."

"Then we went through a more staid BBC-type sound, before we decided to get more pacy. We dropped honorifics, made it less formal, more punchy."

"Now we've gone a step further. At the beginning of the year we introduced 'ambient sound'. When our people on the scene report an event, you can also hear the sound of the event. It's not just someone saying they're speaking from, say, Cosatu House, but you actually hear the sound of the protesters or police dogs or whatever."

"When the rebel cricketers arrived, we didn't just report it. You heard the sounds of the crowd, a protestor shouting at Bacher, Bacher trying to calm him down, all in the background of the reporter talking. Reporters have to be ready with their tape recorders all the time."

The style is a conglomerate of the approaches taken by Capital newsjocks in their freelance stringing for various overseas radio networks. O'Sullivan himself files on behalf of Independent Radio News and London Broadcasting Corporation. Carmel Rickard reports for the BBC from Natal; deputy news editor James Lorimer strings for the Australian Broadcasting Corporation; Paddy Clay is with Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.

"With feedback from all of these, we've drawn up a comprehensive style guide — the first we've had at Capital for years."

"It's difficult to explain it to stringers who're used to putting in 40-second voiceclips, but they learn as they hear it on the air."

It's not only style we're talking here: the content of Capital news would cause severe culture shock in anyone fed a diet of SABC news manipulation.

"Our highest priority is what is happening in Natal and the Eastern Cape. The other night we

reported on 100 detentions in the Ciskei following an anti-Sebe campaign. It's the beginning of a revolution here — the sentiment against Sebe is massive — yet, of the newspapers, only the *Weekly Mail* and *New Nation* are covering it.

"There's a boycott going on in Stutterheim; police are being kept out of the township by barricades. If it was happening in Soweto, it would be banner news. The Natal war, the Uitenhage violence, we don't just report on the death toll. We ask why."

Capital's news team must be one of the youngest around: O'Sullivan is 27, as is deputy editor Lorimer. This belies the maturity of their news coverage, and the fierce spirit of independence in the newsroom.

This spirit seems vastly incompatible with the station's ownership by a military government.

But, in fact, the military government is itself proving to be a trendsetter. Where State President FW de Klerk steps cautiously today, Major-General Bantu Holomisa walked eagerly yesterday.

James Lorimer recently interviewed the head of Transkei's ruling military council, and asked him the kind of questions that get SABC staffers reassigned to distant bureaux.

Lorimer grilled Holomisa on his age (he is 34) and credentials, his mandate for leadership, his South African links (he was trained in Pretoria and Rhodesia), and accusations that he was, even now, an agent of the South African government — which would explain his rapid rise to power.

Holomisa remained unflappable. In fact, he seemed pleased.

After the interview he told Lorimer he had enjoyed the bold style of the questioning. The BBC had asked him similar questions, and he was rather pleased there was no pussyfooting at Capital.

Says O'Sullivan: "Holomisa has told me he encourages free enterprise in journalism. He said, 'Never fear me — I'll never censor you'."

"We always have done our own thing, but he removed any doubt. Basically, he's a good oke for us."

Grahamstown festival eludes boycott

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to the use of township venues but wanted the distinction between "main" and "fringe" Festival to be reconsidered when venues were chosen and tickets issued. (For the most part, shows on the main festival, generally mainstream, receive subsidy, while those on the fringe, ostensibly experimental, do not.)

Arts workshops were welcomed "because the skills were needed in the community" — so much so that the meeting wanted the workshops held throughout the year.

According to the Grahamstown Cultural Workers Committee, the meeting agreed that talks with the festival organisers should continue — and a meeting between the festival committee and the CWC steering committee was scheduled for this week.

"Our participation in the Festival is based on some goals," said a CWC member. "These include ironing out some of the people's problems with the festival and drawing it closer to the community."

Although last year's festival drew a record number of visitors, it was beset by threats of

boycott after its attempt at consultation with the community foundered — largely on the issue of whether the people with whom the festival had consulted had acquired mandates from interested organisations.

When the CWC invited organisations to last week's meeting, it asked them to come with a mandate from their members.

"We have been working with the Grahamstown Cultural Committee since it was formed," Festival Officer Lynette Marais said this week. "We posed some particular problems and asked for feedback from the community. This meeting was addressing some of these issues. I am very pleased there was such a unanimous willingness to continue and go forward."

● The meeting endorsed a statement by the National Cultural Desk calling for a continuation of the international cultural boycott. There was also approval for the formation of a Grahamstown Cultural Congress to take the place of the CWC, which was devised as an interim body.

Posters now lie in a heap of history

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ments in favour of their cause. By avoiding any obvious and personal style in their communication, they argue for their message as a self-evident and collective truth, subordinated only to universals like morality and justice.

An example is the poster commemorating the 1976 uprisings based on the famous Sam Nzima photograph which shows the limp body of Hector Peterson borne by grieving comrades. Little room is left for doubt about what really happened in 1976, or what its meaning was. Nor is there any question about the appropriate response to the image on the part of the viewer.

Similarly posters promoting living wage campaigns and built around images of dire poverty both appeal to the emotions and justify the need for that appeal; no room is left for ambiguity on the part of the viewer.

Ironically, it is when the posters approach the condition of art — when they employ an identifiable style — that they are least effective as posters. Stylistically what is conveyed is not the sense of incontrovertible truth, but a particular and conditional response to it. The message is that there could be other ways of understanding the situation.

But of course it is precisely doubt and ambiguity, that more complex awareness of layers of meaning, which defines the traditions of art and which makes art into the humanist discipline that it is.

The real significance of the events of recent weeks in terms of the arts is that much of the justification for making propaganda has disappeared, and correspondingly there is far more reason to be exploring the more comprehensively human dimensions that are represented by art.

PSYCHOLOGY IN PRIMARY HEALTH CARE

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ARTS

Splendor is passionate, but not on the screen

THE Italian love-affair with the cinema seems to have become the content for a new genre, but it's tough luck on Ettore Scola to have his *Splendor* following so closely after *Cinema Paradiso*. It is as disappointing as the latter is magical.

As with most affairs, the deep feelings of the participants are no guarantee of interest to audiences: a lot depends on the telling. Scola has chosen to tell his story by way of stylisation, ellipses and the nostalgia-drenched flashbacks in red and white. And of course there is also a repetitive, poignant theme tune.

Marcello Mastroianni stars as Jordan, the lugubrious owner of the cinema, a little boy who came to the village long ago with his papa, the owner of a travelling cinema. In those days a movie was an event. The populace assembled in the square, the images flickered on a sheet of canvas and little Jordan junior wound the

FILM: Splendor
DIRECTOR: Ettore Scola

handle of the gramophone which provided suitable accompaniment.

Jordan stayed on and so did the cinema, now established in a permanent building. Jordan attracts to himself and his cinema a glamorous showgirl (Marina Vlady). She becomes his lover and the cinema's usherette. But the affair wanes — his true love is the cinema, we must infer.

But the usherette becomes one of its ongoing attractions, a seductive figure in scarlet, a magnet to patrons and a target for outraged sermons.

But times change. The men of the village now lounge in solid apathy, while Robert de Niro's *Raging Bull* rages to an almost empty house. Not even the whining projectionist's

clumsy peroration on its virtues can stir them. (He too has the cinema as his first love.)

I'm as much a sucker for nostalgia as the next man (who isn't?), but good movies need to have more to hold an audience.

Splendor is episodic, and while there is an undoubted pleasure and interest in some of the episodes, as a whole it's rather dreary.

Scola's style distances us from his characters. They seldom act; usually they are acted upon. Not surprisingly, their moments of choice and decision are the most effective drama.

Nor do the various movie extracts we are shown help much: they are inserted rather than integrated into the fabric of the whole.

Splendor tries hard. No one can doubt Scola's passion for the cinema. But he fails to put it where it counts: on the screen.

Peter Goldsmid

Macbeth? It's a role for eager youngsters

Who said Macbeth should be played by an old man? Tradition does but Graham Hopkins disagrees. He talks to PAT SCHWARTZ

THERE may be centuries of theatrical superstition surrounding "the Scottish Play" and Graham Hopkins respects it — but he isn't going to let any of it deter him. He is quite simply unreservedly excited about playing the title role in PACT's *Macbeth*.

"Any actor dreams of Shakespearean roles. It's the most stimulating and rewarding rehearsal and work process I have ever experienced. Working with a good cast (including his Lady Macbeth, Sandra Prinsloo) and director (Dieter Reible), getting inside Macbeth and inside the play is an enormous privilege."

He gets quite cross when, looking at the youthful face (or the part of it which shows above the heavy beard), and the birthdate on his CV, I ask if he isn't a little young for the role.

"I think I've earned Macbeth," he says firmly. "I think in one's early to mid-30s one should be ready to play major Shakespearean roles. I think I'm ready to play it and I intend to make it count."

Anyway, he points out, patiently (the man has also been a school teacher) — there is really no reason to believe Macbeth was an older man. He was a soldier, young and ambitious. "He could have been in his 20s." Anyway, "I don't believe there is an unusual casting for Macbeth. These thoughts, emotions, feelings, can inhabit any person of any age."

Macbeth's personality, says Hopkins, who has thought long and hard about the character, was not an isolated phenomenon. The play, he believes, "recognises the potential we all have to be seduced by evil for some sort of gain. Macbeth was an extreme manifestation of an essentially human feeling — a desire for power."

"Macbeth was/is a very normal human being with human ambitions. He was emotional, ambitious and clever and he makes the one fatal mistake — he thinks he can get away with what he does. Ultimately he becomes a monster, as all human beings can be in certain circumstances."

Banquo, he argues, though portrayed as "your regular nice guy" comes from much the same place as Macbeth: "he's just not given the opportunity to show his evil side."

As he talks, Hopkins corrects "was" to "is". "I mustn't say 'was'. Shakespeare's plays live in performance — they are written to be performed and when we stop performing them they will no longer live in the way they are created to live."

He takes his acting very seriously. "I wouldn't be in this job if I didn't. In this country, you pay for the privilege of being an actor and I am certainly prepared to do that, but I am not going to do it half-heartedly." Acting, he says, "is an interpretive art, and if you are going to interpret you must find the life of the character before you do anything with it."



Graham Hopkins... theatre managements should stop criticising each other

A life on stage is a far cry from Graham Hopkins' original ambition to be a family doctor like his father. A year at medical school taught him that he had a "misconception of what a doctor is. It hits you very hard that you're studying pure science — and I am not a scientist."

He changed to teaching but stopped when "I became disenchanted with teaching maths in a Natal Education Department school to pupils waiting until they were old enough to be allowed to leave."

So, combining his love of the written word and his interest in the theatre, he left the schoolroom and joined PACT in 1983, a fact that seems for some reason to worry him.

"You haven't," he remarks, "asked the obvious question."

"What," I wonder, "is that?" "Why," he responds, "I have chosen to work for PACT." Actually the question hadn't entered my head, but since he felt the need to have it asked, what was the answer?

Hopkins, it transpires, is concerned with the divisions between theatre managements. "Because we are all involved in and care about theatre, I feel those divisions shouldn't be there. Some people would criticise me for being a member of the PACT Company, but PACT has no mandate to produce pro-government theatre, and there is no ruling on producing anti-government theatre. It's an autonomous body."

Isn't all this just a touch defensive? Indeed it is, he concedes. But "I'm being defensive not to you but to the people who create the divisions between the theatre companies, and I believe that anybody who cares about theatre shouldn't make those divisions."

Instead "perhaps we need to find a theatre that addresses itself to a cross-cultural mix more than any theatre does anywhere in this country, and I think the way to do that is not to have theatre managements criticising each other."

More Afrikaner volksentiment than Hobhouse

FILM: That Englishwoman
Director: Dirk de Villers

THAT ENGLISHWOMAN isn't really about Emily Hobhouse despite the tautological assurance in the opening credits that the film is a "true story, based on fact".

Any relation to fact, is, I think, purely coincidental in this highly inept film. The Emily Hobhouse in the movie is portrayed mostly as a self-assured, self-righteous prig, particularly in an irrelevant sequence that takes place in America intended to show us how insensitive the drunks and whores are who give Hobhouse a hearty shove that sends her sprawling into a puddle of mud.

Veronica Lang plays Hobhouse with a certain irony, a certain emphasis that isn't exactly comic, but that's intended, maybe unintentionally, to make Hobhouse a light, charming character, not a dour campaigner for human rights.

If this was the intention, Lang succeeds: you expect her to break into song any moment; at times the movie has a musical comedy feel to it, particularly in the scene in which she stomps a snake with her umbrella. The dialogue is also superficial, the kind used as a link between lyrics. Director Dirk de Villers wasn't thinking: this could have been a *My Fair Lady* in South Africa, at the time of the Boer War.

Instead, we get a hefty dose of Afrikaner volksentiment that's embarrassing in its manipulation, the camera lingering on badly made-up, healthy-looking concentration camp inmates (Boer women and children with a token black kid to the fore), while Lang looks at graves and says something to the effect that "we (the British) crucified thousands on a cross of gold".

But certain scenes show the movie's motives are ulterior: to appropriate current black history, to show that the Afrikaner, well, also suffered.

Fair enough. The Afrikaners were also victims of colonial oppression, and that should be remembered. But this remembrance becomes specious and in very dubious taste when the events of the Boer War are manipulated to create a false, and fashionable, parallel to current black history and suppression. The giveaway is a scene at a public meeting Hobhouse addresses. A banner hung, prominently hung, reads: SAVE THE BOER CHILDREN, an echo of the campaign to save children in detention.

This makes the movie an historical *faux pas*, a tasteless apologia instead of a worthwhile piece of Afrikaner history.

But it's not a movie one can take seriously: it's too badly made for that, too transparent in its propaganda. Its value now is ironic, a nostalgic memento of bedrock sentiment for reactionary Afrikaners, the die-hards and conservatives, who won't accept political change. The film is in English, but it's really an Afrikaans movie, the sort of propaganda made in the early days of the local industry to stir up national feelings in the Afrikaner. Today, this sort of thing looks very silly.

Fabius Burger

PACT DRAMA

MARY STUART

Two queens - pawns of passion and power directed by FRANCOIS SWART starring: Shirley Johnston, Jacqui Singer, Nomsa Nene, Nomhle Nkonyeni Dalro, Windybrow - until 3 Mar

KOUË OORLOG

A gripping production by ILSE VAN HEMERT with: James Borthwick, Grethe Fox, Tertius Meintjes Adcock-Ingram, Windybrow - until 24 Feb Momentum, State Theatre Pta: 1 - 24 Mar

MACBETH

directed by DIETER REIBLE starring: Graham Hopkins, Sandra Prinsloo, Jonathan Rands, Mitzl Booysen Alexander Theatre, Jhb: 20 Feb - 17 Mar

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UPSTAIRS THEATRE

Vanessa Cooke is THE BELLE OF AMHERST by William Luce 'A love affair with language' Mon to Fri: 8.15pm Saturdays: 6.15 & 9.15pm

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ARTS



Vanessa Cooke as eccentric poet Emily Dickinson in *The Belle of Amherst*

The reclusive poet is brought to light

ROBERT WHITEHEAD got to direct *The Belle of Amherst*, as he tells it, after it had done the rounds and The Market's Mannie Manim "decided he wanted Vanessa Cooke to do it, but it was really a special for Vanessa, who's very special in this organisation".

And that was the arrangement: Whitehead to direct, Cooke to act and Manim to light.

The Belle of Amherst is William Luce's play about the life of Emily Dickinson although, as Whitehead points out, "it's all her words, letters, written exchanges with her friends — there's very little Luce in it."

Whitehead is clearly beguiled by the life of the reclusive poet — "after the age of 30 Emily just couldn't bear to leave the house and have anything to do with anyone other than her

brother, sister and maid, and this seclusion baffled and outraged the upstanding members of her New England community, soon making her a myth, a legend and the subject of all kinds of gossip."

Robert Whitehead has now directed three plays about women writers: about Virginia Woolf, Gertrude Stein and, now, Emily Dickinson. It is their lives that has always absorbed him. ("I'm not a Virginia Woolf fan, but I've always been interested in the life that produced the work and it's no different with Dickinson. All these women made choices that were, well, unpopular at the time, but all three have survived as major influences on 20th-century literature.")

Whitehead understands Emily Dickinson's extraordinarily controversial and experimental vision, structure and metaphor that are "off the wall". She broke with her generation and couldn't bear the "littleness" of Amherst and the "ghastliness" of daily life there. These perceptions, he feels, shape her writing and her lifestyle and in her poetry she was "very subversive".

Up to a point, though, Dickinson desperately wanted publication, fame and recognition, says Whitehead. That she didn't get it was partly due to the destructive impulses of Wentworth

Higginson, professor and man of letters in Boston, who continued to devalue both her work and that of Walt Whitman. Whitman transcended Higginson but Emily didn't. In consequence, she had seven poems published in her lifetime, all anonymously, but after her death well over 1 000 were discovered "uncollated and unedited, just this body of work".

If Whitehead is somewhat ambivalent about the advantages of an actor turning his hand to direction, he is rather less so about directing Cooke. "Knowing her work and her range, she is incapable of doing an untrue thing on stage." He also prefers this one-on-one direction to handling large casts which, he says, is "more traffic control than choreography".

But, one might ask of a man who co-directed a play about Nijinsky from the southern tip of the African continent, why no work on South African writers, many of whom were finding their feet in the Virginia Woolf era that he is so fond of?

Whitehead is keenly aware of the lives of William Plomer and Roy Campbell but displays no real interest: "Among the first writers that the Woolfs published were Katherine Mansfield and William Plomer — New Zealand and South Africa. Now Katherine Mansfield really interests me."

Well, perhaps if Nadine Gordimer had been born years earlier, his interest might have been aroused. She wasn't and we still wait and hope he'll eventually focus his talents a bit closer to South America and the Antipodes.

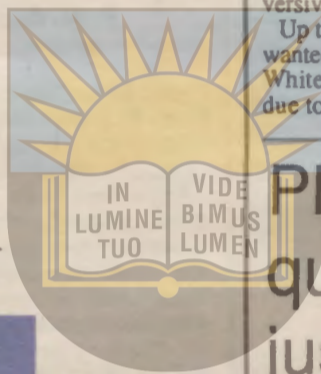
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University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Play on battling queens says just as much as it should say

THEATRE: Mary Stuart
VENUE: Windybrow

IN the blue hush of the Windybrow's Dalro Theatre, a single spotlight shines on a severed head. Crowned with a diadem, the head rests on one of two chairs that occupy a bare stage. Overhead a bell is tolling.

Director Francois Swart has imbued the first few moments of *Mary Stuart* with the eerie dramatic tension that characterises the production as a whole. It is not a conventional kind of drama, for it depends not on confrontation, but on contrast.

Dacia Mariani's *Mary Stuart* portrays the captivity of the 16th century Scottish queen Mary Stuart (Shirley Johnston) during the reign of England's Queen Elizabeth I (Jacqui Singer), who had Mary imprisoned for 18 years and finally beheaded.

In the play, the two queens meet only in a single dream sequence, but they develop an intangible relationship based on fear, admiration, and inexplicable affection.

Each actress dominates half of the divided stage, and the tension of the play comes from the juxtaposition of the two performances, between two kinds of dignity and of intransigent strength.

Johnston and Singer's characterisations of are perfect studies of strength and grandeur. Sunk in their high-backed chairs, pacing around the stage, or locked in cruel terrorisations of their maidservants (Nomhle Nkonyeni and Nomsa Nene), the two become frightening visions of frustrated power.

As the ailing Mary, Johnston glares restively at the space in front of her; she seems to see with sick eyes all the wrongs she has endured, the passions and the plots that swept her to her lonely fate.

Singer's Elizabeth is equally imposing, but more irascible; she berates invisible ambassadors and toys with her servant with the self-possession that comes from absolute power. And yet the very violence and bitterness of her tantrums reveals that she, too, feels trapped by her position.

Every expression and speech of these two actresses is flawless and economical. The restrained movement of this production, the black and white costumes, the sparseness of the set and the symmetrical arrangement of ac-



Shirley Johnston as Mary Stuart sees with sick eyes all the plots against her

tors — all contribute to the streamlined dynamics of tragedy.

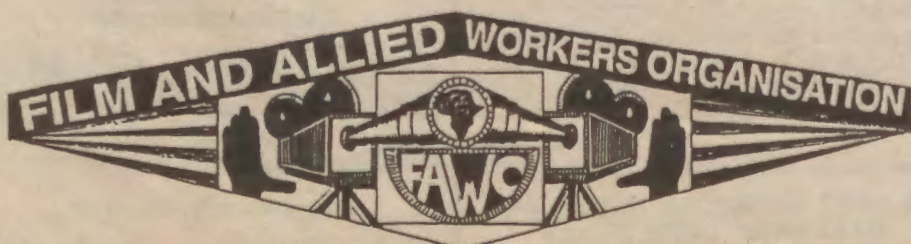
This is a play that says exactly as much as it should say, and Swart's production manages to suggest stark romanticism, human longings, and historical inevitability without ever letting an idea eclipse the drama.

Above all, *Mary Stuart* is a feminist play, in the best sense of the word. Mary and Elizabeth are absolute individuals with indomitable wills, and the relationships between them, as well as the relationships between the queens and their servants, are complex and fascinating. And like all the best creations of feminism, it speaks to humanity as a whole.

Mary Stuart shows what it means to live and die as a 16th century queen, and what it means to live and die as anyone, anywhere.

Cella Wren

We, the progressive film workers of South Africa, welcome comrade Nelson Mandela home!



BOOKS

WHILE political pundits argue about whether FW de Klerk has crossed the Rubicon, got stuck in the middle of it ... or simply taken an aeroplane instead, state institutions — among them the powerful Directorate of Publications — are trying to work out their next move.

The South African censors, arbiters of all we see, hear and read, have always been led in their tastes by the prevailing (official) socio-political climate; even while claiming, in much the same spirit as the judiciary, that all decisions are independently contrived.

Now that this climate is likely to become somewhat more clement, the question of how the Directorate will respond is uppermost in the minds of many authors and filmmakers whose work has been left to rot on the great South African trash heap of "undesirability".

One media lawyer says that since De Klerk announced the unbanning of several political organisations a fortnight ago, she has been "inundated" with queries from clients wanting to know whether their material is still banned.

The position is murky. In a statement last week, the Cape Town-based head of the Directorate, Dr A Coetzee, said that in the light of the legitimisation of the African National Congress, the South African Communist Party and the Pan Africanist Congress, among others, an immediate review of policy was clearly called for.

For instance, Coetzee said, the first step would be to lift the relevant section of the Publications Act which had been used to ban in perpetuity publications like the ANC mouthpiece, *Sechaba*, and the SACP's official journal, *The African Communist*.

This means that such publications would, in future, be subject to the "normal scrutiny" that casts its eye over the content of all newspapers and magazines.

However, it is unclear whether all such material will have to grind through the censorship machine yet again in order to achieve this status, or whether the Directorate intends reassessing every currently banned work of a political nature itself.

What the Directorate's decision does not mean is taking off the heat. The ANC may have been unbanned, but it is still committed to armed struggle. When this position is reflected in an edition of *Sechaba*, there is nothing to stop the state-attorney making a case out of it for the imposition of an outright ban.

Nothing in Coetzee's statement suggests that

The time's come to dust out the banned list

FW de Klerk has unbanned organisations. Will the censors take his lead and unban their publications? CHARLOTTE BAUER reports

the rules of censorship will change and one of those rules says that anything felt to endanger the security and good order of the state, is "undesirable".

Equally, nothing suggests a spring-cleaning of the membership of either the secret censorship committees or of the Publications Appeal Board. The nameless, faceless people whose attitudes set the moral tone, are the same people they were yesterday and they will still be setting the moral tone.

We don't know who sits on the committees responsible for dishing out bans in the first place. We do know that the most (arguably the only) liberal voice on the Appeal Board, resigned in disgust last year. She was Linda Gillfillan, an English academic from the University of Pretoria, who was chairman Professor Cobus van Rooyen's strongest ally in efforts to lessen the stifling impact of censorship in its more sinister guises.

Van Rooyen, whose influence has undoubtedly inched the Appeal Board towards progress during the 1980s, was not prepared to comment on the possible shape of things to come. He explained he did not want to be seen as "pre-judging issues that are likely to come up before the board in the future".

One reason for Van Rooyen's reticence is probably the fact that his chairmanship comes up for review next month and he is playing safe, being anxious to hold onto the job. But going by his track record, it is fair to predict that Van Rooyen, if he keeps his job, will not



Cry Freedom's Denzil Washington and Kevin Kline ... police are going to hand the movie back to the distributors

let the momentous political changes affecting South Africa slide by unnoticed.

Meanwhile, the ironies of censorship continue to abound.

Just four days after the state president's historic plea for a new, more tolerant, multi-party South Africa, a censorship committee refused a group of film festival organisers at Wits University permission to screen a number of films (both local and foreign) which had already been selected at other festivals around the country.

No Easy Road to Freedom, a film by Kevin Harris about the political transition of Namibia, was banned by a committee three months before the elections for, among other things, its "sympathetic portrayal of the enemy (Swapo)". Presumably, now that the war is over, the

South African government no longer regards Swapo as "the enemy". No one does. But the film, despite the pointing out of such technical niceties, remains banned.

The film *Cry Freedom* was passed by the Appeal Board, only to be seized on its first day out by police acting under the Emergency regulations blanket. Now the police, having bypassed the authority of the censors (who, in police terms, were clearly thought to have acted too leniently) have decided to release the film back in to the care of its distributors.

The confusing messages thrown out by the fact the State of Emergency still exists, exerting massive control over everyone — even the censors — is liable to further frustrate renewed attempts at liberalising censorship from within.

Media lawyer Gilbert Marcus has pointed out until laws embraced by the State of Emergency and the Internal Security Act are amended, there can be little hope for dramatic changes within the Directorate.

However, this does not discount a shift in attitudes of a more philosophical nature.

For this to happen, the Appeal Board's vast armoury of existing criteria by which "desirability" is measured, could stretch the censors' imagination in almost any direction.

Says Marcus: "The criteria are sufficiently elastic to embrace an enormous discretionary component ... they are so protean as to be able to generate either incredible suppression or considerable freedom."

One lawyer believes that the changing political climate may have the effect of polarising the Directorate's censorship committees and the Appeal Board still further. In crude terms, the committees are widely perceived as being a lot more archaic and conservative than the Board.

Censorship-watchers will be paying close attention to Appeal Board decisions over the next couple of months in an effort to establish which way it's going to swing.

Of particular interest will be the Board's judgement concerning the film, *A Dry White Season*, which is being considered for general release. As the application revolves around permission for *Season* to be shown uncut at popular cinemas, rather than for a specified number of screenings at a largely inaccessible "art house" or festival, much rests upon the outcome.

Lessons for us from abroad

WHY did Carrefour Press bother to produce, of all things, a translation of modern Hebrew poetry?

It was not asked for — it was a gift, an offering to anyone interested in a tradition and heritage so distant from South Africa's fragmented and debased ones.

It has been said that translating is a betrayal of the original text. But, as the authors argue in the introduction, that does not detract from the need to translate. For the activity grants access to non-native speakers to foreign ideas, art forms and history, so that they can compare cultures and enrich their own. The reading public should be enormously grateful to the authors for their arduous work — and for the elegant craftsmanship in the translated poems.

Yehuda Amichai's poem, *The Deserted Garden*, begins with:

*Everyone needs a deserted garden
or an old house with peeling walls;
everyone needs a forgotten world.*

The lines describe a central preoccupation of many of the poems in the collection: the longing for a sense of place. To achieve this, the poets often turn to Israel's magnificent yet equally tragic heritage. The writers thus reach for identity, and attempt to extend and enrich their traditions.

However, these tasks of poetry had been almost destroyed by the abhorrent crimes against the Jewish people before and during the Second World War. The result has been what is called "holocaust poetry", a practice, which, in dealing with the unspeakable, falls back into a silence.

Alvin Rosenfield, a considerable researcher of holocaust literature, writes: "(there is) felt almost universally to be a crisis of language after the Holocaust. Given the silencing power of that event, how can language faithfully record history? Credibly describe the trials of living and dying under an extreme and dehumanising terror?" Such difficulties are evinced in the collection.

Usually the attempt to confront a horrific experience is the attempt to overcome it, transform it, which the poets in this volume try to do, with courage, but often with tenuous success. Tuvia Rübner makes little headway. It is nigh impossible for this poet to confront and

APPROXIMATIONS: Translations from Modern Hebrew Poetry by Israel Ben Yosef and Douglas Reid Skinner (Carrefour Press, R14,95)

narrate concentration camp monstrosities inflicted on his own family. In *Testimony* he is barely able to say:

*I live only to bear witness
to their story, charcoal and ash,
my sister's spirit a breath
blowing back through my hair*

Transformation and confrontation imply healing: one of the most ancient functions of poetry. How are these poets to achieve this, when their poems have to deal with the unutterable, and often only ache with a numbing silence?

One method is to explore archetypes, inner-felt motifs which can attain symbolic affirmation. In the poem *Summer Begins*, Yehuda Amichai expresses one of the collection's most beautiful gatherings of personal symbols which lie beyond the communication of language. Here the sum total of a fragmented human existence, birth/life/death, is transformed by archetypal experiences which metonymically deepen and transcend any worded definition of our existence:

*(You're no more understood than before,
no better at understanding:) 'death'
is not dying, 'birth' not children
and perhaps even 'life' not living...
but a leaf of rosemary, a sudden perfume,
a ray of hope, balm for the heart,
a bit of mint lifted to the nose,
are joy for they eyes, and warm redemption.*

Poets in this volume, like Amichai, are well aware of the ability of words to deflect and defer experience, to betray human endeavour rather than to embrace it. Hence the turn to archetype and symbol for embracement — the success of which is partially a fusion of private and public concerns (which were never separate in the first place).

The practice and the critical reading of poetry in this country has often mindlessly bifurcated the private and the political, as though the two were in opposition. In this gift of a collection, there is much for local readers and writers to learn from.

Rod Mackenzie



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The following are the date changes and full details will be published soon:

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CRYPTIC CROSSWORD

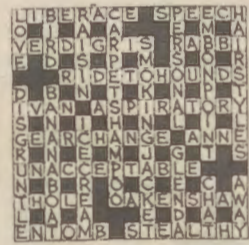


ACROSS
5 Large girl's matrimonial offence (6).
6 The poet of the car (6).
9 Summit one takes at a run (6).
10 Wraps up again and regains health (8).
11 Collapsed on the hill (4).
12 Writers torn asunder in Boeotian capital... (3,7).
13... as politician warded off man with hat-rack (6,5).
18 Live without having false teeth but not without security (10).

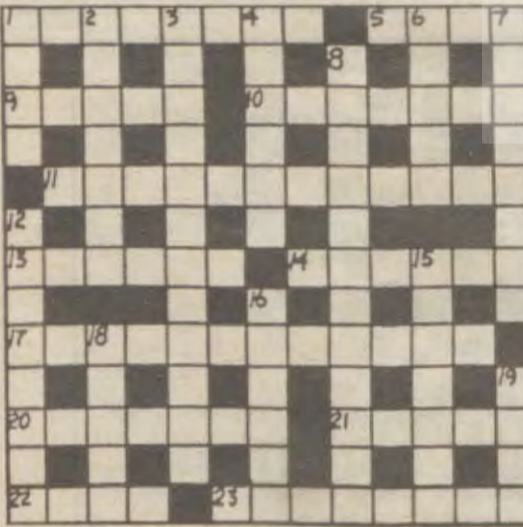
21 Stage in overthrow of favourites (4).
22 Burning love for a bird (8).
23 Bald-headed bird-dog (6).
24 Article in receptacle may be bacon (6).
25 Blow to an oarsman (6).

DOWN
1 Urges a boy to make a meal (3,5).
2 The effect of something a child does? (6).
3 String once seen dangling outside aeroplane (8).
4 Cowardly about a bird (6).
5 An impulse to be holding the flag (6).
7 Tray found on the tennis court (6).
8 Rode off, rein flapping at sentry's challenge (6,2,3).
14 Shock is not unusual when horror grips (8).
15 He is willing to try writing up list (8).
16 Closely fastened when a novice puts good player out (6).
17 Cereal that is taken after a repast (6).
19 Animal spotted by bird flying over motorway (6).
20 Wordy argument about striker thrown in river (6).

Last week's solution



QUICK CROSSWORD



ACROSS
1 As large as the actual thing (4-4).
5 Jane Austen heroine (4).
9 Unrefined (5).
10 "All my own work" (7).
11 Up-market nibble (6,6).
13 Artificial leather (6).
14 Weak (6).
17 Devonshire delicacy (7,5).
20 A crown in old money? (4,3).
21 Disturbed or spilt (5).
22 The end of the cobbler? (4).
23 Tie (4-4).

DOWN
1 Securing device (4).
2 Bewilder (7).
3 Carrier of the voice (8-4).
4 Old-fashioned oath (6).
6 Address to a lady (5).
7 Wooded area of NE France (8).
8 The square (military) (6,6).
12 Elegant (8).
15 Golf club (7).
16 Fit for human consumption (6).
18 One form of awkward louts (5).
19 Cancel correction (4).

Last week's solution

Across: 1 Passionate; 7 Ramekin; 8 Moist; 10 Wasp; 11 Wrangler; 13 Bucket; 15 Subtle; 17 Arrested; 18 Twit; 21 Kenya; 22 Portion; 23 Shipwreck.
Down: 1 Pumps; 2 Sake; 3 Ignore; 4 Numinous; 5 Trip; 6 Draw; 9 Turpentine; 12 Jew's harp; 14 Corinth; 16 Helper; 19 Wrist; 20 Crag.

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PERSONALS

CATHY and Jonathan thank all friends for their wonderful care and support during this time of sadness.

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VALENTINE GREETINGS

J. My years of bliss Why should I miss Time to read my encyclopaedia? If you'll be mine My loving valentine I'll publish my thanks in mass media. M.

TO Fermina D in Albanian exile. Roll on old age! Love Florentino A.

TO one who knows all the markets, flowers especially. You have my love for always!

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THE MARCH SALE
BERMAN GALLERY
203 Lowliebenschhof, 193 Smit Street, Broomfontein. Also at FRAME UP 91 Simmonds Street, between Smit and Wolmarans, Broomfontein. Diagonally opposite each other.

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NATURE THE NATURE

Conservation Centre invites all to an exciting and informative Family Day to learn about the Magaliesberg on Sunday, 18 Feb from 7am to 2.30. Activities include hot air ballooning, mountain climbing, a treasure hunt and more. Ph: 782-1934/1531. Booking essential.

PERFORMANCE THE MARKET

Theatre is offering a programme of classes for the public. They include movement, mime, voice and traditional dance and teachers include Andrew Buckland and Clare Stopford. The venue is 63 Goch St, Newtown and the cost is R1.50 per class. Ph: 836 6499.

SATURDAY LIVE is an informal platform for young performers which takes place on Saturdays at 11am in the Rosebank Mews. Contact Suzette le Sueur at 788 2909.

SHAKESPEARE SOCIETY

is holding a lecture on "Hamlet and the Secular Trinity" presented by David Friedland on Sunday at 7pm at the Windybrook, Hillbrow. Cost is R3.

SPINNING, WEAVING and allied crafts will be taught to beginners and advanced pupils by fibre artist Miriam Friedland at the Kim Sacks craft centre and gallery in Francis St, Bellevue on Mon and Thurs evenings from 5.30 to 8.30 and Sat afternoons. For information ph 648-6107 or 728-1788.

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A programme of performances will be held every Sunday at 4pm at the Market Theatre Laboratory, 63 Goch St, Newtown. This week is "Seaside Sluts" - a playreading by Owen de Jager and directed by Gernt Schoonhoyev.

EVENTS (JOHANNESBURG)

ART Johannesburg Gallery will be screening films and videos to coincide with an exhibition of Pop prints in the 70s. Colin Richards (Wits) offers "Some Reflections on Pop Art" tomorrow at 2pm. Entrance is free. Ph: (011) 725 3180

BUDDHIST The Johannesburg Sanye Zong welcomes Arya Akong Rinpoche from Scotland. He will be giving a series of talks and meditation practices at The Theosophical Society, 31 Streatly Ave, Auckland Park tonight at 8pm, tomorrow from 9am to 5pm, and 18 Feb from 9am to 12 noon. Enquiries: 782 2335 or 463 1484 (a/h).

CHILDREN'S ART CLASSES at the Johannesburg Art Gallery. Classes are offered on Tues, Wed and Thurs afternoons from 3 to 4.30 for children between seven and 12. For information on fees and booking, ph Michelle Jerky at 725-3130.

DISABLED. A morning seminar entitled "Harnessing the skills of the disabled" will be staged by the Women's Bureau on Friday 9 March at Rand Afrikaans University. For information and booking ph Brenda McCrorie, 802 2301

ENACT As part of its campaign to promote initiative in the performing arts, Enact is offering a Playwright Award for work reflecting the changing South African climate. Closing date for entries is March 31, 1990. Inquiries phone 307 5978.

ENVIRONMENTAL is the name of a new project which aims to foster an interest in both theatre and the environment among primary school pupils. The project will take the form of a performing arts competition designed around the environment. For details ph: (031) 753414.

FAMOS Families and Friends of Schizophrenics are holding a public meeting on February 17 at 2.30pm at the Masonic Hall, 2nd Ave, Parktown North. The meeting will be addressed by a psychiatrist, a magistrate and a family member.

GROUNDWELL invites all to a Swiss evening on February 28 at the home of Des and Dawn Lindberg, 49 St Patricks Rd, Houghton from 5.30pm to 8.30pm. Des and Dawn will entertain, Danie Theunissen, Leon Louw and Frances Kendall will speak and Swiss refreshments will be served. Cost is R50.

MANDELA "A Portrait of Nelson Mandela" will be screened tomorrow at 1pm at the Can Themba library on 4th floor Twiga Centre, 68 Central Rd, Fordsburg. Ph: 833-2530. Entrance free.

MARKET The arts, crafts and collectables market is open every Sunday at Mary Fitzgerald Square, opposite the Market Theatre, from 9am to 4pm. Parking is available on the square and refreshments are available to make browsing pleasant. The arts market is open on Sundays.

MEGA MUSIC is on. Flea market facilities will be available at Mega Music from 9am to 4pm. Ph 834 2761/2/3.

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Glossary:
 [F] Film
 [M] Music
 [S] Simulcast on Radio 2000
 [P] Sport
 [O] Open time
 [C] Closed time

FRIDAY

TV-1

- 6.00-8.15 Good Morning South Africa
- 10.55 TopSport
- 3.30 New Monkeys - No 2
- 4.00 Santa Barbara
- 4.25 [M] Fast Forward
- 5.00 Ducktales
- 5.25 Bible Story
- 5.30 [M] TopSport
- 6.00 News
- 6.15 Sons of the Blood: No. 6
- 6.50 The Entertainers
- 7.00 MacGyver
- 8.00 Network
- 8.45 Police File
- 9.00 Ult Die Franse Tyd
- 10.55 Alles Te Verkoop
- 12.25 Oordenking

TV-2

- 5.00 [M] Lingisa - Youth Magazine Programme
- 5.32 [T & T - Triplecast Adventure Series
- 6.00 See TV4
- 7.00 Indepth Programme
- 7.19 News
- 7.39 Itreyini - Family Comedy
- 8.09 [M] Sidlalela Intsha
- 8.57 Epilogue

TV-3

- 5.00 [M] Foorur - Animated Kiddies Programme
- 5.32 [T & T - Triplecast Adventure Series
- 6.00 See TV4
- 7.00 News
- 7.19 Indepth Programme
- 7.39 [M] Lapologa
- 8.57 Epilogue

TV-4

- 6.03 [M] TopSport: Soccer Scene
- 9.04 [M] Escape - Starring Timothy Bottoms and Kay Lenz
- 10.44 M.A.S.H
- 11.11 [M] Sweef Soos 'n Arend

BOPTV

- 3.03 Sesame Street
- 4.00 Fraggie Rock
- 4.35 Documentaries
- 5.35 The Bold And The Beautiful
- 6.00 News Headlines
- 6.03 [M] Transworld Sport
- 6.50 Consumer Forum
- 7.00 Dikgang
- 7.15 Sister Kate
- 7.40 Knightwatch
- 8.30 News
- 8.50 Hunter
- 9.40 [M] Chase
- 11.10 Nightcourt
- 11.35 [M] Champion in Nightmare
- 1.05 Epilogue

M-NET

- 10.30 [M] Thrashin' - Starring Josh Brolin and Pamela Gidley - Directed by David Winters (1986)
- 12.00 [M] 60 Minutes
- 3.00 [M] Go Tell The Spartans (2-16) - Starring Burt Lancaster and Craig Wasson - Directed by Ted Post (1978)
- 5.00 [M] Hot Hits
- 6.00 [M] Loving
- 6.30 [M] The World of National Panasonic
- 7.00 [M] Where Are The Children? (2-12) - Starring Jill Clayburgh and Max Gail - Directed by Bruce Malmuth (1985)
- 8.40 [M] 60 Minutes
- 9.00 [M] Thief (2-18) - Starring James Caan and Tuesday Weld - Directed by Michael Mann (1981)
- 11.00 [M] Sportsfire: Boxing

SATURDAY

TV-1

- 5.57 Morning Message
- 6.00 Educational Television
- 6.30 Landbou/Agriculture
- 7.00 Good Morning South Africa
- 9.00 Educational Television
- 11.00 [M] TopSport
- 1.00 Boel en Bill
- 1.05 Eler-Manie
- 1.10 Die Robinsons
- 1.35 Kom Tyd, Kom Raad
- 2.00 [M] TopSport
- 5.57 Kompas
- 6.00 Die Nuus
- 6.15 [M] Musik-Mosaiek
- 6.45 Sirkusse Van Die

THE WEEKLY MAIL

- Wereld
- 7.05 Vaart en Vlug
- 8.00 News
- 8.35 Magnum
- 9.30 [M] Outland - Starring Sean Connery and Peter Boyle
- 11.15 Laurel and Hardy
- 12.20 Epilogue

TV-2

- 11.00 Teleschool
- 11.30 Open University
- 12.00 We Are the Children
- 12.20 Small Business
- 12.30 Agriforum
- 1.00 Educational Rendezvous
- 3.00 [M] TopSport
- 5.00 526 - Magazine Programme
- 6.00 See TV4
- 7.00 Indepth Programme
- 7.19 News
- 7.39 [M] TV2 Ngomqibelo
- 8.57 Epilogue

TV-3

- 11.00-2.50 See TV2
- 3.00 [M] TopSport
- 5.00 Menting - Live Transmitted Family Programme
- 6.00 See TV4
- 7.00 News
- 7.19 Indepth Programme
- 7.39 [M] Tshutshumakgala
- 8.26 Nong Sealaladi - Drama
- 8.57 Epilogue

TV-4

- 6.03 Check It Out
- 6.30 The True Story of Spit MacPhee - Episode 3
- 9.03 Benson
- 9.31 Knots Landing
- 10.24 People-Like Us
- 10.52 Nearly Departed
- 11.20 [M] Stingray
- 12.10 [M] TopSport: Match Of The Day

BOPTV

- 2.03 Hulk
- 2.35 The Second Voyage of the Mimi
- 3.05 [M] Music Special
- 4.00 New Generations
- 4.35 Family Special
- 5.30 Who's The Boss
- 6.00 News Headlines
- 6.03 Fame
- 7.00 Dikgang
- 7.15 On The Beat
- 7.40 Group One Medical
- 8.30 News
- 8.50 Island Son
- 9.40 [M] Crazy Times
- 11.10 Hammer House of Horror
- 11.35 [M] Crowhaven Farm
- 1.05 Epilogue

M-NET

- 12.00 [M] Hemingway - Parts 6 & 6 (Repeat)
- 1.45 [M] Hemingway - Parts 7 & 8 (Repeat)
- 3.30 [M] Supersport - Golf
- 4.30 [M] Supersport: Rugby
- 6.00 [M] Houston Knights
- 7.00 [M] Curse Of The Pink Panther - Starring Herbert Lom and David Niven - Directed by Blake Edwards (1983)
- 8.40 [M] Seychelles (Repeat)
- 9.00 [M] One More Saturday Night (2-16) - Starring Tom Davis and Al Franken - Directed by Dennis Klein (1986)
- 10.40 [M] The New Dr Ruth Show
- 11.10 [M] Stage Fright - Starring Richard Todd and Michael Wilding - Directed by Alfred Hitchcock (1950)
- 12.55 [M] Hot Hits

SUNDAY

- 1.00 Pinocchio
- 1.25 Zet!
- 1.35 Storybook International
- 2.00 Marconi - Die Vader Var Die Radio
- 3.00 Argonauts - A Two-Part Series
- 3.30 Gone With Hollywood
- 4.00 Collage
- 4.50 Disney Sunday Movie - Big Foot (Part 1)
- 5.50 50/50
- 6.50 Religious Programme
- 7.30 Thy Kingdom Come

- 8.00 Network
- 9.00 Cinderella - Ballet
- 11.05 Oordenking

TV-2

- 12.00 Kickers - Animated Kiddies Programme
- 12.30 National Geographic Explorer
- 1.00 [M] TopSport
- 6.00 See TV4
- 7.00 Indepth Programme
- 7.16 News
- 7.33 Imibono
- 7.57 Masakhane
- 8.14 Ukholo Lunje
- 8.57 Epilogue

TV-3

- 12.00 Men Of The Woods - Part 1
- 12.30 Ke Tsona
- 1.00 [M] TopSport
- 6.00 See TV4
- 7.00 News
- 7.16 Indepth Programme
- 7.33 Le Reng/La Reng?
- 7.55 [M] Ho Lia Noto
- 8.13 Mahlasedi a Tumelo
- 8.57 Epilogue

TV-4

- 6.03 Treasure Hunt
- 9.04 North and South
- 9.55 Kate and Allie
- 10.22 [M] Sing Country
- 10.51 [M] TopSport

BOPTV

- 2.03 Church Service
- 2.18 [M] Gospel Music
- 2.33 Religious Programme
- 3.40 Club 700
- 4.30 Religious Sermon
- 5.30 True Confessions
- 6.00 News Headlines
- 6.03 [M] Choral Music
- 6.30 Roving Report
- 7.00 Dikgang
- 7.15 Growing Pains
- 7.40 Thirtysomething
- 8.30 News
- 8.50 A Fortunate Life
- 9.45 Bret Maverick
- 10.30 [M] Jazz
- 11.10 Epilogue

M-NET

- 7.00 [M] East-Net Opens
- 10.30 [M] Portuguese Tier Opens
- 1.30 [M] Children's Viewing
- 2.30 [M] The Haunted School - Part 8
- 3.00 [M] Stripes (2-16) - Starring Bill Murray and Harold Ramis - Directed by Ivan Reitman (1981)
- 4.40 [M] Supersport: Motorsport
- 5.00 [M] Supersport: British Soccer
- 6.00 [M] Supersport Cntd.
- 6.50 [M] Sportsfire: To be announced
- 7.00 [M] Carte Blanche
- 8.00 [M] Wildlife On One
- 8.30 [M] Songwriter - Starring Willie Nelson and Kris Kristofferson - Directed by Alan Rudolph (1984)
- 10.00 [M] Supersport - Tennis

MONDAY

TV-1

- 6.00-8.15 Good Morning South Africa
- 3.00 Teleschool
- 3.30 Educational
- 4.00 Santa Barbara
- 4.25 Webster III
- 4.55 Children's Viewing
- 6.00 News
- 6.15 Graffiti
- 7.00 The A-Team
- 8.00 Network
- 9.00 Met Liefde Van
- 10.00 [M] TopSport
- 11.00 Verhale Van Die Klondike
- 11.50 Oordenking

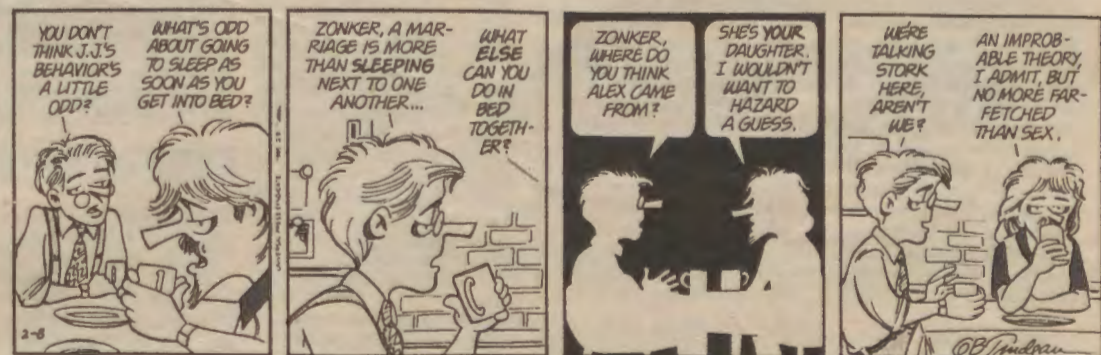
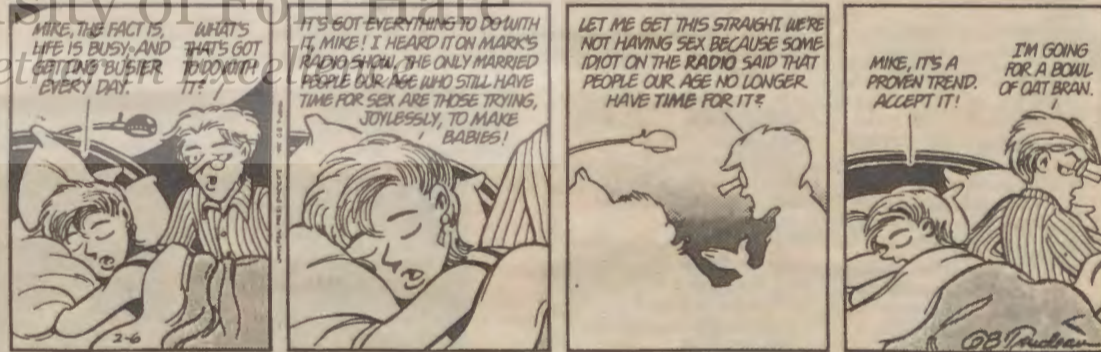
TV-2

- 4.50 Cedric the Crow
- 5.00 Educational
- 5.30 Iliwa Libhek/Umoya
- 6.00 See TV4
- 7.00 Public Affairs
- 7.29 News
- 7.57 Police File
- 8.14 Igagazi: Natal
- 8.42 [M] Ezodumo
- 8.57 Epilogue

WHO'S LEFT



DOONESBURY



ACTION JACKSON. Carl Weathers (Predator) is Action Jackson, who's rather like James Bond and has to deal with any number of explosions, evil megalomaniacs and sultry beauties. A sort of update of Shaft. Directed by Craig R. Baxley, who distinguished himself as stunt-coordinator on The Long Riders. Produced by Lethal Weapon man Joel Silver.

ACT OF PIRACY. Vietnam vet Ted Andrews' victim gets kidnapped and his yacht hijacked, thus giving him an excuse to kill lots of baddies. A non-thriller. Stars Gary Busey (The Buddy Holly Story) and Ray Sharkey (The Idolmaker). Directed by ex-stuntman John "Bud" Carlos (Gor).

THE ADVENTURES OF BARON MUNCHHAUSEN. Another extraordinary fantasy from ex-Python Terry Gilliam, who directed Time Bandits and Brazil. One of the most expensive films ever made, it is visually breathtaking and quite wonderful.

BAGDAD CAFE. Weird and wonderful movie about an Austrian woman who finds herself in a desolate American backwater and starts re-juvenating it and its inhabitants. A real gem, as they say. Stars Marianne Sägebrecht and CCH Pounder. Directed by Percy Adlon.

THE BOOST. James Woods (Bestseller) and Sean Young (Blade Runner) are an up-and-coming yuppie couple walking a fine line between a fast buck and illegality. A black comment on capitalist morality. Woods is excellent. Directed by Harold Becker (The Onion Field).

CASUALTIES OF WAR. No more Vietnam for me, thank you. Nothing to do with the fact that this is one of the better Nam flicks, despite director Brian DePalma's tendency to be rather heavy-handed. Michel J Fox is good in a serious role (he even looks a bit older), and Sean Penn is brilliant as the main psychotic, but it's well over two hours of solid trauma.

CINEMA PARADISO. Vibrant but rather long and melodramatic story of young Toto (Salvatore Cascio), altar-boy and cinéphile. Veteran Philippe Noiret is Alfredo, the projectionist and Toto's best buddy. Directed by Giuseppe Tornatore.

DANNY, THE CHAMPION OF THE WORLD. Roald Dahl's story of Danny (Samuel Irons) who, with his father (Jeremy Irons) must tackle the wicked property baron Victor Hazell (Robbie Coltrane). "Charming" is the adjective most frequently used about this film. Directed by Gavin Millar (Dreamchild).

A FEW DAYS WITH ME. Cross between a savage social satire and a lover's tragedy, focusing on the meeting of an upper-class young Frenchman (Daniel Auteuil) and a working class girl (Sandrine Bonnaire). Directed by Claude Sautet.

GONE WITH THE WIND. The 50-year-old saga with Clark Gable and Vivien Leigh set during the American Civil War. Melodrama galore and some wonderfully sweeping visuals. The classic of its kind. Directed by Victor Fleming.

AN INNOCENT MAN. Magnum's on the wrong side of the law and Tom Selleck's still trying to make it big as a movie-star. This is a serious drama about a miscarriage of justice, the kind of thing that happens a thousand times a day but they don't make that many movies about it. Directed by Peter Yates (The

PICK OF THE FILMS

AT Mini Cine in Hillbrow this weekend and next week is the Osprey Continental Film Festival, with some excellent movies that haven't been seen here since the glory days of Yeoville's Piccadilly.

CINEMA (JOHANNESBURG)

House on Carroll Street). KICKBOXER. Urgh, aargh, ooooh, uuurgh — kick, slash, punch, a few elbows to the groin... Jean-Claude van Damme (Cyborg) gets to show off his overdeveloped torso and look real mean while on a quest to revenge his equally overdeveloped brother's paralysis at the hands, feet, elbows, etc. of a Thai kickboxer. Directed by David Worth (Never Too Young to Die).

LEAN ON ME. Morgan Freeman is Crazy Joe Clark, headmaster, who believes coercion is a good antidote to various educational problems. Sounds very topical. Directed by John G. Avildsen (Rocky).

LOCK UP. Sly Stallone, who "wanted to do a picture with heart", stars in this tale of conflict between a prisoner (Sly) and a vengeful warden (Donald Sutherland). Deep down, it's a sensitive examination of a sado-masochistic love-affair. Directed by John Flynn (Bestseller).

MYSTIC PIZZA. Small-town drama about whether to get married, or not to get married — that sort of thing. Julia Roberts (Satisfaction) and Annabeth Gish (Desert Bloom) star as sisters Daisy and Kat. Directed by Donald Petrie, who did an episode or two of LA Law and MacGyver.

RED SCORPION. How many more fictional African states can fit into fictional Africa? This one's called Mombaka (now that rings a bell...). You can guess where it was shot. Plotwise, a Russian assassin is sent to kill a rebel leader. Stars Dolph Lundgren (Masters of the Universe). Directed by Joseph Zito (Friday the 13: The Final Chapter).

RETURN FROM THE RIVER KWAI. Based on fact, this movie starts where the more fictional Bridge over the River Kwai didn't quite leave off. Now the POW's must embark on a new job for their nasty Jap captors. Standard hero stuff. With Edward Fox and Denholm Elliott. Directed by Andrew V. McLaglen (Sea Wolves).

RUNNING ON EMPTY. New film from veteran director Sidney Lumet (Network, Daniel, Twelve Angry Men) about a 1960s activist family, still on the run after all these years. Problem is, the kids want out. Stars River Phoenix (The Mosquito Coast) and Judd Hirsch (TV's Taxi). Excellent.

SALAAM BOMBAY! Mira Nair's extraordinary movie, shot with non-actors in the midst of India's most chaotic city, focusing on 10-year-old streetchild Krishna. A brilliant mix of narrative and documentary.

THE SANDWICH YEARS. French film, set during World War II, about the most important year in the life of young Victor (Thomas Langmann), a country boy just arrived in the city. Directed by Pierre Boutron (The Picture of Dorian Gray).

SEA OF LOVE. Romantic thriller in which a cop (Al Pacino) falls in love with a sultry beauty (Ellen Barkin) given to placing personal ads for love. Directed by Harold Becker (The Onion Field).

SHE'S OUT OF CONTROL. Oh my God, there you are, just a normal gawky pimply teenager and then — wham! — suddenly you're an incredibly sexy adult



Sean Penn: very convincing as a psychopath in Casualties of War, which opens today

woman. That's what happens to Katie (Ami Dolenz) in this movie. Musclebound dwarf Tony Danza (TV's Who's the Boss?), as her father, isn't at all thrilled. Also stars Wallace Shawn (My Dinner with André). Directed by Stan Dragoti (Love at First Bite).

SHIRLEY VALENTINE. Dowdy housewife (Pauline Collins, who was a big hit on stage in this role) goes to saucy Greece and rediscovers her joie de vivre. Tom Conti (Rueben, Rueben) plays a saucy Greek. Directed by Lewis Gilbert (Educating Rita

and a few Bond movies). TURNER AND HOOC. Tom Hanks is back in yet another delightfully ridiculous comedy about a finicky detective who adopts an extremely ugly, messy dog. Directed by Roger Spottiswoode (Under Fire).

CINEMA (INDEPENDENTS, JOHANNESBURG)

MINI CINE, 49 Pretoria St, Hillbrow (Ph: 642 8915). OSPREY CONTINENTAL FILM FESTIVAL:

Fri 16: 2.45 & 7.45pm: Belinda; 5.15 & 10pm: A Man like Eva. Sat 17: 2.45 & 7.45pm: Men; 5.15 & 10pm: Coup de Torchon. Sun 18: 2.45, 5.15, 7.45 & 10pm: Sugarbaby. Mon 19: 2.45 & 7.45pm: Woman in Flames; 5.15 & 10pm: Pixote. Tues 20: 2.45 & 7.45pm: Asterix and Caesar's Surprise; 5.15 & 10pm: Where the Green Ants Dream. Wed 21: 2.45 & 7.45pm: Can She Bake a Cherry Pie?; 5.15 & 10pm: Drama in Blond. Thurs 22: 2.45 & 7.45pm: Asterix and Caesar's

Surprise; 5.15 & 10pm: Where the Green Ants Dream. Fri 23: 2.45 & 7.45pm: Can She Bake a Cherry Pie?; 5.15 & 10pm: Drama in Blond. Sat 24: 2.45 & 7.45pm: Woman in Flames; 5.15 & 10pm: Pixote.

CORLETT CINEMA, Corlett City, Louis Botha Ave, Bramley. Ph: 786 0324. Cine 1: My Life as a Dog. Daily at 8pm, Sat 2.30, 6 and 9pm. Wed 2.30 and 8pm. Cine 2: Torch Song Trilogy. Tonight at 8pm. Tomorrow at 2.30 and 8pm, until Thursday

MAJESTIC, Fordsburg. Ph: 834 4481. Cine 1: Dead Bang and Action Jackson. Cine 2: Scandal and Sea of Love. Shows: Daily at 2pm and 7pm. R5,50 for adults and R4,50 for students. Shows 3, 6 & 9pm.

NU METRO THEATRES. NOW SHOWING 16-22 FEB. BOOK AT COMPUTICKET. Listings for NU METRO CITY 1-8, HILLBROW METRO 724-2511, AN INNOCENT MAN, THAT ENGLISHWOMAN, SHIRLEY VALENTINE, LEAN ON ME, MYSTIC PIZZA, ACTION JACKSON, SEA OF LOVE, RED SCORPION, RUNNING ON EMPTY, RETURN FROM THE RIVER KWAI, CINEMA PARADISO, DANNY, THE CHAMPION OF THE WORLD, GONE WITH THE WIND, AN INNOCENT MAN, PICK OF THE FILMS.

SK STER-KINEKOR. MOVIES. CENTRAL, NORTH, EAST, WEST. Listings for KINE ENTERTAINMENT CENTRE 331-3041/2, SANDTON CITY 1-9 783-4430/1, EASTOATE 1-6 622-3617/8, WESTOATE 1-6 764-2830, KINE HILLBROW 1-3 725-3134, CRESTA RANDBURG 476-3002, PALMSPRINGS 1 & 2 50-3223, KINE POTCHEFSTROOM 930378, KINE VANDERBIJLPARK 016-330072, RIVERSQUARE VEREENIGING 016-46928, VAAL, THE MALL ROSEBANK 890-2866/7, TOP STAR (CITY) 412-1043/483-8077, VELSVDEN (RANDBURG) 412-1043/793-8515, ATLAS (BREITWOOD PARK) 016-1644/973-1017, GERMISTON 016-1644/902-1607/8, VEREENIGING 016-1644/12-3251, STERLING (ROODEPOORT) 016-1043/793-3480, BRANKEN 016-1644/918-3007, TURNER & HOOC, ON SCHUCKS, IT'S SCHUSTER YOU MUST BE JOKING TOO, POLICE ACADEMY 5, THE SANDWICH YEARS, DEAD POET'S SOCIETY, SEA OF LOVE, STEPFATHER, COBRA MISSION II, DEATH JOURNEY, NITTI THE ENFORCER, MEGACITY METRO MMABATHO (0140) 2-3553, SEA OF LOVE, TURNER & HOOC, ACTION JACKSON, RENEGADES.

SPORTS AT A GLANCE

GOLF

AMERICAN Paul Azinger has made the most significant progress in the world golf rankings, moving up from ninth spot to eighth.

There is always debate about where the power of golf lies, in the United States or outside it. The top ten remains split 50-50 between US players and non-Americans as does the second 10.

But if a scoring system was devised to evaluate the top 20, giving 20 points for number one, 19 for two and so on, the rest of the world comes out comfortably ahead, scoring 112 points to 98.

The Top 20

- 1 — Greg Norman (Australia)
- 2 — Nick Faldo (Britain)
- 3 — Severiano Ballesteros (Spain)
- 4 — Curtis Strange (US)
- 5 — Payne Stewart (US)
- 6 — Tom Kite (US)
- 7 — Jose-Maria Olazabal (Spain)
- 8 — Paul Azinger (US)
- 9 — Ian Woosnam (Britain)
- 10 — Mark Calcavecchia (US)
- 11 — Masashi Ozaki (Japan)
- 12 — Chip Beck (US)
- 13 — David Frost (South Africa)
- 14 — Fred Couples (US)
- 15 — Sandy Lyle (Britain)
- 16 — Ben Crenshaw (US)
- 17 — Mark McCumber (US)
- 18 — Bernhard Langer (West Germany)
- 19 — Ronan Rafferty (Britain)
- 20 — Mark O'Meara (US)

TENNIS

DOUBLES success, particularly at the Australian Open, has pushed South Africans Pieter Aldrich and Danie Visser into the top 10 money earners in men's tennis this year.

Ivan Lendl tops the list — with a staggering amount of money, given that they've only been playing for about six weeks.

John McEnroe's total does not take fines into account.

- 1 — Ivan Lendl (Czechoslovakia), \$284 366
- 2 — Stefan Edberg (Sweden), \$105 250
- 3 — Yannick Noah (France), \$78 694
- 4 — Mats Wilander (Sweden), \$57 500
- 5 — Pete Sampras (US), \$53 749
- 6 — Tim Mayotte (US), \$50 359
- 7 — Pieter Aldrich (SA), \$46 730
- 8 — John McEnroe (US), \$44 399
- 9 — Danie Visser (SA), \$43 730
- 10 — Andrei Chesnokov (USSR), \$35 474

RUGBY

TOMORROW sees two key games in the Five Nations rugby championship — England v Wales and Scotland v France — which could decide the title.

England and Wales have played each other 95 times, with the Welsh coming out winners on 47 occasions compared to England's 36 triumphs. There have been 12 draws.

England won the very first fixture, in 1881 by 56 points to nil, scoring 13 tries. It was not until 1890 that Wales managed to beat England, 3-0.

More recently, Wales won nine to England's one in the 1970s. In the 1980s the Welsh won seven games to England's three, including the last four meetings. One game was drawn.

Wales v England — the last 10 years

- 1980 — ENGLAND 9 Wales 8
- 1981 — WALES 21 England 19
- 1982 — ENGLAND 17 Wales 7
- 1983 — Wales 13 England 13
- 1984 — WALES 24 England 15
- 1985 — WALES 24 England 15
- 1986 — ENGLAND 21 Wales 18

1987 (Five Nations) — WALES 19 England 12; (World Cup) — WALES 16 England 13

1988 — WALES 11 England 3
1989 — WALES 12 England 9

Scotland and France have met on 60 occasions, with the two teams currently running neck and neck. France have won 29 games, Scotland 28 and three games have been drawn.

The first game was played in 1910 in Edinburgh; Scotland romped home 27-0, scoring seven tries, but the French had their revenge the following year.

Most decades have ended with the honours even, although the Scots were rampant in the 1920s and France won eight to Scotland's two in the 1970s.

The 1980s could not have been more even — 11 games played, five wins apiece and one draw, in the World Cup, in 1987.

Scotland v France — the last 10 years

- 1980 — SCOTLAND 22 France 14
- 1981 — FRANCE 16 Scotland 9
- 1982 — SCOTLAND 16 France 7
- 1983 — FRANCE 19 Scotland 15
- 1984 — SCOTLAND 21 France 12
- 1985 — FRANCE 11 Scotland 3
- 1986 — SCOTLAND 18 France 17
- 1987 — (Five Nations) FRANCE 28 Scotland 22; (World Cup) Scotland 20 France 20
- 1988 — SCOTLAND 23 France 12
- 1989 — FRANCE 19 Scotland 3

SOCCER

FOR fans of Glasgow Celtic, part of the measure of their success is how well their neighbours and rivals, Rangers are doing.

Celtic have been Scottish league champions a total of 35 times, most recently in the 1987/88 season. They have won the Scottish Cup 29 times, most recently in 1989, and the League Cup nine times.

By comparison Rangers have won the league championship 39 times — and are the current champions — the Scottish Cup 24 times and the League Cup 15 times.

That makes a total of 78 trophies for Rangers against Celtic's 73. Celtic do have one prize that Rangers desperately covet, the European Cup which they won in 1967.

The closest Rangers have come was the semi-final in 1960, although they have won the European Cup-winners Cup in 1972.

●**SOUTH AFRICAN** soccer fans will have been glued to their TV sets as AC Milan turned in a masterful performance against Napoli on Sunday.

Milan's 3-0 win puts them on top of the Italian first division on goal difference and in line for a 12th league title.

Juventus are far and away Italy's most successful league team, with 22 championships titles. They are followed by Inter Milan £3, AC Milan 11, Genoa 9, Torino 8 and Bologna 7. Napoli won the title for their first and only time in 1987.

Italian champions — the last 15 years

- 1975 — Juventus
- 1976 — Torino
- 1977 — Juventus
- 1978 — Juventus
- 1979 — AC Milan
- 1980 — Inter Milan
- 1981 — Juventus
- 1982 — Juventus
- 1983 — AS Roma
- 1984 — Juventus
- 1985 — Verona
- 1986 — Juventus
- 1987 — Napoli
- 1988 — AC Milan
- 1989 — Inter Milan

SPORTS

Troubled Celtic must jack up their administration or be axed

THE phrase "doing something the Celtic way" may pass into the language. It could very well take the place of Luddite in the 21st century.

"They are doing it the Celtic way," they may say of a company whose under-paid, under-trained and under-equipped workers are pushing quill pens while, all around, their rivals are clacking computers.

If that is an exaggerated picture of the Glasgow club's failure to make progress along with their great rivals, Rangers, it will not remain so.

Those few hundred fans who demonstrated against the failings of the directors at a recent defeat by Motherwell recognise that the present stagnation will not disappear simply if the team does well.

Winning cups without attending to the financial structure would be like viewing a man with terminal cancer as healthy because he has a suntan.

The club, founded for the most charitable of reasons in 1888 to help feed "the needy children of the parishes of St Mary's and the Sacred Heart" in Glasgow's east end, must become a fund-raiser for their own survival at the highest level of the game.

Each month that passes without action brings an increase in the costs of the work needed on Celtic Park itself. The new facade of the stadium, housing offices, a restaurant and members lounge are, to the majority of fans, quite irrelevant. They are untouched by it because they are not allowed in. It is the preserve of members, sponsors and guests.

But it is certainly not too late to start generating the kind of revenue necessary by maximising promotion and marketing of their name. That is basically what Rangers have done. A new board set about making attendances responsible for around 30 per cent of revenue. The commercial enterprises at Ibrox are making all things possible. "The revenue we are generating is phenomenal," said the Ibrox chairman, David Murray.

"We have just completed a £4-million development of the Govan Stand and now we are about to tackle the £13-million facelift of the main stand, which will increase our capacity by 7 000 to around 52 000. "Our overdraft will be down to £3-million by May and non-existent a year later, saving us £1.5-million a

Glasgow Celtic look pretty bad on the pitch these days. They look even worse in the boardroom. By PATRICK GLENN

year on interest alone. That's worth at least a player a year for Graeme Souness. We have to be like that, to be ready to step up a grade when the big European game comes around."

Many Celtic fans erroneously believe the only way to go after their great rivals is by also becoming a public company. It is not necessary. Rangers, with Murray controlling around 76 per cent of the shares, might as well be privately owned.

It is not so much who owns the club as what the guardians do with it that matters to Celtic. The problem with the present board of directors is not one of indolence, but of myopia. There is a total failure to grasp the principles of marketing a brand name known world wide.

During the club's centenary year, for example, the commemorative video cassette sold in its thousands. But the American format failed lamentably because it was not marketed. The reason for the failure was the directors' fear of investing promotion money in case the venture failed.

There are examples of Scottish businessmen with Celtic sympathies offering help in the promotion of the club and being met with total indifference, even downright rudeness, from directors who will not accept advice.

Some of the better-heeled Celtic fans who understand the dangers of the club's present course fear that something calamitous — like being left to play in the minor league while Rangers go off on their own to Europe — may be just round the corner.

A week which began with a demonstration of disaffection at Parkhead continued with the appointment of John Greig to a senior public relations post at Ibrox. A former manager and captain of the club, Greig's hiring is a masterstroke.

Part of his remit is to help sell the debenture scheme by which 7 000 people will buy the right to a season ticket to the new main stand in perpetuity at a cost of £1 000.

At a stroke, £7-million will be raised to cover the building costs. Those who know Greig as one of the most popular men the game has produced also know he is likely to have the lot sold by May.

Celtic did appoint a PRO a few years ago, a local radio man of great diligence and energy. He quit, bemused by the lack of work, after a few weeks. It is time Celtic got clacking. — The Guardian, London

Heavyweight battle of rival featherweights

●From PAGE 36

and Themble Lubisi, before being out-fenced by Mthobeli Mhlope who punished him for 11 rounds.

But Gunguluza had the last laugh in the rematch, knocking out his man in eight. That was his last fight, nearly six months ago.

Against Ntshingila, Gunguluza will be up against a devastating puncher. The black, green and gold-clad prospect is unbeaten in 15 fights, including 10 knockouts, after a mere 19 months as a pro. "I feel very confident," said the challenger. "I respect him, but that title is mine."

But Gunguluza and his manager Mike Guwa say they are undaunted. "Ntshingila is a good boxer, but not the devastating puncher many think he is," said Guwa.

He noted that his man had met hard punchers before, citing the strongly-touted Jerry Ngobeni who was stopped in seven rounds.

Both men have three things in common: they have fought Mthembu, Mathe and Mhlope. Gunguluza went 22 rounds with Mthembu and 17 rounds with Mhlope, both over two fights. Neither man went beyond round one against Ntshingila, who also iced Mathe four rounds quicker than Gunguluza did.

"We are aware of these results," said Guwa, "but against Jackie he will be up against a clever boxer and it will be impossible for him to get knocked out."

Mhlope agrees: "Although Ntshingila is the harder puncher, Jackie's experience and ring craft will see him through."

Ntshingila's manager, Victor Mpiyakhe, said he is unperturbed about fighting in the champion's back yard — a place where the fans do their

best to make life difficult for visitors. "He fought there twice last year outpointing Billy Mckencele in January and then stopping Mhlope in December. We want the title, November has the class and we're confident of a good win."

Guwa, who is also a promoter, has big plans in store for his charge if he wins on Sunday and is talking of a challenge against World Boxing Council champion Louis Espinoza.

Gunguluza, 25, became a professional in 1986 and claims a record of 21 fights, 19 wins, two losses and 10 knockouts.

He is the second child in a family of four and is the sole breadwinner at home. He is also a staunch Rastafarian and a supporter of the late Bob Marley. Before fighting he isolates himself in the dressing room and listens to Marley's *Rastaman Vibration*.

"That song motivates me to greater heights," he says, "especially the part that says 'Rastaman never give up'."

Asked about Ntshingila's awesome punching power he said: "I'm a two fisted boxer and he punches only with his right hand."

Ntshingila, however, has scored several knockouts with his left hook.

Known for his wearing of African National Congress colours in the ring, the challenger is currently finishing matric and hopes to become a health inspector or a teacher.

But his main ambition is to get to the top of his sport. "I can box, I can fight and soon there won't be a featherweight in the world who can beat me. I'm going to be world champion," he said.

Fired by the Mandela inspiration

●From PAGE 36

the South African championships and the prestige meeting.

"I want to end the season on a high note so I'm definitely looking at records in both the 100 and 200m. With the large crowds and good atmosphere one is inspired to run better times," Vester said.

Vester has not decided on what to do after his matric year but an athlet-

ics scholarship, possibly in the United States, appears to be the likely option.

Mandela's release has certainly give Vester new hope. Perhaps in a few years time Vester will repay that by bringing sporting glory to a post-apartheid South Africa.

Hot and cold clash of clubs flirting with death

at the cool accuracy of Bennett Masinga who bagged two more.

That's four in two games, and Masinga more than anyone seems to personify that cup-winning quality right now. He is chasing around fiercely after a handful of chances; he is burying them when they arrive.

But Wits will not be easy to crack open. And with the final being settled over two legs, the single chance strike may not carry the weight that it would if this was a one-off.

Against Hellenic in the semi-final on Tuesday night — a cracking classic cup-tie — Wits spent a lot of time defending. And they mostly did the job very well indeed.

●From PAGE 36

Hellenic played some penetrating stuff, particularly early on when they managed to find Mark Williams with time and space.

But Wits gradually managed to rein the speedy Hellenic striker in — thanks in part to Kevin Rafferty.

The Wits midfield of Steve Field, Peter Gordon and Mike Rowbotham did a lot to hold up the flow of a Hellenic midfield that had the edge on them in skill.

And inside the area, Wits simply managed to get enough bodies in the way to help out a shaky Steve Crowley in goal when it really counted.

Up front, Wits didn't create a hell of a lot.

The Wits midfield look capable of making openings, but the front-runners will have to work on changes of pace and direction.

In all this, Rod Anley — a much underrated player — looked a match-winner. Pushing further forward than usual, he scored Wits' second.

Wits might unzip the Brazilians' defence, if good headers of the ball like Gordon and Tinkler get some decent crosses. Arcadia nearly did.

It's a final that could produce some thrills — I don't think there's enough in it, though, to make it worth dragging out over two legs.

COMRADE JOE



By BP

Fired by the Mandela inspiration

●From PAGE 36

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SPORTS



In the swing ... England rugby stars Mick Skinner, Peter Winterbottom and Mike Teague

The risks of a philosophy of danger

FRENCH rugby, bless its bright red cotton socks, continues to seeth with revolution. From the president right down to the proletariat.

The fact remains that as the dapper and determinedly singular French coach, Jacques Foroux, and his father-figure Albert Ferrasse, fiddle and tinker with French rugby and choose yet more men — the more even President François Mitterand himself fumes.

Out of the Elysées this year came honours for the French sporting élite. Gonged were Pierre Villepreux, the coach of Toulouse, and André Boniface, both of whose instinctive gypsy rhythms smacked of Stefan Grapelli and set the tunes for French rugby a quarter of a century ago.

So you knew the president sensed his stuff. On top of that, Mitterand gave the National Order of Merit to four other French rugby men who each personified the innate charms and courage of this Gallic sport.

French rugby no longer makes people smile. Even the president is frowning. By FRANK KEATING

They went to Didier Codorniu, the dragonfly centre, Jerome Gallion, ditto scrumhalf, and one or two other provincials who had never been considered by the national team. There was also, certainly deserved, the OM for Serge Blanco. That says it all.

There was one other OM from the Elysée Palace a month ago, to Daniel Herrero, the coach of Toulon. Villepreux' Toulouse and Herrero's Toulon are two clubs which reckon they represent the creative vigour and vim of real French rugby.

Both Villepreux and Herrero feel that England have a better approach to international rugby. They obviously loathe the present set-up in their own country. And, despite the *Marseillaise* and all its patriotic trimmings, they were delighted to see France

lose to England two weeks ago. Says Villepreux: "At least England understand the theory of rugby these days. There is a fusion between forwards and backs even though they have not by any means mastered it.

"The French have understood it for many years. But if France can't play with that feeling they are sunk."

Herrero sports a headband and his tremendous descriptions of rugby possibilities are peppered with words such as "combat", "fusion", "catharsis" and "confrontation".

"Our game of rugby is simple. We are craftsmen, aesthetes who are blessed always with courage and danger," he says.

"Let us share danger together, and pain, and once we fuse danger together, and protection, and combat man to man, the pain and the endeavour suddenly becomes a pleasure."

That is the philosophy. And that partly explains the president's furrowed brow. — The Guardian

Tyson the loser is still the world's best heavyweight

Boxing: GAVIN EVANS

THE supreme prize in the sporting world wobbled uneasily back into the realm of respectability this week.

It's official now — James "Buster" Douglas is the sole and supreme heavyweight champion of the world, and Mike Tyson is the ex-champ.

The heavyweight kingdom will no longer be split up between rival fiefdoms. The temptation to reinstate the deposed king through fistic sophistry has been resisted.

Tyson took 19 months to sort out the mess left by the game's rival controlling bodies. He did it by whipping each of their title holders to become the first supreme world champion since Muhammad Ali.

But in the biggest upset in the history of the game 42-1 underdog Douglas knocked out Iron Mike in the 10th round of their world title fight in Tokyo, Japan.

Most of the talk since Sunday has centred on the post-fight antics. Tyson's promoter, Don King, who makes a lot more from Mike than he ever could from Douglas, conspired with friends in the World Boxing Council and World Boxing Association and entered a protest.

He charged that Tyson's eighth round knockdown of Douglas should have ended the fight. But when the ref, Octavio Meyran, counted "one", the timekeeper had already said four.

Douglas was up at nine, but had really been down 12 seconds. Had the referee been awake Tyson probably would have retained his title.

On the basis of that WBC chief Jose Sulaiman and WBA president Gilberto Mendoza, announced the title was vacant until their executives had met.

However, all is not rotten in world

boxing. WBC international secretary Duane Ford and vice president Elisas Ghanem vowed to fight any efforts to have Douglas' title removed — except in the ring — and the entire fight press joined in.

Sulaiman, who represents the world's most powerful fight body, backed off and the WBA's Mendoza followed suit the following day. King dutifully withdrew his protest.

It now seems that the return will take the place of the more lucrative Tyson-Evander Holyfield fight in New York on June 18. The winner will defend against the undefeated Holyfield in around September.

With that solved, the real question can now be asked: how did the invincible Iron Mike lose in the first place? There seem to be four reasons.

First, three years of the relatively soft life have, at least temporarily, eroded some of Tyson's skills. For several long stretches he has gone off the rails, and those stretches added up when it mattered.

Second, he has not done enough fighting over the past 18 months. In his first two years as a pro he fought 30 times and over the next 15 months he saw action six times.

But in the 20 months between flattening Mike Spinks and getting flattened by Douglas he only fought twice, a total of 14 minutes of action.

Much of the blame for this must be laid on King's electrified head. He took Tyson out of the control of a team of dedicated professionals and based his career around his own financial interests rather than Tyson's fistic future.

Third, having been out of action for seven months with pneumonia, which scotched his fight with Razor Ruddock, Tyson took Douglas too lightly.

He simply did not put in enough sparring or enough kilometers on the road. Tyson looked dull, slow and listless. Gone was his precision timing and usually tight defence.

Fourth, there is Big Buster himself. Douglas got himself into the kind of shape which enabled him to fight the best fight of his life. Tyson probably fought his worst.

It is highly unlikely that Douglas will last long at the top. When they fight again Tyson will almost certainly stop him, though it won't be easy.

There are also several other heavies, like Holyfield, Ruddock, Tim Witherspoon and maybe even Francesco Damiani, who have a fair chance of taking him if Tyson fails.

If Tyson stays in tune this time round he can still beat the pack — he's still the best there is. The lesson's been expensive though, and has permanently dented his reputation as boxing's only super-hero/villain.

Hopefully it's been well-learned.

Sacos recovers from its swimming blues

COMPETITIVE swimming in the South African Council on Sport (Sacos) is crawling back to life after a string of setbacks suffered by the Amateur Swimming Association of South Africa (Asasa).

For almost two years a dark cloud has hung over the non-racial swimming movement. But it seems that will soon lift when hundreds of swimmers and officials assemble in Cape Town next month for the eighth national championships.

Since its birth in Kimberley in 1982, Asasa has achieved a lot of success in the sport. But the administration has also faced a lot of turbulence.

Three leaders have died in six years: founding president Monnathebe Senokoanyane in 1983, "Mr Swimming" Morgan Naidoo in 1988 and president Jimmy Wilcox, one week after he was elected last year.

After a spell in deep water, Sacos is back in the swim. By MARLAN PADAYACHEE

Add in the formation of a splinter group, and swimming appeared to have been plunged into a seemingly never-ending crisis.

Back in 1982 Asasa, itself the product of a successful merger, set the pace in Sacos at a time when the anti-apartheid lobby was campaigning desperately hard to win the hearts and minds of the black sports community.

At its birth Asasa, which now had the majority of black swimmers under its wing, was full of bounce and enthusiasm. The merger had been historic.

It brought together the Soweto-based South African National Amateur Swimming Association and the Sacos-linked South African Amateur

Swimming Federation, which had succeeded in getting the South African Amateur Swimming Union out of world swimming in 1973.

Asasa entered the ring fighting and immediately launched a campaign against whites-only swimming pools.

Government agencies and municipalities retaliated. Soon after Asasa was launched, the Kimberley town council refused to provide them with basic equipment such as lane ropes and starting blocks. Officials went ahead anyway and completed a successful tournament.

This trend was repeated in Soweto where Asasa experienced similar problems with the West Rand Administration Board.

Disaster struck first when Senokoanyane was killed in a car accident in 1983. His successor, Naidoo, kept Asasa administratively strong before his death from cancer in 1988.

But trouble had been brewing over Asasa's headline ban on professional coaches belonging to provincial affiliates and clubs.

Dissident groups in Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban, formed the breakaway South African Amateur Swimming Board of Control (SAASBOC). The two organisations entered a period of intense rivalry although both remained aligned to the core principles of Sacos.

Eighteen months ago Sacos stepped in and succeeded in getting SAASBOC to disband and rejoin Asasa. Asasa repaid that assistance at its recent meeting in Johannesburg by resolving to remain loyal to the mother body in the face of rival claims from the National Sports Congress.

The ban on professional coaches is still in full force, but the unity moves have revived swimming in Durban and Cape Town.

RACING

THE R100 000 Cape of Good Hope Paddock Stakes for three and four-year-old fillies at Kenilworth, has attracted a big field of 18 runners and is included as the 10th race on the Gosforth Park programme.

Among the starters is the in-form Olympic Duel from Terrance Millard's Bloubergstrand stables, to be ridden by Felix Coetzee.

She will be bidding for a hat-trick of wins, having won her last two starts very impressively after a long layoff due to injury. Olympic Duel was one of Millard's horses involved in the accident that claimed the lives of his "A-Team".

This top-class three-year-old filly is bound for stardom and it will take a very good one to beat her.

Her main dangers in tomorrow's line-up are the year-older Fanciful,

Respectable and Wainui. The last-named is the Cape's leading filly. She was not disgraced in the J&B Met, finishing third behind Jungle Warrior and Aquanaut, and will be more suited to this distance.

The grey Fanciful has not run up to expectations this summer, and will have to improve a lot to feature.

Respectable, on the other hand, trained by Ricky Maingard, has been rested since finishing second to champion filly Roland's Song in the John Skeaping Trophy over 1 800m in October — she may need this run.

Other runners worth mentioning are Dainty Di and Jaamanique, a narrow winner of her last race on Met Day. An upset result cannot be ruled out.

The feature race at the East Rand track is the R50 000 Transvaal Tatlersall's Bookmakers' Association

Handicap. Run over 1 300m, it has attracted a good field of 15 runners.

Muscle Man was an easy winner of his last start at Turffontein last month. The Roy Magner-trained gelding will surely top the bookmakers' boards. Imperial Silver, a top three-year-old of his year, showed glimpses of his old form last time, and should trouble the favourite.

Cardinal Sin ran second to Muscle Man last time out. He should again make a bold bid for top honours.

Golden Clime, trained by Michael Azzie, with Rhys van Wyk in the saddle, could upset the fancied runners. Together with the top-weight Raise a Raucus, he should be considered for swingers and trifectas.

Transvaal Jackpot (R16)

1st Leg: 3 Holyfield 4 Invermark

JAMES MAPHIRI

2nd Leg: 4 Muscle Man 5 Golden Clime 6 Imperial Silver 9 Cardinal Sin
3rd Leg: 10 Arsène Lupin 11 Barberis
4th Leg: 2 Astropower 7 Fire Break

Pick Six (R60)

1st Leg: 1, 2, 7, 9, 16
2nd Leg: 3
3rd Leg: 4, 5, 6, 9
4th Leg: 10, 11
5th Leg: 2
6th Leg: 1, 11, 13

James Maphiri Selects

Race 1: 6 Model Garden 7 Pina-Colada 8 Really Tops
Race 2: 7 The Giant 8 Garros 1 Bally Force
Race 3: 10 Screen Idol 2 Ca Ira 4 Diaraus
Race 4: 9 Gay Celeste 15 Steek Chick 7 Fine Concert
Race 5: 3 Holyfield 4 Invermark 6 Breathless
Race 6: 4 Muscle Man 6 Imperial Silver 9 Cardinal Sin
Race 7: 11 Barberis 10 Arsène Lupin 2 Naval Guest
Race 8: 2 Astropower 7 Fire Break 5 American Affair
Race 9: 11 Mop 1 Bathilde 13 Tushka
Race 10: 17 Olympic Duel 14 Wainui 13 Respectable



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Our runners against the world's best? It's no dream

IMAGINE explosive sprinters like Shaun Vester and Nazeem Smith and long-distance giants like Matthews Temane and David Tsebe competing against some of the best athletes in Africa.

We are not talking about a dream here but a possible reality. The National Sports Congress has been invited to send a team of runners to the West Indies to compete in the "Nelson Mandela Freedom Games".

The fledgling NSC, fresh from a successful campaign against the English rebel cricket tour, are now clearly in the international spotlight.

This week they received an invitation from the Trinidad-based Monarchy Sports and Cultural Club

By CHERYL ROBERTS

to compete in the games, to be held at the national stadium from March 24-25.

Planned before Mandela's release, the event will now celebrate his freedom and show opposition to apartheid. "The Nelson Mandela Freedom Games are to be staged as a mark of solidarity with Mandela and to join in the call for the dismantlement of the apartheid system," the invitation said.

The invitation said the NSC should make "the necessary contact with the African Athletic Federation and ask the various African countries to send their representatives to participate in this project."

According to a statement from the organising club, several African countries will be sending fully representative teams to the Freedom Games.

The club has also officially invited Mandela to open the games and have asked the NSC to convey the message to him.

The NSC must still respond to the invitation. They may decide that some issues still need to be cleared up before such moves can be made: the moratorium on tours and internal unity in sport.

But it is likely that more such invitations will start coming the way of the NSC. And there will certainly be those who will argue that a case can be made for accepting some of them.

Fired up with the Mandela feeling



ABOUT three weeks ago Shaun Vester, a world-class sprinter, seriously thought about quitting competitive athletics altogether.

Lack of competition, poor living conditions and waning spectator interest had taken their toll on this 20-year-old sensation who many had been saying could be one of the country's super athletes in the 1990s.

But then a vision of hope appeared. The unbanning of banned organisations added fuel to the spark started by the peace march in Cape Town.

And when Nelson Mandela was released from prison Vester found that his confidence and motivation was renewed again.

"A little while ago I was just feeling down. My hamstring injury was troubling me and athletics on the whole seemed very down," he said. "But developments over the past few weeks, especially Mandela's release have given me new hope."

"Each season we do the same thing and athletics does not seem able to give us more. So it has been very hard to maintain 100 percent dedication and commitment," said the matric pupil who attends school in Grassy Park, Cape Town.

"It's difficult to explain how good I feel at this stage," said Vester. "My confidence is at its best and I've never felt more motivated than I am now."

So what can we expect from this athlete who in 1988 set a world-class junior time of 10,02 for the 100m?

"My biggest ambition this season is to run 10 seconds dead — this will make me the happiest person in the world. But because of many factors like lack of competition on the track and my injury, I may have to be satisfied with just equalling my best."

A top-class sprinter who thought of quitting is raring to go again. Why? Thanks to Mandela.
CHERYL ROBERTS reports

Reds do it in a rush ... crack Liverpool striker, Ian Rush, will lead his team's attack in tomorrow's FA Cup 5th round tie against Southampton. Liverpool are the cup holders. It was Rush who won it for them, scoring two extra time goals to edge Everton 3-2

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A hot-and-cold battle of clubs that flirt with death

IN football there are two kinds of opposition that you wouldn't want to run into.

One is the team that is playing absolutely brilliantly. The other is the side that blows hot then cold, flirts with death and still walks off the field winners.

It is often the second kind of team that is more dangerous — clearly, luck is going their way. And if their semi-final performances are anything to go by, both Wits and Sundowns — who meet in the first leg of the BP Top Eight at Super Stadium, Attardville on Sunday — fit that description.

Last Saturday, playing to a joyous crowd liberally decorated with African National Congress flags and Viva Mandela T-shirts, Sundowns rarely showed their form of the week before. But then they were up against Arcadia, not Pirates.

Arcadia boss Stan Lapot set Sundowns a tricky problem to solve, spanning five men across the midfield. For much of the match it worked well, not just as a defensive

Soccer: JOHN PERLMAN

wall but as a platform for some good-looking attacking soccer.

The Brazilians' initial solution was to avoid the midfield traffic jam by either banging it long or spraying it out to the wings. Neither worked particularly well.

Lovemore Chafunya won very little in the air. And players moving down the flanks, usually Harold Legodi or Zane Moosa, didn't get around the fullbacks often enough to make the crosses count.

Coach Stanley Tshabalala could surely make better use of the pace of Harris Choeu, perhaps to run at Wits' left back Eric Tinkler, who's looking a bit slow these days.

Sundowns looked most dangerous when the ball was played to feet in the box, and no more so than when Ernest Chirwali created two glorious early chances that went begging.

Tshabalala will be alarmed at Chafunya's confusion about where the goal is. He will be delighted, though,

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Featherweights with a heavy weight rivalry

Boxing: THABO DANIELS and GAVIN EVANS

A HEAVYWEIGHT regional rivalry between two featherweight fighters will be sorted out on Sunday afternoon.

Border hero Jackie Gunguluza will put his national title on the line against Soweto knockout specialist, November Ntshingila at East London's Orient Theatre. The fight will be screened live on TV2.

For the champion, it will not be just his title at stake, but also his future. A defeat against the 21-year-old challenger will mean the end of his career as top drawer pro.

For Ntshingila, a win will confirm his status as the hottest prospect in the local game today, and shoot him towards fistic stardom.

The slick Gunguluza has been written off before but has always come back to prove otherwise.

He first won the title in October 1988 when he knocked out Stanley Mathe in nine rounds. He successfully defended it against Olvin Mthembu

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Vester completely ruled out competing against athletes like Jannie Joen and Tshakile Nzimande who compete under the South African Amateur Athletics Union banner — unless, of course, they decide to join the non-racial athletics camp.

Vester's times are on a par with, even better than those of the SAAAU athletes, and one wonders how much faster he could go if he had competition in depth chasing him. He is prepared to wait before he finds out.

"I cannot explain exactly why but I know that non-racial athletics is the best organisation. The competition would be great but I feel it's just not right," Vester says.

Vester's talents have of course been spotted by the SAAAU and he's already had overtures to move across, which he has turned down.

This season he expects to be pushed on by Nazeem Smith, who holds the national senior record in the 100m. The rivalry between the two should reach a peak this season with Vester now out of the junior ranks and challenging for the title of senior sprint champion.

"About two weeks ago I beat Nazeem in the 100m so the pressure is on me to maintain an unbeaten run," he said. "My training is going well and my coach, John Webb, is preparing me for a record-breaking run at

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We Welcome Home
All Political Leaders



MANDELA'S BIRTHPLACE



This plot of land in the Transkei village of Qunu marks the place where Nelson Mandela was born.

Picture: PETER AUF DER HEYDE, Afrapix

A BARE and windswept site between a gravel quarry and a rough soccer field has been set aside in Qunu for Nelson Mandela when he returns to the village where he spent his childhood.

It's far bigger than any of the other sites in the village, "because he needs it", his cousin, Chief Dalibhunga Joyi, said last week. It was being used for communal grazing, and no one knew what Mandela would do with the land. Suggestions ranged from building a homestead to erecting clinics and schools.

"It will be up to him what to do about this place," Joyi said. "But it's his place."

"I have the most pleasant recollection and dreams about the Transkei of my childhood, where I hunted and played sticks, stole mealies on the cob and where I learnt to court. It is a world which is gone."

Mandela's recollections of Qunu, 25km from Umtata on the East London road, were published in Fatima Meer's biography *Higher Than Hope*.

The *Weekly Mail* tried to trace the footsteps of the young Mandela. The journey into the heart of his childhood and the Transkei began on the veranda of the Umtata law offices of Prince Madikizela, among a number of Thembu chiefs and elders. The old men were waiting for transport to the royal place at Bumbane where they would perform a ceremonial welcoming of the new Thembu king who had recently returned from exile in Zambia and Zimbabwe: Buyelekhaya, the son of Sabatha Dalindyebo. Mandela had struggled for a number of years to restore the Dalindyebo succession.

It is possible that Mandela may walk to Madikizela's law firm one day and find these men sitting on this veranda telling old Thembu tales of chiefs, people and their difficulties. Just like the old days, when young Nelson was a schoolboy in Qunu.

Qunu is a very poor but beautiful village. The colour orange dominates the scenery. It is present in the orange soil, on the orange-dyed traditional clothes of some of the people of Qunu, on the painted faces of the women and the evening skies over their heads.



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childhood dreams

It all began in the little village of Qunu in the Transkei ...

Reported by
THANDEKA GQUBULE
and **LOUISE FLANAGAN**

Half-naked children play on the hillsides, just as Mandela remembers he used to do. They carry sticks and tend diminishing flocks of sheep and goats — there are very few cattle to be seen.

The area does not appear to have changed in decades. The houses are rondavels, most made of mud but some built with cement. The soil is eroded and the yield is low, so the residents of Qunu depend largely on pensions and the wages of migrant labourers in Umtata or Butterworth or on mines on the Reef.

The area needs dams, schools and agricultural equipment, and residents believe their lives will improve when Mandela comes home, at least for a visit.

"His coming home will contribute very much to the upliftment of this village," his nephew Nompilisi Mandela, who lives across from the site designated for Mandela, said last week.

"It's because of his greatness that his stay here will really make a difference." He was one of many residents who mentioned the hope that Mandela's presence would help them find jobs.

"We can inherit something from his experience," added his wife, Nosinola Mandela.

Still living in Qunu are Mandela's relatives, elders who remember him from childhood and youths who have never seen him.

The Mandela family is, together with the Joyis and Mtiraras, part of



A self-assured young man of nineteen ... young Mandela in Qunu

the Thembu great house. Chief Dalibhunga Joyi remembers "growing up with Chief Nelson Mandela when he was brought up by the regent, Paramount Chief David Jongilanga.

"He seemed to be a 'Hail fellow well met' type. He seemed to be the type to lead the immature to maturity," he said.

"He used to play sticks; he was very good. I also remember him as an articulate and magnanimous speaker, even in his childhood."

Not far from the greengrocer's is Mandela's old school. He is likely to find it looking much the same, but newly-painted white.

People greet each other by their clan

names here and everyone in the area knows who Rholihlahla Mandela is. He is likely to be greeted with cries of "Ah, Dalibhunga", the name given to him on achieving manhood after the circumcision — or as Madiba, Dalindyebo, Mthemb'omhle — particularly by the group of Thembu men who sit awaiting their monthly pension outside the greengrocer.

An old man, part of the Madiba clan and thin from the lack of food and too much sorghum beer, was reluctant to talk because he had heard anyone who mentioned Mandela's name would find himself in prison.

In time, however, he recalled that Mandela was very bright at school. He said he remembered times when the entire school would have to attend competitions in Umtata and in those days a trip to Umtata, which would take about 15 minutes today, could take the entire day. They carried food for the journey and sang all the way.

Mandela's mother Fanny Mandela died in Umtata hospital in 1968 and was buried at Qunu. The old man tried to emphasise the importance in his view of Mandela coming back to pay his respects to the grave of his mother. He said he was sure Mandela's visit to the grave would lay her soul to rest.

He said he would be able to recognise Mandela but did not know if Mandela would recognise him because "Rholihlahla was a man of great books and important papers" but the old man was only a "red man" — a man of no formal education. But after he had pondered the question for a few minutes he smiled and said Mandela would greet him — and he would ask Mandela what had happened to him in prison all these years.

Mandela's sister-in-law Nomonde Joyi stays near the large national road that leads to East London. She married into the family while Mandela was in Johannesburg and has since become one of the mainstays of Qunu.

When visited a few days ago she was grinding grain on a stone. A toddler who cried at the sight of a white journalist clung to her skirt, although the family had received many visits from journalists recently.

● Continued on PAGE 5

“JCI welcomes the
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Mr Nelson Mandela
in the exciting process of
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ourselves and our country.”

*MB Hofmeyr
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MANDELA'S BIRTHPLACE

●From PAGE 3

She said that children with the surname Mandela had problems at school and in getting work in the surrounding towns, which may be why a matric certificate of one of Nomonde's sons hangs proudly on the wall in the lounge.

She told *The Weekly Mail* that she remembered fondly the days when Rholihlahla would return from Johannesburg. The children would spot the car at a distance and then run with it until it parked near the house. She said the excitement was caused by the fact that everyone knew he or she would receive a gift from Mandela. Then they would have to settle down to a lecture that he delivered each time he returned about the importance of sending the children to school.

He would demand to see their school reports and ask persistently about their academic progress, Nomonde said.

She takes us to show us the overgrown, derelict plot of land on which Mandela was born. She says when he returns there will be large celebrations at Mqhekezweni. Cows and goats will be slaughtered and people will come from all over Thembuland to welcome him.

Proceeding deeper into Thembuland, crossing the river and the railway station, one can climb the hill where the Great Place stands.

Mqhekezweni, or the Great Place, was once the centre of the Thembu world, when Jongintaba, who was regent, established it as the capital of Thembuland.

It is here that the young earnest Mandela came to continue with his elementary studies soon after his father had died.

It is the members of his clan who took this bright young boy to grow up under the chiefs — to be schooled both in the ways of the clan and in the ways of Christian education.

"Our families are far larger than those of whites," he wrote for *Higher Than Hope*, "and it is always a pleasure to be fully accepted throughout a village, district or even several districts, accompanied by your clan, and be a beloved household member, where you can call at any time ... and freely take part in the discussion of problems, where you can even be given livestock and land to build on free of charge."

"It was a member of the clan who educated me from elementary education to Fort Hare and never expected any refund."

Here Mandela grew up eating out of the same plate as his good friend and cousin, Justice Zwelidumile Mturara, heir to the chieftainship of Mqhekezweni.

When he returns he will find the rondavel — facing the valley and a hill opposite — that he used to share with Justice still standing in the yard.

Here at Mqhekezweni, Mandela was groomed by the royal family of the Transkei and inducted into its affairs.

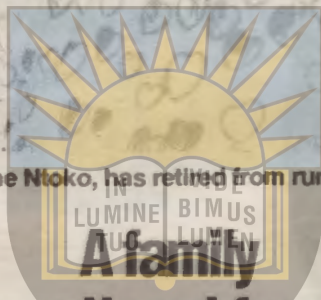
It is a fitting place for such training, for facing the gate of the yard of the Great Place is the school Mandela once attended. On the walls of the dining room are pictures of all the great paramount chiefs and their right-hand wives. These are framed in shining copper with flower-like branches. Among them is a picture of a young Nelson Mandela in a suit and tie.

Facing the mountain lies the grave of the Paramount Chief Jongintaba Dalindyebo. Then next to him lies his wife, Justice's mother, and Justice Zwelidumile himself.

Mandela went to school with Justice from the time he arrived at Mqhekezweni. It was with Justice that he must have discussed his first political ideas as a boy, schooled from a young age in the history and politics of the region. He was able to sit at the feet of men who had lived through the times that many South Africans only read about in books.



Nelson Mandela's former wife, Eveline Ntoko, has retired from running her trading store in Cofimvaba



A family scattered from Kei to Boston
University of Fort Hare
together in experience

NEARLY three decades of imprisonment have kept Nelson Mandela — husband, father, grandfather, great-grandfather — away from his family. But even before he began his last term in 1964, political commitments and furious campaigning for the African National Congress frequently kept him away from home. His family had to share him with the people.

Mandela has four living children, 12 grandchildren and two great-grandchildren.

He lost a son and a daughter in the early years, both from his first marriage to Eveline Ntoko, a nursing sister.

Nelson and Eveline had three children: Tembi, Makgatho and Makaziwe — named after their second child, who died at nine months.

Mandela and Eveline separated when their children were quite young and two years later Mandela divorced Eveline to marry social worker Winnie Madikizela.

Tembi was eight, Makgatho, five and Makaziwe two, and the children spent their time between their mother's home in Orlando East and their father's in Orlando West.

It is said that Tembi at eight was old enough to understand the implications of his parents' divorce. When he died in a car accident in 1969 at the age of 24, leaving his two daughters — Ndileka, three, and Nandi, eight months — he had never visited his father in prison.

Ndileka is now studying nursing at the Medical University of South Africa, and Nandi is a BA student at the University of Cape Town. Each has provided Mandela with a great-grandchild.

Makaziwe, Mandela's third child from his first marriage, is studying for a PhD in anthropology at the University of Massachusetts and will begin lecturing at the university in June. Although she was only two when her parents divorced, she apparently also suffered from the split. She told a Washington newspaper that when she was a teenager she "became so angry with her father that after years of dealing with him through a stepmother she stopped visiting him altogether".

Explained a friend of the family: "Naturally Winnie was head of the family when Nelson was away and she arranged schooling and finance for all the children."

But prompted by her mother, Makaziwe reconciled with her father in the late 1970s. She was excited at the thought of her father's release: "I'm finally going to have a father, hopefully," she told the newspaper.

Her three children, Kwaku, Dumani and Nobulali, will also gain a grandfather.

Mandela's second son Makgatho is the father of two boys, Mandla, who attends Waterford School in Swaziland, and seven-year-old Thembikile, who attends the Orient School in Durban, where he is "very happy". Makgatho has "never taken a political profile, is very reticent and



A chip off the old block ... Nelson Mandela's son Makgatho

retiring and for many years helped his mother run the trading store in the Transkei", according to the family friend.

Makaziwe, however, is described as very forthright and independent in her assessment of the South African situation and the various political groupings in the country.

Among the grandchildren of the first marriage, Nandi is the most politically active. But they are all "highly supportive of their grandfather and stand by him in his political beliefs", adds the family friend.

Pictures: PETER AUF DER HEYDE, Afrapix

The Mandela grandchildren are also ambitious academically — their inspiration comes from their grandfather's encouragement and guidance.

Eveline has now retired from running her business, the Mandela Trading Store in Cofimvaba. Said the family friend: "She is a woman in her own right, she has tremendous integrity and high morals — she did not even sell cigarettes at her shop because she opposes smoking."

"She respects (Mandela) and still loves him although she experienced great unhappiness at their divorce."

● Louise Flanagan reports that Eveline Mandela still lives in Cofimvaba, a tiny town near Queenstown. It's a dusty town of trading stores and not much else.

A few days before Mandela's release there was a meeting of Jehovah's Witnesses at her home next door to the shop she used to run and a group of youths playing the radio loudly across the road in the dusk.

On her door was a notice asking the media to leave her alone. She seemed bitter about her years of struggle when she and her children were ignored by the press, only to be invaded years later by dozens of journalists hoping for new stories. She also said that the ANC knew where she was but never helped her.

She was very reluctant to talk about the man she still regards as her husband and whose wedding ring she still wears.

While she said she was glad he would soon be out, she said she wouldn't go to see him. "He knows where I am," she said simply.

Cassandra Moodley

It is here at Mqhekezweni that Nelson used to be visited by young Kaiser and George Matanzima, who used to be brought over from the neighbouring village. Their father was a headman under Dalindyebo rule. Kaiser and Nelson were the same age. With Justice, they both proceeded to study law at the the University of Fort Hare. Justice and Nelson were expelled after participating in a strike over the quality of the food.

When Mandela returns to Thembuland he may be expected to tackle the issue of the separation of Thembuland into two territories — one of the issues about which the Thembu people are most unhappy.

When the Nationalists came to power, Greater Thembuland remained under the chieftainship of the Dalindyebo family, but Western Thembuland was hived off to give the Matanzimas a political base.

It is unknown what Mandela's exact approach to the division of Thembuland will be. But it is known that he opposed the artificial creation of the chieftainship and the division of the Thembuland people as he opposed the homeland system.

As Mandela has demonstrated through his various liaisons with the people of the Transkei throughout his imprisonment, he is prepared to work with the chiefs to achieve democracy.

Mandela would be eligible for membership of the Congress of Traditional Leaders (Contralesa), which has attempted to organise chiefs around democratic principles. Some members believe he is likely to support, guide and advise the organisation.

It is here at Mqhekezweni that Mandela's deep ties to this part of the country were forged. He was later to transfer his concern to the entire country.



Mandela's sister-in-law, Nomonde Joyi, at his mother's grave.

MANDELA IN HOSPITAL

Mandela wept to touch a child

AFTER 24 years behind bars, Nelson Mandela was allowed to touch a child for the first time ... and he wept.

It happened in September 1988, when he was moved to Constantiaberg Clinic in Cape Town to recover from tuberculosis.

One of the clinic staff described how Mandela came across a group of children, quite by chance.

"The children of the staff were at a creche nearby. They came into the section of the hospital where Mr Mandela was being treated. He wept when he saw them. He held them. He said he had never held children so close to him before while he was in prison."

Then Mandela asked one of the staff to ask the children to draw something for him.

"A five-year-old boy drew a bird

which she took to him. He wept again when he saw it."

Staff say they cared a lot about Mandela because he always had a kind word for them, and showed an abiding interest in what they were doing and in their children.

He never forgot birthdays or what staff said they would be doing over the weekend.

"He'd ask us on Mondays 'so how was your weekend?' He remembered which of us were going to braais or parties."

Mandela was described as a "wonderful patient and very tidy". He made his own bed! His favourite

For the first time in 24 years, Mandela, in hospital with tuberculosis, touched a child — and he wept.

breakfast was kingklip fishcakes and cereals.

His first breakfast at Constantiaberg Clinic is still fondly remembered by staff.

Staff did not know when he was due to arrive, so on the day of his arrival no breakfast had been prepared

for him. He apparently said he'd eat anything.

Staff took him a tray, beautifully decorated and loaded with bacon and eggs. Then a doctor entered the ward and told Mandela he could not eat bacon and eggs because he was on a low cholesterol diet.

"Mr Mandela said: 'They were so polite to me and I could not refuse it'."

Staff spoil him at the clinic, buying him food. "We bought him hamburgers, pizzas and samoosas.

"He always gave us chocolates when we complained that we had had a hard day."

The source said Mandela had made a colleague's husband's day one Sunday morning.

"He opened his curtains and blew kisses at the man and his children. Then he gave her some chocolates to give to the kids."

Always ready with a smile, Mandela was pleased one night when nurses burst into his ward after a fancy dress party to bring him some cake.

The parting was very sad, the source said.

Staff knew that Mandela would be transferred but they did not know when.

He was removed one night in December 1988 and day staff were sad that they had not been able to say goodbye.

Still, he writes to his friends at the clinic.

Mandela is careful about the quantity of food he eats, said Ahmed Kathrada who was convicted at the Rivonia treason trial with Mandela.

His favourite dish was curry. "He'd eat a small portion. Never too much."

Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Andrew Mlangeni and Raymond Mhlaba were transferred from Robben Island to Pollsmoor prison near Cape Town in March 1982.

Kathrada joined them later.

It was at Pollsmoor where Mandela persuaded prison authorities to allow them to start a rooftop vegetable garden.

A keen gardener, Mandela was growing vegetables on Robben Island. The garden was also where he hid the secret manuscript of his life story which he wrote and which was read and corrected by Sisulu and Kathrada.

Later prison authorities discovered the manuscript. "But by then it had been smuggled to Lusaka and we thought our punishment (permission to study was taken away from them) had been worth the effort."

Kathrada said the group had had "problems" with Mandela at Pollsmoor because of his reverence for life.

He refused to kill crickets or any insect which had invaded their cell. "Unlike us, he'd capture insects and release them."

Mandela may be a man of stature in any company, but he is still a man of the people, said Eddie Daniels, a Cape Town teacher who spent time on Robben Island.

Daniels said he was sick one day and could not get up to empty his bed chamber.

"Nelson came into my cell, grabbed my bed chamber and walked out to clean it. That is Nelson."

Could Mandela practise law again?

NELSON MANDELA may have been the world's most famous political prisoner, but in the early 1950s his fame arose from his reputation as the "most formidable black attorney".

In 1952 Mandela and Oliver Tambo opened the first black legal partnership at Chancellor House, Fox Street, Johannesburg. Then, the Transvaal Law Society threatened to prevent Mandela from practising.

Would he, now armed with an LLB, face the same opposition from the law society?

Transvaal Law Society president Et Letty said Mandela had not been struck off the role of attorneys so he was free to practise. But he would have to apply for certain papers since he had not been practising for such a long period of time.

Mandela would probably be asked to appear before the society's 14-member council of attorneys to test whether he was "fit and proper" — whether he is *au fait* with changes in the law. "Conduct or previous convictions are not part of the test."

A close associate of Mandela, who preferred to remain unnamed, said he did not think Mandela would attempt to re-visit his practice.

Cassandra Moodley

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By the people.

International awards over the years

THE international campaign to secure Nelson Mandela's release saw many awards and honours bestowed upon him. This recognition included:

- 1964 Honorary president of the University College of London
 - 1965 Honorary president of Leeds University Union
 - 1973 British physicists name a newly-discovered atomic particle after him.
 - 1975 Honorary life membership of the University of London Union.
 - 1979 The Jawaharlal Nehru award.
 - 1979 Honorary doctorate of law from the National University of Lesotho
 - 1981 Austria's Bruno Kreisky Foundation Award; and freedom of the city of Glasgow
 - 1982 Leeds City Council names its City Hall gardens after Mandela.
 - 1983 In Britain, local authorities name streets and parks after him, and the Labour Party invites him to its annual congress. Other awards: Honorary citizenship of Rome, and of Olympia, original site of the Olympic Games. Honorary doctorate of law from New York University and Unesco's Simon Bolivar Award for Freedom
 - 1984 Freedom of the city of Aberdeen. Also, the Politeken and Dagens Nyheter's Freedom Prize, jointly with his wife Winnie and Helen Suzman
 - 1985 A bust of Mandela is unveiled at the Royal Festival Hall in London
 - 1987 Honorary life president of South Africa's largest trade union, the National Union of Mineworkers.
 - 1988 Mozambique's highest civilian award.
 - 1989 The Muammah Gaddafi Human Rights Award from Libya
- Mzimkulu Malunga**

A STRIKING young man, delightful, with a zest for life — that is how I recall Nelson Mandela at our first meeting in 1953, shortly after he had trained volunteers for the Defiance Campaign against apartheid. And I had an impression of a fiery temper, since my arrival had interrupted a furious argument between him and his friend, Yusuf Cachalia. He soon learned to control his temper and, remarkably, neither danger nor persecution nor serious illness could impair that zest for life.

It was evident during 1961 when, from underground, he organised a nationwide strike, daringly eluding the police yet regularly meeting journalists who dubbed him the "Black Pimpernel".

At one secret rendezvous, wearing sports shirt and slacks, slanting eyes closed to slits, he welcomed us with a boom of laughter.

The interview concluded with a sombre announcement: since the government had once again crushed a peaceful strike "by naked force" the ANC must seriously reconsider its tactics — we did not then understand he was about to lead the decision to turn to sabotage.

He was exuberant when next we met, in a suburban bungalow. He had been touring rural areas: "A wonderful experience, you can't comprehend unless you stay right there with the people!" He had only an hour to spare, pressure was mounting, yet, utterly relaxed, he told of a narrow escape: "I was waiting on a corner in town when the car due to pick me up failed to arrive. And I saw, coming towards me, one of the Special Branch — an African member I knew by sight. He looked straight at me. I thought 'It's all up!' But he went on by. And as he did, he winked and gave the ANC salute!"

Again, that *joie de vivre* during our

Nelson, here's sixpence. Get me some shampoo

Mandela has a fund of comic anecdotes about racism - which hide the real pain he must have felt

By MARY BENSON, author of the biography 'Nelson Mandela'

last encounter in June 1962, when he turned up with Oliver Tambo for dinner at my flat in London. Pacing the small room, he described the marvellous reception he'd been given in country after country during a tour of Africa. "For the first time in my life I felt free!"

Back in South Africa, a few weeks later, he was captured and sentenced to five years for "inciting" the strike and leaving the country without valid travel documents. Then he became Accused No 1 in the Rivonia trial — destined to become the world's most famous political prisoner.

Mandela's courage, integrity and commitment are legendary, but other characteristics are less well-known — a passion for education, for instance.

His elder sister, Mabel, recalls that when the young Nelson (thus "christened" by a white teacher who couldn't pronounce his Xhosa name,

Rolihlahla) first attended school, he had to wear his father's cast-off clothes with sleeves and trouser-legs shortened. She believes he did not care he was a laughing-stock, so keen was he to learn.

A lifetime later, the political prisoner has never ceased studying, passing an exam even in his 71st year; meanwhile trying to ensure good education for his children and grandchildren and encouraging them to "work hard!"

As for the hand-me-downs, surely Mabel was wrong, and the boy *did* care, such has been Mandela's pleasure in dressing immaculately and appropriately, whether the three-piece suit in London, battle fatigues in Algeria or, in prison — once protests against baggy shorts and shirt had succeeded — an impeccably pressed uniform.

His natural air of authority is often remarked on. During the months of

preparatory discussions between lawyers and defendants in the Rivonia trial, Joel Joffe, the attorney, found that although Mandela emerged naturally as the leader, he never dictated but discussed calmly; he might argue but was guided by the opinion of his colleagues.

A vigorous undercurrent of humour repeatedly breaks the surface. Mandela's own fund of comic anecdotes includes early experiences of Johannesburg — which, at the time, must have pained the proud young aristocrat from the rural Transkei.

"The only job I could get," he once told me, "was as a mine policeman guarding the compound gate, wearing a uniform and carrying a knobkerrie and whistle."

In the law firm to which he was later articled, one typist told him, "We have no colour bar here, when the tea-boy brings the tea, we have bought a new cup for you, you must use that." While another, embarrassed that a white client had seen her taking dictation from this African, demanded, "Nelson, here's sixpence, please get me some shampoo from the chemist."

Amusement in recounting such incidents was typical of his reaction to white prejudice when directed at himself: when directed at defenceless people he was deeply angered.

According to Joffe, with the death penalty an all-too-real prospect for the defendants in the Rivonia trial, Mandela's humour lightened dark moments.

With only a month to prepare, the nine defendants were marched into an interview room in prison; a high counter topped by iron bars divided it and on each side were five high stools, all fixed to the floor. Watched by Colonel Aucamp, Commissioner of Prisoners, the lawyers entered their side of the room to find Mandela

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Education for a new tomorrow

OLD FRIENDS REMEMBER



Free Spirit ... Nelson Mandela in 1961 joins in the singing of Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika at the end of the marathon treason trial

Picture: STRUAN ROBERTSON

Who visited
Mandela in jail

APART from the highly publicised meetings with former President PW Botha and State President FW de Klerk, Nelson Mandela received a long line of important visitors at his prison bungalow.

High on the guest list were Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee and Mandela's fellow Rivonia trialists Walter Sisulu, Raymond Mhlaba, Ahmed Kathrada, Andrew Mlangeni, Elias Motsoaledi and Govan Mbeki.

Other important visitors included fellow Robben Island and Pollsmoor prison alumnae Wilton Mkwayi, Oscar Mpetha and Harry Gwala; businessman Richard Maponya; activist Helen Joseph; former MP Helen Suzman and DP MP Harry Schwarz; National Reception Committee leaders Murphy Morobe and Cyril Ramaphosa; religious leaders including Desmond Tutu, Allan Boesak and Sheik Nazim Mohamed; Delmas treason trialists Patrick Lekota, Moss Chikane and Popo Molefe; Congress of South African Trade Unions official Sydney Mafumadi; United Democratic Front officials Azhar Cachalia and Albertina Sisulu; South African Council of Churches leader Frank Chikane; Pan Africanist Congress stalwart Jafta Mase-mola, released with the Rivonia trialists in October; Umtata lawyer Phathikile Holomisa and a Transkeian delegation including Reverend Dubula, Chief Xobololo and Chief Vulindlela Mtirara; sociologist Fatima Meer; educationists Franklin Sonn and Jakes Gerwel; a Black Lawyers' Association delegation including Keith Kunene, Godfrey Pitje and Dikgang Moseneke; National Democratic Lawyers' Association members Pius Langa, Linda Zama, Bulelani Nxuka, John Smith, Mahmood Cajee, Phumzile Majeke, Essa Moosa and Roney Pillay; and Peter Mokaba, president of the South African Youth Congress and Sayco member Rapu Molekane.

Mzimkulu Malunga

among five men perched on the stools across the counter. Smiling politely he asked, "What'll it be today, gentlemen, chocolate or vanilla?" Mockery which infuriated the colonel.

On Robben Island, during years of labouring in a lime quarry — like an oven in summer, freezing in winter — it was natural that Mandela usually represented the men's protests and complaints.

Eddie Daniels was among fellow prisoners who have spoken with reverence of Mandela and Walter Sisulu, of their strength which inspired others and defeated official attempts to destroy morale. And when Daniels was ill, it was Mandela who looked after him, even cleaning his toilet.

He has continued to learn and to grow: during the 1940s, as an ardent African nationalist, he adamantly rejected co-operation with other racial groups but, working with them in the Defiance Campaign, he recognised that "going it alone" reflected political

naivety, a lack of maturity. During the 1970s, after prolonged reflection on strategy in the face of domination by successive Afrikaner governments, he urged his comrades to consider "how important it is to understand your adversary, not just his history but his literature — poetry, novels, the lot".

In 1986 the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group was impressed by his "overriding concern for the welfare of all races" and his "longing

to be allowed to contribute to the process of reconciliation".

Throughout more than 27 years in prison Mandela has remained a free spirit. At last the moment has come for his wisdom and strength, his courage, generosity and humour, to contribute to the creation of a new society in South Africa. — The Sunday Correspondent

Mary Benson is the author of *Nelson Mandela*, a biography, Penguin 1989.

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The British
Ambassador

and the staff of the British Embassy welcome the freeing of Mr Nelson Mandela. This is an objective towards which the British Government and many others in Britain have worked for many years. We look forward to further moves towards the achievement of a fully democratic and non-racial society in South Africa.



Australia

applauds the
return of

Nelson
Mandela

to a proper
place in
South African
society



Nelson Mandela listens as African National Congress leader Dr AB Xuma addresses a meeting in Johannesburg more than four decades ago. Pictures courtesy of Yusuf and Amina Cachalia

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Black Pimpernel

Mandela ducks the police for months

The elusive Mandela is hunted for two years ... then police swoop in Durban

By PHIL MOLEFE

ALMOST 28 years ago this month, Nelson Mandela secretly slipped out of the country to meet African and overseas leaders and win their support for the liberation movement.

He left the country illegally in January 1962 and stayed away for five months, addressing meetings in London and a congress in Addis Ababa for the heads of states of the newly independent African countries, held by the Pan African Freedom Movement of Eastern, Central and Southern Africa (Pafmecca).

He also received military training in Algeria as the commander of the African National Congress military wing, Umkhonto weSizwe.

Back in South Africa, the elusive Mandela was hunted high and low by the South African Police.

He had gone underground in early April 1961, shortly after the ANC was outlawed.

During this period he assumed the name David Motsamai, and acquired a false identity document.

Mandela, called "The Black Pimpernel" by the media, became the target of a frantic police hunt after his return in June 1962.

The SAP Special Branch (SB) launched an intense search for Mandela, often waking his wife Winnie and their young children late at night.

In a newspaper interview at the time Winnie said: "Whenever my children and I are about to sleep security branch police arrive. They ask me where my husband is and sometimes search the house.

"Sometimes they joke and at other times they are aggressive, which frightens the children. There are rumours that Nelson is back, but I have not seen or heard from him."

Meanwhile, the "Black Pimpernel" had established a safe base on Lilliesleaf farm in the northern Johannesburg suburb of Rivonia.

The farm was bought by Arthur Goldreich, one of the leading figures of the Congress Alliance movement, and was a base for most ANC leaders who had gone underground.

These included Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki and other Rivonia trialists.

Strict arrangements were made for Mandela's family to be brought to Rivonia and see him there.

Makgatho, Mandela's son from his first marriage, is quoted in Fatima Meer's *Higher Than Hope* as saying that the family knew their father was in hiding.

"We knew Tata was in hiding. I can't say how I felt about it. It made me afraid. I could not say then why, but now I know I was afraid because I thought we could lose him," he said.

In August 1962 Mandela had to leave his base in Rivonia and travel to Durban to consult with ANC President-General Chief Albert Luthuli about the overseas tour and how far he had succeeded in mobilising international support for the struggle in South Africa.

He went to Durban in style, disguised as a chauffeur and driving the limousine of his "wealthy white boss", Cecil Williams.

Williams, in reality a dramatist, was also a member of the Congress of Democrats.

Their itinerary was said to have been very strict and known only to people they were due to meet.

A former member of the South Af-

rican Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu) and ANC stalwart Curnick Ndlovu says Mandela did not disclose his next move.

"After he met with Chief Luthuli and MB Yengwa, Nelson also met other activists in the Natal region. We all met him in that short space of time but he did not say what his next move would be," recalls Ndlovu.

"In fact, he was arrested on his way back to Johannesburg after he had met most of us in Durban," he says.

On Sunday, August 5 Mandela met a number of friends, among them Fatima and Ismail Meer, the Singhs, Dr Naicker and Yengwa at the home of *Post* journalist, G R Naidoo.

According to Fatima Meer it was a pleasant day and the group ate, drank and discussed politics.

It did not occur to the group that had gathered at Naidoo's place that the chauffeur and his white boss would fall into a police trap two hours after leaving for Johannesburg.

The limousine drove out of Durban just after leaving on a warm Natal Sunday with David Motsamai (Mandela) on the driver's seat and the "boss" on the back seat.

The car ran into a police roadblock at Howick, a small town between Pietermaritzburg and Mooi River.

According to Ndlovu, the police did not even know Mandela but were act-



A sign of the times ... the front page of the Rand Daily Mail on Friday, June 12 1964 tells of the repercussions of the Rivonia trial judgement

ing on instructions from Johannesburg to stop the car with the stipulated registration number.

A white man and his "native chauffeur" were arrested and taken to segregated cells in Pietermaritzburg.

A Detective Sergeant W A Vorster of the SAP special branch in Johannesburg went down to Pietermaritzburg and triumphantly identified David Motsamai as Nelson Mandela.

Vorster had been responsible for looking out for Mandela during the police manhunt for the ANC leader.

By arresting Mandela the police believed that they would "cut off the head of the snake" and bring an end to "subversive" ANC activities.

"David Motsamai" was brought to court two days later and faced charges of leaving the country illegally and receiving military training.

Newspaper headlines read: "Police swoop ends two years on the run, Nelson Mandela is under arrest".

He was sentenced in the Johannes-

burg Magistrate's Court to five years in jail on November 7, 1962.

His lawyers, James Kantor and Harold Wolpe, unsuccessfully tried to arrange visits for the Mandelas after he was sentenced and sent down to Robben Island.

Mandela was only granted visits eight months after his sentencing, on July 13, 1963 — two days after police arrested the other ANC leaders in the Rivonia raid.

Mandela was recalled from his prison cell and joined his comrades in what came to be known as the Rivonia trial.

At the end of the trial, in July 1964, Mandela and eight other Rivonia trialists were sentenced to life imprisonment for plotting to overthrow the government by violence.

A police spokesman said Detective Sergeant Vorster had retired from the SAP and since passed away.

"Motsamai's white boss" Williams is believed to have died in exile.

Nelson Mandela

The University of Cape Town extends its good wishes to Mr Nelson Mandela on the occasion of his release from prison. The University of Cape Town is proud that Mr Mandela is to receive the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws from this university during 1990.

Mr Mandela is a living legend in the struggle against apartheid and injustice in South Africa and is recognised as a major political figure by a great many South Africans and by prominent individuals, organisations and governments around the world. Most (including, it seems, the present government of South Africa) recognise that a permanent solution to South Africa's problems is impossible without Nelson Mandela, and that his release will facilitate the process of negotiation towards that solution. His vision is of a non-racial, just and democratic South Africa.



UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

Memories of old friends

IN the summer of 1944, three young Indian students were thrown off a tram "for carrying a kaffir and obstructing the conductor in the course of his duty".

The three students were prominent Indian activists. The "offending kaffir" was Nelson Mandela.

The struggle of the Indian people in South Africa, particularly the passive resistance campaign of 1946, greatly influenced Mandela as his political maturity grew.

But it wasn't always that way. The young Mandela was once a rival to Indian interests, according to life-long friends Yusuf and Amina Cachalia.

Yusuf Cachalia met the young Mandela during the 1940s when the latter was still a student: "We first met at Ismail Meer's flat in Market Street. I had no idea at the time this marked the beginning of a friendship that would last our lives."

In those days Cachalia, former secretary of the South African Indian Congress and joint secretary, with Walter Sisulu, of the African National Congress/SAIC Congress Alliance, held differing views to Mandela.

"Nelson's views were fashioned by those of the Youth League of the ANC. They espoused an African Nationalism that allowed no significant role in the struggle for freedom for anyone except Africans.

"He actively opposed us. When we called for the 1950 strike to protest the banning of Yusuf Dadoo, Moses Kotane and JB Marks, he actually spoke in opposition to the call at our strike meeting."

The meeting was held at the appropriately named Red Square — now the car park of the Oriental Plaza. Cachalia speaks of the Oriental Plaza as "that monument to the Group Areas and Separate Amenities acts".

Among the first people to visit Nelson Mandela at Victor Verster prison were friends Yusuf and Amina Cachalia. Here they talk about life with Mandela in the fifties, recorded by their son GHALEB CACHALIA

Cachalia recalls the day in 1944 when three young Indian students were thrown off a tram in the city "for carrying a kaffir" — Nelson Mandela — and "obstructing the conductor in the course of his duty".

The three students, Ismail Meer, JN Singh and Ahmed Bhoola, were represented by Abraham Fischer, a member of the Communist Party and son of the Judge President of the Orange Free State, who managed to win their acquittal.

Cachalia has little doubt that the struggle of the Indian people greatly influenced the Youth League. "If you want a substantiation of this you can read it in ZK Matthews' address at the Treason Trial," says Cachalia.

"It was," according to Cachalia, "a result of the social and political experience of those early years that Mandela and the Youth League moved from Africanism to the programme of action of 1949, and onward to the alliance that laid the basis for the Defiance Campaign of 1952."

Cachalia recalls a meeting at JB



Yusuf Cachalia and Nelson Mandela wait with a young volunteer as the Defiance Campaign begins. Arrested immediately, Cachalia and Mandela shared a cell in Marshall Square.

Marks' office in Rosenberg's Arcade in Market Street to discuss political co-operation at which Mandela, Oliver Tambo, Ismail Meer, JB Marks, and Sisulu were present: "To begin with only JB had no reservations, but after a while Walter spoke up and said he was convinced of our sincerity. I suppose that was really the beginning of joint struggle. It marked the end of our differences and the start of a political and social interaction that was based on a common struggle

Picture courtesy of Yusuf and Amina Cachalia against injustice."

Amina Cachalia remembers first meeting Mandela at the ANC offices in 1948/9: "We hit it off from the start, and soon became firm friends."

She remembers particularly the Christmas lunches they used to have at Mandela's home at 8115 Orlando West: "Eveline used to cook, and we used to sit around in the courtyard and play with the children. After lunch we would all walk up the road to Walter's place."

One social event is etched into Amina's memory: "In 1951 I turned 21, and Nelson suggested we have a party. Yusuf suggested we cook pigeon, and Nelson decided to get hold of 21 pigeons. Yusuf and Nelson cooked. It was at Aggie Patel's flat. Arthur Goldreich, Robbie Resha, Duma Nokwe, and Essop Nugdee were there. I remember Nelson cleaning rice. Goodness, they had enough to drink."

On the political front the Defiance Campaign was about to take off. It was the first and singularly most important expression of joint struggle and co-operation. The government appropriately acknowledged this by arresting Mandela and Yusuf Cachalia on the first day of the campaign.

"We shared a cell in Marshall Square," remembers Cachalia, "and the next morning the warder brought us breakfast. Boiled eggs, toast and tea for me, and putu for Nelson. When Nelson protested the warder said that Nelson clearly did not know what a government gazette was and he should therefore shut up and eat. We laughed and shared the food."

Mandela emerged during this crucial period, according to Cachalia, as a man imbued with immense charisma, vision, and resolution.

"Then came the Treason Trial," says Amina Cachalia. "I'd either take him food at his offices or we would eat at Moretsele's restaurant. Moretsele was then president of the ANC (Transvaal). He was a fat fellow with a huge stomach and a dirty white apron. We didn't have much money in those days, but at Moretsele's we could eat at a discount and buy for credit.

"We used to go to Kapitans on Saturdays, all of us — Thandray, Bopape, Resha, Tloome, and Mandela. "We also ate regularly at Goolam

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SACOS WELCOMES COMRADE



NELSON MANDELA

The President, officials and members of the South African Council on Sport (SACOS) throughout South Africa welcome the release of Comrade Nelson Mandela with great elation and a tremendous sense of satisfaction.

The final release of Comrade Mandela is consistent with our continuous and persistent demand over 17 years for the release of all political prisoners and detainees; and more specifically for the release of the authentic leaders of the oppressed and exploited masses of our country.

SACOS is hopeful that the momentous release of the best known prisoner of conscience that the world has known in the last two-and-a-half decades will be the prelude to the release of all prisoners of conscience, even these imprisoned for refusing to be conscripted into an army to defend an unjust socio-political system; and to the unconditional unbanning of all progressive political movements and organisations of the people; and the unconditional unhindered return to South Africa of all political exiles.

On this occasion of great joy, SACOS wants to send out a call to ALL progressive political and community organisations and ALL progressive anti-establishment leaders of substance to get together as

swiftly as possible to force a principled unity of ALL the oppressed people in this country, so that we as a united people can formulate our principled demands for the return of our land to its rightful owners and the reins of government to the people of this land on the basis of free and equal adult franchise.

SACOS welcomes comrade Nelson Mandela as a great leader of substance and salutes the sacrifices he has made after 26 years of imprisonment. At the same time, we pay tribute to ALL of our comrades of whatever progressive political tendency, who have spent life terms in jail or even one day in detention in defence of our just struggle for a free, non-racial democracy.

We are mindful also at this time, and pay special tribute to our thousands of martyrs, who over the many years of struggle have died so that we might be free!

They paid the supreme penalty. May we honour their memory by striving to achieve a single, united, principled-oppressed mass, marching forward to achieve our ultimate objective: a free, non-racial democratic South Africa! Free of oppression! Free of exploitation! Free of prejudice! Let our rich, beautiful country be governed by the free will of the people of our country!

Amandla! Freedom is ours!

Issued by SACOS

OLD FRIENDS REMEMBER



On the eve of the 1952 Defiance Campaign Nelson Mandela hands over a letter outlining the aims and objectives of the planned action to a magistrate
Picture courtesy of Yusuf and Amina Cachalia

Pahad's home. His wife, Amina used to hold open house for the whole movement."

Amina Cachalia remembers Mandela's return from Bizana after he married Winnie Madikizela: "He brought her home to our Vrededorp flat in 1958. I remember her as very reserved, very shy, very young, and very beautiful."

"They were good days, but sometimes also very trying. Yusuf, Nelson and the others went to jail during the Emergency for four months."

Yusuf recalls constant meetings in the evenings to prepare for the Treason Trial. Cachalia remembers him as a politically mature person then: "He is more politically mature now. He has become even wiser."

During the 1960/61 strike many activists and leaders went into hiding. Amina Cachalia's sister, Zaynab Asvat, arranged for the Cachalias and Mandela to live with a family in Jeppe.

Amina remembers: "We lived there for two or three weeks. Ben Turok used to visit disguised as a tram conductor. We could spot him a mile off."

Nelson had the use of a car, and the two of us would often sneak off to Leon Street's factory. He was very helpful."

Yusuf recalls Mandela's arrest in 1962: "He had gone off to address a meeting in Pietermaritzburg. Cecil Williams sat at the back of the car as if he were the boss, and Nelson played driver. They were arrested in

Mooi River, the result perhaps of a tip-off.

"When he was sentenced to five years it came as a relief. We thought freedom was just around the corner."

"Then came Rivonia," says Amina. "It all came as a big shock. I was in Durban at the time. I heard it on the radio, and I didn't even know if Yusuf had been arrested. Even then we didn't think it would take 28 years, particularly when Soweto exploded in 1976."

A decade would pass. Mandela was only permitted to receive more than one letter a month in the early 1970s. It was then that Amina Cachalia renewed her contact with her friend.

The letters are personal and poignant. They are about feelings, family and friends, and they all bear the stamp of officialdom which reads "Gesensor/Censored". Amina says: "I cannot begin to describe the feelings a letter from Nelson would evoke nor the butterflies in my stomach and the pounding of my heart when we saw him after all these years in 1989."

Of the future Yusuf Cachalia says: "He has displayed a constancy and perseverance of purpose that has made him the facilitator of freedom in our country."

Yusuf Cachalia turned 75 last month. The occasion was celebrated with old and new friends. But one friend was conspicuously absent. Still, that friend had not forgotten. He wrote this letter:

*"Dear Yusuf and Amina, 19.1.90.
I am more than a thousand kilometres away from you, but I think of you daily, especially on 20 January 1990. I sincerely pray that you live for another 75 years ..."*

Fondest regards and best wishes, Nelson"

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FREEDOM NOW

“Let us all be free free free free
Let us all be free free free free
Let us all be free free free free

Free our bodies free our minds
Free our hearts
Freedom for everyone
And freedom now

Freedom now
Freedom now
Freedom now

Let us all be free free free free
Let us all be free free free free
Let us all be free free free free”



"Freedom Now" by Tracy Chapman. From her album "Crossroads".
"Freedom Now" is reproduced with the kind permission of Tracy Chapman and Elliot Roberts.

MANDELA AS ATHLETE

THE tin shanty at the back of house number 344, Orlando East, hummed with activity with five families crammed into five shacks erected on the 12-m square patch of ground.

An old man was sprawled with his face down in a small passage. Next to him lay an empty beer bottle. Baby strapped to her back, a woman lazily did her laundry about three metres away. About 20 fowls ran from one end of a run to another whenever people left or entered the backyard.

Mpiyakhe Zulu sat on a cold-drink crate and poured himself a glass of beer. He did not have the faintest idea about news of the unbanning of proscribed organisations. He seemed to be more concerned with his survival.

What he did know about were the promises to release Nelson Mandela soon. But Zulu did not know that the African National Congress leader once trained and boxed on the same ground he was sitting on and on which his shack was erected.

The corner house along the main road is the home of Jerry "Yul Bryn-er" Moloi, the former Transvaal

The ring where Mandela boxed turns into a hen run

Jerry Moloi, the lightweight champ who taught Mandela boxing died only months before the release, reports THAMI MKHWANAZI

lightweight champ who trained Mandela and became his sparring partner when the ANC leader took to boxing in the 1950s.

Moloi died at the age of 56 last October. Moloi is survived by his wife and children and his mother Alice, whom I found at home.

The backyard, she said, was a hive

of activity when Mandela joined the boxing stable with the likes of Moloi, Schoolboy Nhalpo, Levy Madi, Wonderboy Mabena, David Gogotsha and Elijah Mokone.

Alice, who was born in the same year and month as Mandela, said Mandela used to spend his evenings in the backyard.

"Jerry's relationship with Mandela made us one big family. We were close to both his first and second wives," she said.

"Every morning Mandela and his wife Winnie dropped off their two children, Zinzi and Zeni, with me before going to work. He was a lawyer and Winnie was a clerk at Wonder Furnitures.

"He took the children home after the boxing activities. By then Winnie would have arrived from work and would go to cook supper.

"Mandela was virtually a member of my family. He ate and lived in this house. He and Jerry drove around to numerous boxing events in different parts of the country. They raised funds together, travelling as far afield as Lesotho.

She said the boxers trained at three local venues — the DOCC, her house and at the St Joseph Anglican School before it was closed following the introduction of Bantu Education in the 1950s.

"For championships they went to the Bantu Men's Social Centre in El-off Street," she recalled. "But I bet



Boxer Jerry Moloi ... 'every morning, Mandela dropped off the kids before work'

you they were cooked in the backyard. They used to spread a canvas on the ground in the backyard. They'd erect four poles around the square canvas and tie ropes around the poles.

"Members of the stable would box from 6pm to 9pm, and even up to 11pm whenever there was going to be a title fight. For light the men hung four paraffin lamps on the back wall of the house.

"You should have seen the spectators thronging this place. Often they locked the gates to control the crowd."

Mandela, she said, often acted as Moloi's corner man.

Alice believed the ANC leader had had no intentions of being a champ. He was content with being an amateur boxer, she said.

"He liked the sport just to keep himself fit. Those days gangsters in Sophiatown and Alexandra would snatch your pretty girl away. As a fighter Mandela would have been able to handle such a situation."

She recalled with sadness the time Mandela was in hiding.

"Those were sad days. Jerry had to drive Winnie in Mandela's car to all his hiding places. She would briefly see him and return home."

Mandela, she said, continued with his boxing even under those difficult conditions.

"Jerry would pick him up and take him to a secret sparring place. When the police were no longer looking for him at my house, Jerry would even bring him here."

Recalling the ANC leader's arrest in Howick, she said: "It was painful. Jerry and I lived with his family for two years. Winnie and the children needed our support."

Alice showed me a copy of the book, *The Fifties People*, which she said she received from Mandela last year after Jerry's death.

Attempts by Jerry to visit the ANC leader on Robben Island were unsuccessful.

"The authorities just refused, until he gave up hope. But campaigns for his release gave Jerry strength during his illness. It's a pity he did not live long enough to see his friend a free man," she said, gazing at a picture of the two sparring partners on the wall in the kitchen.

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- 1982**
Called for the total removal of statutory discrimination from all walks of South African life
- 1983**
Protested the practice of detention without trial, the banning of trade unionists and the deaths of prominent members of that movement in detention
- 1984**
Called for the abolition of the Group Areas Act
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Requested the opening of central business districts to Black traders and again called for the removal of discrimination as a feature of legislation in South Africa in its entirety
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- 1987**
Advocated the need for urgent negotiations with credible Black leaders, including those in jail or exile, on the issue of political power sharing
- 1988**
Called for the enfranchisement of all South Africans, sooner rather than later, in order for it to be negotiated within a framework of adequate checks and balances, safeguarded within a Bill of Rights
- 1989**
Urged all business leaders to move forward and to take the initiative to bring about harmonious, peaceful and democratic society which embraces freedom of association, justice, dignity and equal opportunity for all
- 1990**
Hails the release of Nelson Mandela, in anticipation of the momentous role he will play in the negotiation process towards a democratic and stable future for South Africa.

The Premier Group

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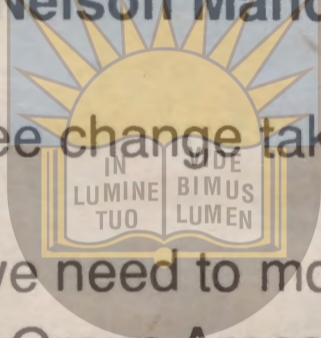
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"I have cherished the ideal
of a democratic and free society
in which all persons live together
in harmony and with equal opportunities.
It is an ideal which I hope to live for,
and see realised ..."

Nelson Mandela 1963



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THE MANDELA INDUSTRY

The race to get the photo on the T-shirts

Few will get close to Mandela, but thousands can wear his face on a T-shirt. By PHILIPPA GARSON

MANDELA mania has hit the streets, and it is up to the media to deliver the goods. Few will get close to the man, but to wear a T-shirt adorned with his photograph is the next best thing.

Mandela-hype is being exploited by private businessmen rushing to manufacture their own "welcome home" T-shirts — to the growing concern of the National Reception Committee.

Says NRC member Murphy Morobe: "We are worried about the rip-offs and the people who are not related in any way to the movement, like white businessmen who are getting blacks to sell their T-shirts on the streets. Our main concern is that these people might print slogans in contradiction to what we are about."

Progressive organisations must be responsible in the way they produce media, says Morobe. Private groups are already selling T-shirts at prices exceeding R15, the price set by the worker co-operatives producing the clothing. And they may be stealing business from the co-operatives, who market clothing and other paraphernalia emblazoned with political slogans.

But the co-operatives, which manufacture symbols of political identity, rather than fashion, seem to have plenty of work.

Right now they are working seven days a week in response to the huge demand from progressive organisations who have ordered record numbers of "Welcome home Mandela" T-shirts.

With Nelson Mandela's release, manufacturers can at last use a recent picture of him. Morobe says though the photograph is not a key issue, "it will certainly make a big difference".

A member of the Sarmcol Workers' Co-Operative (Sawco) who print T-shirts explained that the NRC ordered tens of thousands of "pre-release" T-shirts, and thousands more are now in production.

In preparation, Sawco doubled production, turning out over 1 500 a day. They printed slogans and borders with a space where the photograph could be speedily inserted.

Says the Sawco member: "We're in the business of putting out a political message. We discovered last year that mass politics was good for production. In two days at the ANC rallies in Johannesburg and Umtata we sold half of what we sold during the whole of 1988. This year it is likely there will be large rallies around the country. We hope to sell thousands more."

Organisations producing and print-



Co-ops have been working seven days a week to meet the demand for badges and T-shirts

Picture: ANNA ZIEMINSKI, Afrapix

ing "slogan" clothing rechannel profits back into their factories.

But the venture is not as profitable as many think, says a Sawco member: "We are one of the few co-operatives which has moved into surplus turnover. We have had an enormous historical problem of selling to progressive organisations and not being paid and the huge debts generated are now unrecoverable. Our workers get a mere R10 a day, and surpluses are used to expand our co-operative and provide more jobs."

According to marketing director of Zenzeleni Co-operative, Stephanie Miller, the 300 factory workers produce up to 2 500 T-shirts per day. Some are printed at the factory, while others are sent to Sawco and Pawco (Palaborwa Workers Co-operative, affiliated to the National Union of Mineworkers) for printing.

Before the release, 6 000 "Viva Mandela" T-shirts were printed. These are inscribed with a graphic of the leader as a young man.

The co-operative now has outlets in Port Elizabeth, Johannesburg and Cape Town. Miller says the current demand for Mandela T-shirts is so great that "if we produced flat-out from now until April, we would still not satisfy the demand."

"The biggest problem is not being able to source enough fabric. There are only so many mills producing knits, and they have sold all their capacities until May." She adds that it is co-operative policy not to import fabric.

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Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela
on his release.

We believe this is a positive step towards a free, non-racial and democratic society.

The speech from the dock

My lord, I am the first accused. I hold a Bachelor's degree in Arts, and practised as an attorney in Johannesburg for a number of years, in partnership with Mr Oliver Tambo. I am a convicted prisoner, serving five years for leaving the country without a permit, and for inciting people to go on strike at the end of May 1961.

I admit immediately that I was one of the persons who helped to form Umkhonto weSizwe, and that I played a prominent role in its affairs until I was arrested in August 1962.

At the outset, I want to say that the suggestion made by the state in its opening that the struggle in South Africa is under the influence of foreigners or communists is wholly incorrect.

I have done whatever I did, both as an individual and as a leader of my people, because of my experience in South Africa, and my own proudly-felt African background, and not because of what any outsider might have said.

In my youth in the Transkei, I listened to the elders of my tribe telling stories of the old days. Amongst the tales they related to me were those of wars fought by our ancestors in defence of the fatherland.

The names of Dingane and Bamba-ta, Hintsa and Makana, Squngathi and Dalasile, Moshoeshoe and Sekukhuni, were praised as the pride and the glory of the entire African nation. I hoped then that life might offer me the opportunity to serve my people and make my own humble contribution to their freedom struggle. This is what has motivated me in all that I have done in relation to the charges made against me in this case.

I did not plan sabotage in a spirit of recklessness, nor because I have any love for violence.

Some of the things so far told to the

court are true and some are untrue. I do not, however, deny that I planned sabotage. I did not plan it in a spirit of recklessness, nor because I have any love for violence. I planned it as a result of a calm and sober assessment of the political situation that had arisen after many years of tyranny, exploitation and oppression of my people by the whites.

We believe that as a result of government policy, violence by the African people had become inevitable.

I have already mentioned that I was one of the persons who helped to form Umkhonto. I, and the others who started the organisation, did so for two reasons.

Firstly, we believed that as a result of government policy, violence by the African people had become inevitable, and that unless responsible leadership was given to catalyse and control the feelings of our people, there would be outbreaks of terrorism which would produce an intensity of bitterness and hostility between the various races of this country which is not produced even by war.

Secondly, we felt that without sabotage there would be no way open to the African people to succeed in their struggle against the principle of white supremacy. All lawful modes of expressing opposition to this principle had been closed by legislation and we were placed in a position in which we had either to accept a permanent state of inferiority, or to defy the government. We chose to defy the government. We first broke the law in a way which avoided any recourse to violence; when this form was legislated against, and when the government resorted to a show of force to crush op-

An edited version of Nelson Mandela's famous four-and-a-half hour speech from the dock during the Rivonia Trial, in which he spelt out the credo of the ANC, its relationship to the Communist Party, and explained why he had turned to armed struggle

position to its policies, only then did we decide to answer violence with violence.

But the violence which we chose to adopt was not terrorism. We who formed Umkhonto were all members of the African National Congress, and had behind us the ANC tradition of non-violence and negotiation as a means of solving political disputes.

We believed that South Africa belonged to all the people who lived in it, and not to one group, be it black or white. We did not want an inter-racial war, and tried to avoid it to the last minute. If the court is in doubt about this, it will be seen that the whole history of our organisation bears out what I have said, and what I will subsequently say, when I describe the tactics which Umkhonto decided to adopt. I want, therefore, to say some-

thing about the African National Congress.

For 37 years the ANC adhered strictly to a constitutional struggle.

The African National Congress was formed in 1912 to defend the rights of the African people which had been seriously curtailed by the South Africa Act, and which was then being threatened by the Native Land Act.

For 37 years, that is until 1949, it adhered strictly to a constitutional struggle. It put forward demands and resolutions, it sent delegations to the government in the belief that African grievances could be settled through peaceful discussion and that Africans could advance gradually to full political rights. But white governments remained unmoved, and the rights of Africans became less instead of becoming greater.

In the words of my leader, Chief Luthuli, who became president of the ANC in 1952, and who was later awarded the Nobel Peace Prize (I quote): "Who will deny that 30 years of my life have been spent knocking in vain, patiently, moderately and modestly at a closed and barred door? What have been the fruits of moderation? The past 30 years have seen the greatest number of laws restricting out rights and progress, until today we have reached a stage where we have almost no rights at all."

Even after 1949 the ANC remained determined to avoid violence. At this time, however, there was a change from the strictly constitutional means of protest which had been employed in the past. The change was embodied in a decision which was taken to protest against apartheid legislation by peaceful, but unlawful, demon-

strations against certain laws.

Pursuant to this policy the ANC launched the Defiance Campaign, in which I was placed in charge of volunteers.

The campaign was based on the principles of passive resistance. More than 8 500 people defied apartheid laws and went to gaol. Yet there was not a single instance of violence in the course of this campaign on the part of any defier.

I, and 19 colleagues, were convicted for the role which we played in organising the campaign, and this conviction was under the Suppression of Communism Act although our campaign had nothing to do with communism, but our sentences were suspended, mainly because the judge found that discipline and non-violence had been stressed throughout.

This was the time when the volunteer section of the ANC was established, and when the word "Amadlakufa" was first used: this was the time when the volunteers were asked to take a pledge to uphold certain principles.

Evidence dealing with volunteers and their pledges have been introduced into this case, but completely out of context.

The volunteers were not, and are not, the soldiers of a black army pledged to fight a civil war against the whites. They were, and are, the dedicated workers who are prepared to lead campaigns initiated by the ANC, to distribute leaflets, to organise strikes, or to do whatever the particular campaign required. They are called volunteers because they volunteer to face the penalties of imprisonment and whipping which are prescribed by the legislature for such acts.

The ANC is not and never has been a communist organisation.

During the Defiance Campaign, the

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WELCOME HOME NELSON MANDELA

The Southern African Society of Journalists celebrates your release and wish you and your family a joyful reunification after your many years of unjust separation. We also wish you strength and good health to face the demands that our country and the world are going to make of you.

We have called for your unconditional release and the release of all political prisoners and detainees over many years. As a democratic non-racial trade union of journalists we have also demanded the restoration of a free press in our country.

Your release heralds an important phase in the continuing struggle for political, social and economic democracy. In the coming months, which will hopefully lead to negotiations, it is vital that all relevant information can be accurately disseminated in a free and unhindered way to meet the people's right to know.

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Public Safety Act and the Criminal Law Amendment Act were passed. These statutes provided harsher penalties for offences committed by way of protests against laws. Despite this, the protests continued and the ANC adhered to its policy of non-violence.

In 1956, 156 leading members of the Congress Alliance, including myself, were arrested on a charge of high treason and charges under the Suppression of Communism Act.

The non-violent policy of the ANC was put in issue by the state, but when the court gave judgement some five years later, it found that the ANC did not have a policy of violence. We were acquitted on all counts, which included a count that the ANC sought to set up a communist state in place of the existing regime.

The government has always sought to label all its opponents as communists. This allegation has been repeated in the present case, but as I will show, the ANC is not, and never has been, a communist organisation.

In 1960 there was the shooting at Sharpeville, which resulted in the proclamation of a State of Emergency and the declaration of the ANC as an unlawful organisation.

My colleagues and I, after careful consideration, decided that we would not obey this decree. The African people were not part of the government, and did not make the laws by which they were governed.

We believed in the words of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, that "the will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of the government", and for us to accept the banning was equivalent to accepting the silencing of the Africans for all time.

The ANC refused to dissolve, but instead went underground. We believed it was our duty to preserve this organisation which had been built up with almost 50 years of unremitting



Sharpeville ... 'the shooting resulted in a State of Emergency, and the ANC was banned'

toil. I have no doubt that no self-respecting white political organisation would disband itself if declared illegal by a government in which it had no say.

My lord, I would like now to deal with the immediate causes leading to the formation of Umkhonto.

In 1960 the government held a referendum which led to the establishment of a republic. Africans, who constituted approximately 70 percent of the population of South Africa, were not entitled to vote, and were not even consulted about the proposed constitutional change. All of us were apprehensive about our future under the proposed white republic,

and a resolution was taken to hold an All-In African Conference to call for a National Convention, and to organise mass demonstrations on the eve of the unwanted republic, if the government failed to call the convention.

The conference was attended by Africans of various persuasions. I was the honorary secretary of the conference, and undertook to be responsible for organising the national stay-at-home which was subsequently called to coincide with the declaration of the republic.

As all strikes by Africans are illegal, the person organising such a strike must avoid arrest. I was chosen to be this person, and consequently I had

to leave my home and my family and my practice and go into hiding to avoid arrest.

The stay-at-home was to be peaceful: the government introduced new and harsher laws.

The stay-at-home, in accordance with ANC policy, was to be a peaceful demonstration. Careful instructions were given to organisers and members to avoid any recourse to violence.

The government's answer was to introduce new and harsher laws, to mobilise its armed forces, and to send Saracens, armed vehicles and soldiers into the townships in a massive show of force to intimidate the people. This

was an indication that the government had decided to rule by force alone, and this decision was a milestone on the road to Umkhonto.

We felt the country was drifting towards civil war — sabotage was planned to avoid civil war.

Umkhonto was formed in November 1961. When we took this decision, and subsequently formulated our plans, the ANC heritage of non-violence and racial harmony was very much with us.

We felt that the country was drifting towards civil war in which blacks and whites would fight each other. We viewed the situation with alarm. Civil war would mean the destruction of what the ANC stood for, with civil racial peace would be more difficult than ever to achieve.

The avoidance of civil war had dominated our thinking for many years, but when we decided to adopt sabotage as part of our policy, we realised that we might one day have to face the prospect of such a war.

This had to be taken into account in formulating our plans. We required a plan which was flexible, and which permitted us to act in accordance with the needs of the times; above all, the plan had to be one which recognised civil war as the last resort, and left the decision on this question to the future. We did not want to be committed to civil war, but we wanted to be ready if it became inevitable.

Four forms of violence are possible. There is sabotage, there is guerrilla warfare, there is terrorism and there is open revolution.

We chose to adopt the first method and to test it fully before taking any other decision.

In the light of our political background, the choice was a logical one. Sabotage did not involve loss of life, and it offered the best hope for future race relations. Bitterness would be kept to a minimum and, if the policy

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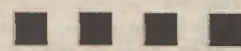
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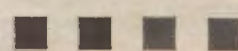
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THE RIVONIA TRIAL SPEECH

bore fruit, democratic government could become a reality.

The objects of the ANC and the Communist Party are different. The Freedom Charter is by no means a blueprint for a nationalist state.

The allegation that the aims and objects of the ANC and the Communist Party are the same ... is false. This is an old allegation which was disproved at the Treason Trial, and which has again reared its head.

The ideological creed of the ANC is, and always has been, the creed of African Nationalism. It is not the concept of African Nationalism expressed in the cry "Drive the white man into the sea". The African Nationalism for which the ANC stands is the concept of freedom and fulfilment for the African people in their own land.

The most important political document ever adopted by the ANC is the Freedom Charter.

It is by no means a blueprint for a socialist state. It calls for redistribution, but not nationalisation, of land; it provides for nationalisation of mines, banks and monopoly industry, because big monopolies are owned by one race only, and without such nationalisation racial domination would be perpetuated despite the spread of political power. It would be a hollow gesture to repeal the Gold Law prohibitions against Africans when all gold mines are owned by European companies.

In this respect the ANC's policy corresponds with the old policy of the present Nationalist Party which, for many years, had as part of its programme the nationalisation of the gold mines which, at that time, were controlled by foreign capital.

Under the Freedom Charter, nationalisation would take place in an economy based on private enterprise. The realisation of the Freedom Charter would open up fresh fields for a

prosperous African population of all classes, including the middle-class.

The ANC has never at any period of its history advocated a revolutionary change in the economic structure of the country, nor has it, to the best of my recollection, ever condemned capitalist society.

I believe that communists have always played an active role in the fight by colonial countries for their freedom.

As far as the Communist Party is concerned, and if I understand its policy correctly, it stands for the establishment of a state based on the principles of Marxism. Although it is prepared to work for the Freedom Charter, as a short term solution to the problems created by white supremacy, it regards the Freedom Charter as the beginning, and not the end, of its programme.

The Communist Party seeks to emphasize class distinctions, whilst the ANC seeks to harmonise them. This is a vital distinction, my lord.

It is true that there has often been close co-operation between the ANC and the Communist Party. But co-operation is merely proof of a common goal — in this case the removal of white supremacy — and is not proof of a complete community of interests.

My lord, the history of the world is full of similar examples. Perhaps the most striking illustration is to be found in the co-operation between Great Britain, the United States of America and the Soviet Union in the fight against Hitler. Nobody but Hitler would have dared to suggest that such co-operation turned Churchill or Roosevelt into communists or communist tools, or that Britain and America were working to bring about a communist world.

I believe that communists have always played an active role in the fight by colonial countries for their free-

'The ANC refused to dissolve ... I have no doubt that no self-respecting white political organisation would disband itself if declared illegal by a government in which it had no say ...'

dom, because the short-term objects of communism would always correspond with the long-term objects of freedom movements. Thus communists, my lord, have played an important role in the freedom struggles fought in countries such as Malaya, Algeria and Indonesia, yet none of these states today are communist countries.

I am not a communist and I have never been a member of the Communist Party. We count communists as among those who support our cause.

There are many Africans who, today, tend to equate freedom with communism. They are supported in this belief by a legislature which brands all exponents of democratic government and African freedom as communists, and bans those, who are not communists, under the Suppres-

sion of Communism Act.

Although my lord I am not a communist, and I have never been a member of the Communist Party, I myself have been named under that pernicious Act because of the role I played in the Defiance Campaign. I have also been banned and convicted under that Act.

It is not only in internal politics that we count communists as amongst those who support our cause. In the international field, communist countries have always come to our aid. In the United Nations and other councils of the world, the communist bloc has supported the Afro-Asian struggle against colonialism and often seems to be more sympathetic to our plight than some of the Western powers.

Although there is a universal condemnation of apartheid, the communist bloc speaks out against it with a louder voice than most of the Western world. In these circumstances it would take a brash young politician, such as I was in 1949, to proclaim that the communists are our enemies.

I have denied that I am a communist, and I think in the circumstances I am obliged to state exactly what my political beliefs are.

I have always regarded myself, in the first place, as an African patriot.

After all, I was born in Umtata 46 years ago. My guardian was my cousin, who was the acting paramount chief of Tembuland. I am related both to the present paramount chief of Tembuland Sabata Dalindyebo, and to Kaizer Matanzima, the Chief Minister of the Transkei.

Today I am attracted by the idea of a classless society, an attraction which springs in part from Marxist reading and, in part, from my admiration of the structure and organisation of early African societies in this country. The land, then the main means of production, belonged to the tribe. There were no rich or poor, and there was

no exploitation.

It is true, as I have already stated, that I have been influenced by Marxist thought, but this is also true of many of the leaders of the new independent states. Such widely different persons as Gandhi, Nehru, Nkrumah and Nasser all acknowledged this fact.

We all accept the need for some form of socialism to enable our people to catch up with the advanced countries of the world and to overcome their legacy of extreme poverty. But this does not mean we are Marxists.

Communists regard the parliamentary system of the West as undemocratic and reactionary. I am an admirer of such a system. I regard the British parliament as the most democratic institution in the world.

Indeed, my lord, for my own part I believe that it is open to debate whether the Communist Party has any specific role to play at this particular stage of our political struggle.

The basic task at the present moment is the removal of race discrimination and the attainment of democratic rights on the basis of the Freedom Charter and the struggle can best be led by a strong ANC.

Insofar as that party furthers this task, I welcome its assistance. I realise that it is one of the main means by which people of all races can be drawn into our struggle.

But from my reading of Marxist literature and from conversation with Marxists, I have gained the impression that communists regard the parliamentary system of the West as undemocratic and reactionary. But, on the contrary, I am an admirer of such a system.

I have great respect for British political institutions, and for the country's system of justice. I regard the British parliament as the most democratic institution in the world.

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ON ROBBER ISLAND

Saturday on the Island, and there's a queue at cell 7

How Mandela changed the thinking of the 'young lions' of June '76

By EDDIE KOCH

ON a Saturday the busiest corner of the high security prison block on Robben Island was cell number 7. Its occupant was prisoner 0221141011, otherwise known as Nelson Mandela.

"They came to Madhiba mainly because they had problems ... family difficulties, help with a question of political theory, a fight with the prison authorities and so on," says former prisoner Dan Montsisi.

The prison was designed to prevent contact between leadership, militants and the rank and file of the movements.

Senior leaders were kept in single cells in Block B, dubbed by some inmates as Makhulu Span (the Big Team). Hardline cadres and guerrillas, who defied authority to the end, stayed in Block A's isolation cells. The rest shared cells with each other in G (for general) Section.

Ideological clashes between the most ardent cadres of South Africa's rival resistance groups — the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress and the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) — frequently reached boiling point in the closed confines of the prison.

Patrick "Terror" Lekota, now publicity secretary for the United Democratic Front, still wears a scar across his brow from the time a member of the BCM attacked him during a row that broke out after he had joined the ANC camp.

The microworld of conflict, intrigue, stress and ideological struggle that existed within the prison's tall brown walls stretched the leadership and diplomatic skills of Mandela and his colleagues from the Rivonia days to the full.

Dan Montsisi, vice-president of the Soweto Students' Representative Council (SSRC) that led the youth uprising which swept South Africa in 1976, arrived on the Island without any clear political analysis.

"You must remember that in the 1970s there was an organisational vacuum. The liberation movements were in exile and not very active. It was rare to find a Freedom Charter in those days. We had to discuss politics in highly dangerous conditions. We were young. And we were still finding our direction," says Montsisi.

"We used to meet Mr Mandela and ask questions like: 'How come blacks throughout the world are either going through oppression or are always in places of submission?'"

"When Mr Mandela looked at this issue, he did not look at colour. He went into an overview of how societies developed ... sometimes he went as far back as the civilisations of Mesopotamia ... those sessions helped me to see that the question of colour is not the root cause of oppression."

There were many others, now civic leaders and trade union leaders in the



Morobe ... Mandela wished to listen to the young people



Lekota ... scarred in ideological clashes

Pictures: Afrapix
Mass Democratic Movement, who trace their political convictions to the guidance provided by Mandela and the ANC leaders who went with him to Robben Island after the Rivonia trial.

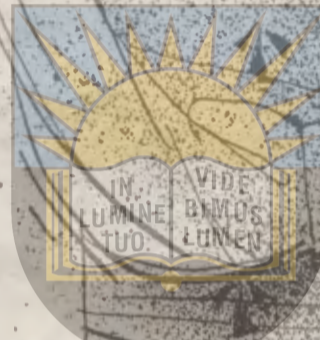
This was a crucial role played by Mandela and his colleagues: political training for many of the younger generation of anti-apartheid leaders.

Former SSRC president Murphy Morobe, now assistant publicity secretary of the United Democratic Front, arrived with Montsisi on the Island. "When my sentence was up, it was with some sense of regret. I felt I could have done with another few years of the political education I was receiving there.

"They were never in a hurry to express an opinion. Most of the time they wished to listen to the young people. With regard to debating issues, they would give whoever wanted a chance. Only when he was finished would they respond," says Montsisi.

"But you cannot really call it a debate to discuss issues with Mandela. Whatever you believed, you would eventually find yourself nodding your head and agreeing."

Mandela's esteem on the Island was not confined to ANC supporters. PAC stalwart Japhta Masemola, released with seven Rivonia trialists late last year, was the ANC's arch ideo-



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The prisoner who changed the rules

Weekly Mail columnist
THAMI MKHWANAZI spent three years in the same section of Robben Island prison as Mandela

POLITICAL prisoners on Robben Island were subjected to the same maze of regulations as those that controlled the daily lives of prisoners country-wide. But Nelson Mandela, or Madhiba, as Mandela was affectionately called by his clan name, changed the rules.

I spent three years in the same section of Robben Island he occupied while I was serving a seven-year sentence from 1980 to 1987.

When I met him on the Island he had not completely escaped the demands of old age. But he followed a tight schedule.

He got up three hours before the warden opened his cell at 7am. He meditated deeply before doing his press-ups as a warm-up for a series of gruelling exercises.

Once the door of his 2,5m square cell was opened he took his toilet bucket and walked down the passage, greeting individual fellow-inmates as he passed their cells toward the section's bathroom.

Revolutionary politics was the order of the day on the Island. It was during the cleaning of the buckets that Mandela, his Rivonia trial colleagues and other prisoners began to engage in political discussion.

Together with the others, Madhiba would take his bucket outside and leave it there for airing all day. He would immediately run fast around the cement courtyard. Clad in shorts, T-shirt and running shoes, Mandela jogged until he was wet. He then darted into the passage and into his cell, where he grabbed a skipping rope and dashed into a hall used for exercising. A boxer in his youth, he skipped, shadow-boxed, and did a variety of exercises.

Back in the bathroom, he discussed politics while taking a shower of brackish water with other inmates.

At breakfast, Madhiba sat on a long communal bench in a row with fellow-inmates. For breakfast he frequently sat next to Raymond Mhlaba, whom he called Ndobe, by his clan name. In the dining hall politics mixed well with soft porridge, bread and coffee.

Section B was occupied by those inmates the prison authorities con-

Graphic: DEREK BAUER

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logical rival on the island. One of his first acts of freedom was to visit a close personal friend in prison: Mandela.

"Mandela is a gentleman in the true sense of the word 'gentleman'. It doesn't matter if you differ, he is always polite. He never gets angry. All he will do is try and have the discussion as amicable as possible," says Masemola.

"I was in G Section, away from Mandela. But a prisoner always finds a way of dodging the regulations. We devised means to meet and discussed many general things.

"Unity was always uppermost in our minds. This was especially so when we heard that Zapu and Zanu had joined up in Zimbabwe. Whenever such things came up they triggered a discussion about unity."

Masemola stresses that there are

substantial differences that remain between the ANC and PAC. "One must not forget that the stumbling blocks which caused us to split in 1964 are still there and many of the young chaps on both sides are not in favour of us pooling our resources to fight our common enemy," he says.

"But I personally am inclined to think that if anyone can help create unity, it is Mandela."

Leading BCM strategist Saths Cooper, who spent five years in Section B with Mandela, agrees.

"In my experience he was a very affable fellow prisoner, able to get on with every person he met. He played a vital role in dampening the conflicts that broke out on the Island. Despite having ideological disagreements, he was able to maintain personal contact, says Cooper.

"Mandela can play a catalyst role in

bringing people together after he is released. He is a leading member of the ANC. But some people are statesmen. And Mandela is one of them."

But Cooper stresses that, although Mandela's skill and diplomacy in prison helped generate the near mythical image that the world has of him, it should be remembered that he is an ordinary man with frailties and weaknesses.

"In South Africa we tend to over-romanticise prisoners, mainly because there are very real heroes like Mandela," says Cooper.

"But we are the ones who have created the image of him (as being all-powerful). If there is disillusionment because he cannot deliver on the expectation to solve all our massive problems when he gets out, then that will be grossly unfair."

ANNOUNCING THE GREATEST RELEASE OF ALL TIME... "NELSON"!



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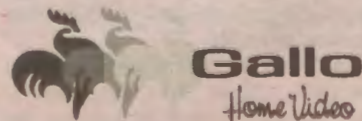
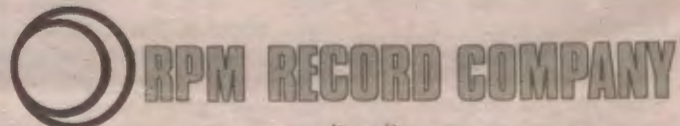
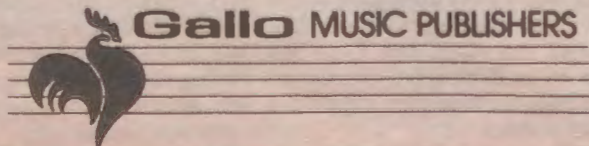


Gallo
GROUP OF COMPANIES

The love of music knows no boundaries, it's as universal as man ... that's why we as a group rejoice in Nelson Mandela's new found freedom.



SHISA



● From PAGE 21
sidered to be in the leadership of the various political organisations.

Notwithstanding the leadership role played by the Rivonia comrades and their being regarded with awe by the authorities and everyone, they were treated no different from the rest of the prisoners.

They too participated in the cleaning of the section. Mandela engaged in the normal work of scrubbing and polishing floors. When it was his "span's" turn to scrub the courtyard and bathroom floors, he donned his rubber boots and pushed pools of water with a squeegee.

Mandela's real love was his garden. With the assistance of men like Elias Motsoaledi, Mac Maharaj, Laloo Chiba and Theo Cholo, over the years he cultivated the area around the court-

yard, producing tomatoes, cucumbers, melons, and chillis.

Because his garden was unofficial and only had tacit approval by the authorities, it was impossible to acquire fertiliser. But he always had a way around problems. He decided to collect bones from inmates after meals and crushed them for fertiliser. When the trick worked, he arranged with the prison's main kitchen for a regular supply.

Soft spoken, Madhiba, who had the habit of saying "Okay, boy" to anyone and everyone, knew a good deal on almost every subject and was well versed on current political events in the world.

Cell number 7 in Section B was a hive of activity during the day. His cell was an office, conference room and sleeping quarters. He spent a lot

We sat on the back bench, watching movies. Mandela attended almost all the shows, but never lasted an entire movie. After a few catnaps, he would slip out ...

of time talking to fellow-inmates across the ideologies. He was a unifier. He was always consulted whenever disputes arose between inmates, be they political or personal.

As a former lawyer, he was consulted by prisoners seeking a way of

overcoming the difficulties they had in seeing their legal representatives. He often helped inmates draft the instructions they used to send to their lawyers outside prison. Often he paced up and down the courtyard discussing an issue with a fellow-inmate.

Mandela was so busy one often had to make an appointment in order to discuss important matters. His diary, though unwritten, was accurate.

He did not take matters lightly. Before a discussion he consulted the relevant literature, studying his notes, books from the section library or his own textbooks. A good writer, he often preferred to answer questions in lengthy papers.

The African National Congress leadership was from time to time required to write essays on varying political issues, be it for debate or for

use by cadres of the informal political classes in the ANC camp.

Madhiba read extensively from a variety of newspapers, including Afrikaans publications. His main interest was political economy. He borrowed books from the section library on this topic.

Then an LLB degree student, he used to sit quietly in his cell and study. He would rest his mind by sleeping for an hour after a demanding activity. I occupied the back bench with him and others during the screening of films in the section. He attended virtually all the movie shows, but never lasted through the entire movie. After a few catnaps, he quietly slipped out and relaxed in his cell or chatted with someone outside in the courtyard. I guessed old age

● To PAGE 27



The sign that has become symbolic.

In the final analysis a trademark is only as good as the product behind it.

This especially holds true for the Mercedes star.

Because behind it lies a successful tradition in building precisely engineered motorcars.

More than a hundred years ago Gottlieb Daimler sent a postcard to his wife on which he had drawn his house in Deutz and, above it, a star.

'This Star', he prophesied, 'will one day proudly rise over our factory'.

He and Karl Benz had laid the cornerstone for this.

In June 1909 the three-pointed star was registered as a trademark, and became a symbol for motorised transport on land, on water and in the air.

As a star within a ring, it was registered as a trademark in 1923.

Since that time - with barely any changes over the decades - it has adorned the products of Daimler-Benz AG. It has become the embodiment of all those virtues which have made

Daimler-Benz famous worldwide:

Achievement and quality. Progress and integrity. Innovation and reliability.

To own a trademark representing such high values carries a very special obligation.

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But the obligation goes beyond automotive considerations.

It requires us, as a company, to play a part in enhancing the social fabric of the communities in which we trade.

We are proud that the conscientious spirit of our founders is still much in evidence after a hundred years.

And that our people continue to make this inheritance from Karl Benz and Gottlieb Daimler the abiding principle by which they think and act.



WELCOME



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BACK

NELSON

MANDELA!

**THE STARS
WILL SHINE
BRIGHTER
TONIGHT**

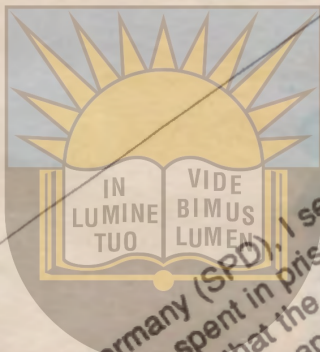


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**TOMORROW,
A BRILLIANT
FUTURE
BECKONS.**



SOLIDARITY WITH NELSON MANDELA



Dear Nelson Mandela

On behalf of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD), I send you our heart-felt greetings after all those many years you spent in prison, and assure you of our unswerving solidarity. We are happy that the South African government has finally yielded to the pressure from anti-apartheid groups in South Africa and all over the world to release you from prison. We are proud that we are among those who have demanded your release for many years.

I would have liked to write that we are happy to welcome you back in freedom. However, you are not being released into "freedom". You are being released into apartheid which denies true freedom to you and the majority of the people in South Africa. The prison walls have not been able to prevent you from becoming the moral leader of your people. All those who want to put an end to the current system of injustice are pinning their hopes on you now. The German Social Democrats will continue to support you and your struggle. The most important thing now is to convince the white minority that it is possible to find a peaceful solution to the conflicts in South Africa and that blacks and whites can live together in freedom and with equal rights. We will do whatever we can to help make this happen.

We send you our solidarity and our warmest greetings.
Dr Hans-Jochen Vogel,
Chairman,
Social Democratic Party
of Germany

S.P.D
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF
GERMANY

REACTION TO THE RELEASE

Thrilled responses to release

Reactions to the release of Mandela have been overwhelmingly good

OVERJOYED, excited, even stunned — these were the reactions of various people and organisations after they heard about Mandela's release.

Of course, there were exceptions: **Koos van der Merwe** of the Conservative Party, for example, who described the African National Congress leader's release as a "complete capitulation" by the government.

A representative of the ANC in Lusaka, **James Stuart**, said the news about Mandela's release was "very exciting".

"It is a turning point in our history. It certainly is a great victory for our people and for the ANC who have led the campaign for his release for many years," he said.

Stuart said the ANC expected Mandela in Lusaka soon to have discussions with the movement's National Executive Committee.

Tom Sebina of the ANC's information department was "stunned" by the news: "For us it is very, very welcome news. It is what we have been calling for so long."

"I believe it is another step (State President FW) De Klerk has taken towards creating conditions for negotiations."

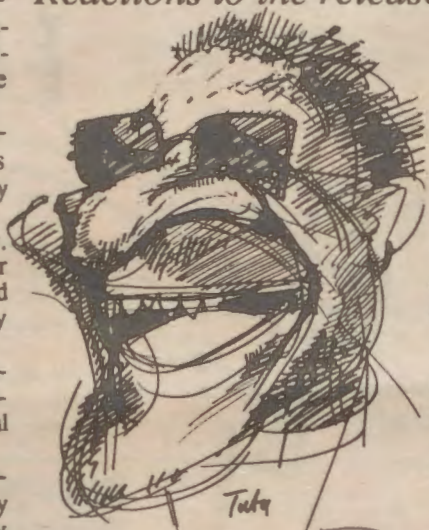
Meanwhile a representative of the organisation in London, **Frene Ginwalla**, said she believed De Klerk was "sincere" in his reform moves.

In an interview which was broadcast live on the BBC, she said, however, that the dispensation De Klerk was offering was still not the kind of democracy that the majority people wanted.

She said it was significant to note that despite the joy at Mandela's release, he would still not be a free man as he does not have a vote.

The leader of the Pan Africanist Congress, **Zeph Mothopeng**, said he was glad that Mandela was eventually free and was looking forward to meeting him.

"I am very happy that my colleague will be released and I am glad that most of the long-term political prisoners are out. I hope that even those remaining in prison will also be released," he said.



Tutu ... hope for general amnesty



Holomisa ... encouraged FW



Buthelezi ... 'overjoyed'

He said De Klerk was not only carrying out "reforms" for the international community, but also for the interest of the oppressed black South Africans.

PAC Administrative Secretary **Joe Mkwanzazi** said his organisation "welcomes the release of Comrade Nelson Mandela, who together with others, has languished in the racists' jails for so many years."

"While we rejoice that Mandela is now a relatively free person, the PAC has no praise for De Klerk."

The **United Democratic Front** described the release as a "great victory" for the people of South Africa.

"The release is an event which our people have the right to celebrate in the best and most dignified way befitting the stature of our leader."

A representative of the **Congress of South African Trade Unions** said: "We welcome the release of Comrade Mandela. We see his release as one of the greatest victories our people have scored in the march to freedom."

"We do not believe that at this stage

we need to relax our efforts to achieve the democratic country we have been fighting for. It must also be remembered that we need to intensify our struggle so that Comrade Oliver Tambo and all exiles should return without fear of persecution and that all political prisoners and prisoners of war should be released unconditionally."

The **South African Youth Congress** said the release was a result of the "unflinching struggle" which has been waged by progressive people inside and outside South Africa.

The **National Council of Trade Unions' Acting General Secretary**, **Cullingham Ngcukana**, said: "We do welcome the release of Mandela — that is what we have been waiting for and we hope he will play an important role within the liberation movement in finding consensus on the strategic question of negotiations."

Ngcukana added Nactu hoped that now that Mandela was out, the liberation movement would "stop pointing fingers at each other", would rise to the occasion and place the interests of

the country and the people above organisational interests.

A representative of the **Black Consciousness Movement**, **Muntu Myeza**, said Mandela's release "heralds a new era in our liberation struggle. For far too long our struggle has retrogressed than advanced."

"A contributory factor to the halt has been the jailing of our compatriots of whom Nelson Mandela has been the most prominent. We are alive to the fact that the real struggle for liberation has just begun."

The **Five Freedoms Forum** said Mandela's release was necessary for progress in this country. A representative said all white people should accept legitimate black leaders in their joint future with black South Africans.

Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town **Desmond Tutu** congratulated the state president for things "you have done and things you are going to do".

He said he was hoping for a general amnesty leading to the release of all political prisoners.

Tutu also thanked the international

community for the pressure it had mounted on the South African government for Mandela's release.

KwaZulu Chief Minister **Mangosuthu Buthelezi** said he was "overjoyed. Let our tribute to him be the one he would most want — the tribute of black unity."

Democratic Party leader **Zach de Beer** called on both blacks and whites to work together to build a future South Africa.

"Above all, blacks and whites will sink or swim together. Neither can succeed without the co-operation of the other," he said.

Said a spokesman for **British Petroleum Southern Africa**: "Mr Mandela's release will be an important step towards building a new South Africa and raises hope for progress in negotiating a fair and just democracy."

Shell South Africa said the release was "symbolic of the new hope being offered for a rapid and peaceful transition to a free, democratic, non-racial South Africa".

A former MP who visited Mandela in prison, **Helen Suzman** said she "absolutely delighted by the announcement".

Major General **Bantu Holomisa**, chairman of the ruling Transkei Military Council, welcomed Mandela's release and encouraged De Klerk to carry on with the reforms.

Foreign minister of the "homeland" of Bophuthatswana, **SL Rathebe**, said this "is the moment the whole of Southern Africa and the world have been waiting for".

The **Cape Action League** said: "We salute Nelson Mandela for his heroic contribution to the liberation struggle and welcome his release, but we demand the unconditional release of all political prisoners and granting of basic human rights to all the people of our country."

The secretary general of the South African Council of Churches, **Frank Chikane**, said it was clear that De Klerk was committed to creating conditions conducive to a negotiated settlement

Mzimkulu Malunga

The prisoner who broke all the rules

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was beginning to take its toll on him.

I sat and ate with him in his cell whenever it was my turn to discuss politics with him. He offered me what we called "niceties" — canned foods or nuts bought from the prison tuckshop by those inmates who had miraculously reached the highest notch of upgrading — A Group. A simple eater, Mandela would chew on some of the dry bread.

Mandela excelled in sports and indoor games on the island. Volley ball, lawn and table tennis, tennis, and chess were his favourites.

He was fond of classical music and jazz of the swing era. He sang tenor in a quartet during festive season celebrations. Other members of the quartet were Mike Dingake, Lekoto Masondo and Joe Gqabi, who was assassinated in Zimbabwe.

Mandela was a staunch believer in collective leadership and would not deviate an inch from the collective decision-making process of his organisation.

And he was not infallible. He was always ready to apologise or admit if he had erred. He could take criticism.

Like the rest of the prisoners, Mandela came in for his share of punishment for beating the regulations. He was often thrown into the prison within a prison. Along with Walter Sisulu and Govan Mbeki, he was often denied the "privilege" of study. He was accused of abusing the privilege by using his study pads to write politics.

But I never saw Madhiba angry. A good strategist, he always preached self-restraint

MANDELA

THE INSIDE STORY

HIGHER THAN HOPE

MANDELA
FATIMA MEER



"Mandela", is a revised extended biography of "Higher Than Hope". It's narrated by Fatima Meer who has known Mandela since the early 50's and this edition includes several new chapters based on personal interviews with him.

"Mandela", is soon to be published for only R34.99. Place your order now!

CNA

First with the goodies



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Liberate your mind.

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We suggest you inoculate yourself
against this particularly common scourge
with liberal doses of the truth.
Because truth, like surgery, may hurt.
But it cures.



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