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EPISCOPAL CHURCHPEOPLE for a FREE SOUTHERN AFRICA

Phone: (212) 477-0066

339 Lafayette Street
New York, N.Y. 10012

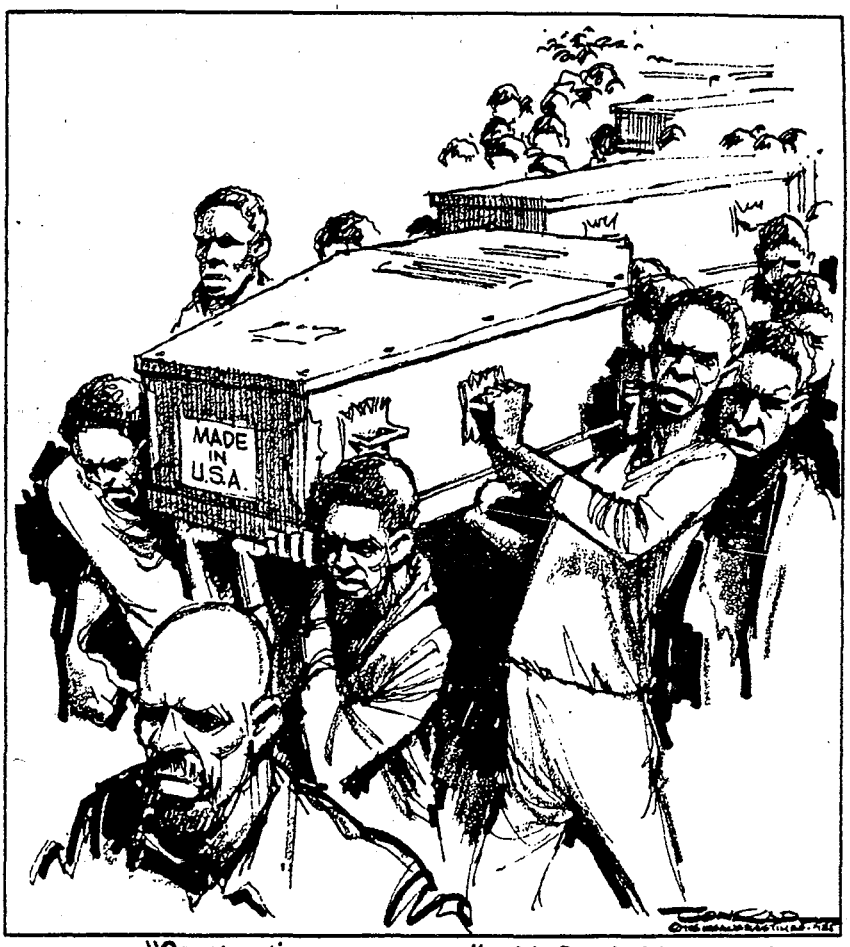
30 August 1985

THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE...

spread further this week, centering on Cape Town. The Rev Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and a vice president of the South African Council of Churches, had called for a peaceful march to Pollsmoor prison outside Cape Town to demand the release of African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela. The regime in Pretoria immediately redoubled its rounding up of members of the United Democratic Front. On the 27th Dr Boesak himself was arrested and flown to Pretoria into incommunicado detention. Police and army troops were brought in from around the country to smash the march. People were teargassed, whipped, clubbed, shot. Hundreds are detained. The townships around Cape Town are in flames. The killed in two days: 28.

Here in the USA, the State Department is dispatching teams across the land to explain the virtues of constructive engagement. A parallel effort comes from the Rev Jerry Falwell and his people who are encouraging investment in South Africa and support of Pretoria. But for the true story of South Africa, turn on your television.

We urge messages of support to those detained and killed, and their families. Address them in care of these regional offices:



"Constructive engagement" with South Africa
DETROIT FREE PRESS 21 August 1985

DURBAN AREA

Diakonia
P O Box 1879
Durban 4000
TELEX: 621403 SA

PHONE: 27-31-312.609

CAPE PROVINCE

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Cape
TELEX: 522381 SA

PHONE: 27-21-951.2763

JOHANNESBURG AREA

South African Council of Churches
P O Box 4921
Johannesburg 2000
TELEX: 486519 SA

PHONE: 27-11-282.251/8

THE GUARDIAN Thursday August 15 1985

Pretoria torturing emergency detainees, Amnesty charges

By our Foreign Staff

Amnesty International yesterday charged that detainees being held in South Africa under emergency regulations are being systematically tortured.

The organisation said last night that since the emergency was declared three weeks ago it had started receiving "disturbing" reports of torture being used at various detention centres. These were now coming in at the rate of dozens of reports a day, and two secretaries were kept fully occupied typing out case histories.

Among those being held, Amnesty says, are priests, students, and trade unionists. Its understanding is that arrests are now running at 70 to 100 a day, and that well over 1,400 political detentions had been reported since July 20.

A series of appeals from the organisation and its members have been sent to the South African authorities, including President Botha, demanding an end to the immunity granted to police and the military.

Prisoners are said to have been hooded, beaten, partially suffocated and given electric shocks to sensitive parts of their bodies. Others have been threatened with summary execution, with guns held against their foreheads.

There are also allegations that the police are once again resorting to the so-called "helicopter" torture, much used in previous years. This involves handcuffing the victim by the wrists and ankles, then hanging him upside down on a pole placed behind the knees, spinning him round and beating him.

Amnesty says that detainees are being held in the township of Soweto at the Protea police station, at several centres in the Port Elizabeth area, and elsewhere. Under emergency regulations, those in detention can be summarily punished with up to 30 days' solitary confinement or a whipping with a cane for violating any of 20 stated restrictions

The restrictions are wide-ranging, and include a ban on singing or whistling, and on making "false, frivolous, or malicious" complaints about treatment while being held. Prisoners going on hunger strike, Amnesty says, may be subjected to additional punishment.

Since large numbers of the detainees are being held incommunicado, with relatives being denied information as to their whereabouts, Amnesty is also demanding of the authorities that access should be granted by relatives, lawyers, and doctors — of the detainees' choice — and that detention should be in publicly recognised places.

It is also seeking the release of all those detained for non-violent criticism of the government and the release of all others if they are not to be given a prompt and fair trial.

THE WASHINGTON POST WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 21, 1985 A19

Meg Greenfield

Collision Course in South Africa

People who go to South Africa tend to become obsessed. I had not expected it to happen to me when I made the visit a few years ago. For one thing, I had set out with curiosity but little excitement. In truth I felt somewhat dutiful about the trip: it would be journalistically helpful. I had always been bored and unconvinced by the rush of romantic writing out of Africa, especially that of visiting enthusiasts who talked about the primal quality of the land and the dramatic torment of its people. And having read much about the difficulty of bringing South Africa's spectacularly unjust racial arrangements to a new and better pass, I expected to be one of those who returned with an on-the-one-hand-on-the-other point of view—"God, it's tough," I would say when people asked.

You know what's coming next. I think South Africa is the most possessing, poignant place I have ever been. I have not been able to get it out of my mind since. The country is not like the place you imagine before you get there or even like the one you imagine the first few days after you arrive. It is a stereotype destroyer. It is also a profoundly laminated place that reveals ever more interesting and surprising truths about itself as you probe. Little of this, I fear, is reflected in the current public argument over what this country's South Africa policy should be.

Start with general relationships between the races as viewed by the visitor. At first one is startled by two things: the unforeseen residue of animosity that continues to exist between the white South Africans of mainly Dutch and British descent and the equally unforeseen degree of easy racial mixing that appears to exist between blacks and whites in the big cities like Johannesburg. The latter impression, which lasts about three days, is based on the American's false assumption that urban South Africa is strictly segregated 24 hours a day. It is not. You might go to a private home where blacks and whites are guests at dinner. Some whites prove to be deeply involved in projects seeking to help black workers and to change, even dismantle, the apartheid system.

The races laugh about and curse each other with a peculiar intimacy, as in families that are coming apart.

But despite its importance and value, there turns out to be a Potemkin-village aspect to all this so far as the society as a whole and its fundamental system are concerned. You will find that the black dinner-party guests must leave early to return to the distant black area where they are compelled by law to live. You will observe that large numbers of black male workers in the Johannesburg area, whose lot and skills those friendly whites are seeking to improve, are compelled to live in all-male hostels, hundreds of miles from their families who are forbidden to live with them in the city. And if you move beyond the city yourself, you will see vast, terrible camps in barren spots to which uprooted blacks have been carted on government order, sites where tens of thousands of people may be forced to live in hastily improvised tin shacks because the Pretoria authorities have summarily decided that this is where they have to be.

So you move from an impression of surprising racial closeness to one of more predictable distance and alienation and you still aren't through. For behind both you will finally perceive a third element: a strange and wholly unexpected kind of intimacy between the alien peoples themselves. I don't know how else to describe it. It is tribal. It exists between the white European (English- and Afrikaans-speaking) tribes as well as between them and all the others—black, Asian, mixed—and the subtribes of each.

The whites and blacks and Asians and mixed-race people of South Africa seem to know each other preternaturally well, and those who are involved in the political play on all sides seem to have known each other forever. They laugh about and curse each other with this peculiar intimacy akin to what you hear when families are coming apart. When the outsider lambastes someone's antagonist, that someone is likely to correct the analysis, even softening some edges while sharpening others.

These are combatants who share recollections and knowledge no one else has access to. And knowing each other so long and so well, each seems to know that the other is not really like the stereotype hurled around in international discourse. He may in fact *be worse*, but he is flesh-and-blood real. It is one of the poignant aspects of the place: South Africans, black and white, seem to move toward a terrible destiny, fully aware of each other and full of regret, but with a stoic sense that this will be. You hear it in President Botha's dug-in resistance. You hear it in Bishop Tutu's lamentations of despair at what is coming.

It is no accident, I think, that South Africa has created a rich fictional literature that has points of contact with the great writings of 19th-century Russia, early 20th-century Ireland, the post-Civil War American South and much of Latin America now. It is, like those places, an almost neurotically self-absorbed and self-aware realm, a setting in which the interplay of the private individual and the larger political and cultural force inevitably comes to dominate the imagination. The Afrikaner talking about his people's repression in the aftermath of the Boer War reminds me of Southerners I knew in Washington 20 years ago who spoke of the Civil War in the same intense, resentful way, as if it had happened last Thursday. Blacks too put me in mind of those in a bygone American South running out of patience, knowing their tormentors much better than blacks in the North knew whites, knowing them to a point of contempt that almost compelled forgiveness.

But there will be no forgiveness in South Africa. This is an evil system, no less evil for being tragic, built on the compulsions of an insular and insolent shortsighted minority that has seemed driven to destruction—its own and that of the people it has repressed and sought to deform. So much could have been done . . . and wasn't. There was so much possibility there. Don't be fooled by attempts to portray this as a conflict between advanced, civilized people and savages. White South Africa was guilty of sustained, breathtaking savagery. God knows what now will follow. I don't know if there is still a chance for a just outcome. There once was.

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30 August 1985

DETENTIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA
starting from 23 August 1985

South African security police launched a new round of detaining raids following the announcement of a peaceful march to Pollsmoor to demand the release of African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela. The chief victims were members of the United Democratic Front, the nation-wide organization dedicated to a democratic, non-racial, unitary South Africa. These men and women are being held incommunicado under section 29 of the Internal Security Act -- indefinite detention 'for purposes of interrogation'.

The following lists contain what is known now of those detainees, and of others arrested on 28 August during the several attempts to march on Pollsmoor prison. The latter are said to be held for taking part in an illegal gathering.. Late reports say most of them are held at Pollsmoor, and that they suffer from lack of adequate water, food,blankets.

We urge Americans to contact their church leaders, congressional representatives, state and local officials and urge them to write President Reagan.

The needs of the detainees and their relatives is great. ECSA will accept contributions to send to help meet those needs

CAPE PROVINCE - Section 29

Rev Dr Allan Boesak	- President, World Alliance of Reformed Churches, vice-president, South African Council of Churches.
Rev Dr Richard Stevens	- Dutch Reformed clergyman, teacher at University of the WesternCCape; Ph D,Princeton Theological Seminary.
Yusuf Adams	- Western Cape regional treasurer, UDF
Salam Badat	- Grassroots organization
Graham Bloch	- regional official, UDF: Detainees Parents Support Committee; economics lecturer,University of Cape Town.
Ms Shirley Gunn	- Clothing Workers Union
Ms Mildred Lisea	- leader, United Women's Organization
Rev Sydney Luckett	Anglican priest; Board of Social Responsibility, diocese of Cape Town
Zollie Malindi	- UDF
Trevor Manuel	- UDF
Russell McGregor	- secretary, Students Representative Council, University of the Western Cape
Abdullah Omar	- trial lawyer for civil rights activists
Mr May Prins	- Grassroots
Willy Simmers	- chairman,Rocklands Civic Association,Mitchell Plains
Christmas Tinto	- UDF regional vice-president; ex-Robben Island
Abel Killkill	
Johnny Issell	
Ms Lucille Meyers	- executive member, UDF, Eastern Cape
Wilfrid Rhodes	
Stephen Tshwete	- UDF regional president, Eas tern Cape

(continued, over)

CAPE PROVINCE - sec. 29 (contd)

Mountain Gumbela	- Worcester
Matthews Kapa	"
Juan Karrim	
Miriam Moleleka	"
Donovan Peterson	"

NOTE: Oscar Mpetha, 75-year-old co-president of the United Democratic Front who has had two amputations on his leg and on bail during an appeal against a conviction of 'incitement', was arrested at 4 a.m. at his home in Langa outside Cape Town. He is held at Pollsmoor.

Arrested at Cape Town march, 28 August 1985

Rev Abel Hendrickse	- former preisdent, Methodist Church of South Africa
Rev Jan Der Waal	- Dutch Reformed clergyman;eyeglasses smashed into one eye by clubbing; three operations attempted to save his sight in that eye.
Rev David Russell	- Anglican priest, has served several banning orders.
Vernon Peterson	- Anglican layperson, Board of Social Responsibility
Rev Trevors Engel	- Moravian clergyman
Rev Per Svensson	- Lutheran pastor
Sister Arnia	- Roman Catholic nun
Sister Vogel	- Roman Catholic nun
Iman Sheikh Kabir	- Moslem priest
Robin Petersen	- Congregationalist layperson
Rev Shun Gobinder	- Dutch Reformed clergyman; exec.sec, Belijdende Kring
Rev Michael Weedner	- Anglican priest
Rev Charles Martin	- Congregationalist clergyman
Mark Leander	- theological student, University of Western Cape
Rev Chris Davis	- Anglican priest, Mitchell's Plain
Rev Charles Williams	- Anglican priest, Mitchell's Plain
Rev Peter Mentor	- African Methodist Episcopal clergyman

NATAL PROVINCE - Section 29

Dr Farouk Meer	- acting president, UDF
Yunus Mohamed	
Billy Nair	- Natal Indian Congress, ex-Robben Island prisoner
Patrick Themba Nxumalo	- National Federation of Garment Workers
Rev Patrick Kearney	- Roman Catholic priest; director, Diakonia,Durban
Rev Mcebisi Xundu	- Anglican priest, rector, Lamontville
Pravin Gordon	- NIC: Durban Housing Action
Ms Eunice Mkhize	- Durban Joint Rent Action Committee
Ms Ntombosama Botha	- Detains Parents Support Committee,
Joshua Mkabinda	
Kernick Ndlobu	- executive, UDF, Natal
Russell (Michael?) Mpanga	

JOHANNESBURG AREA - Section 29

Ms Amanda Kwadi	- UDF; Federation of African Women
Edwin Makui	
John Mohapi	- trade unionist

This list is incomplete. Detentions by the South African Police are constant and fast moving.

It is noted with joy that while this list was being prepared, word that Stephen Tshwete, UDF regional president in the Eastern Cape, eluded the security police and is underground.

25 AUGUST 1985

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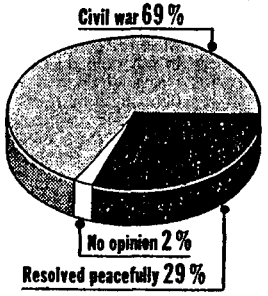
THE SUNDAY TIMES

Opinion in South Africa: A special Sunday Times poll

Sanctions: black support grows

Q. Will South Africa's problems be solved peacefully, or by civil war?



by Peter Godwin, Johannesburg, and David Lipsey

BLACK South Africans overwhelmingly support international economic sanctions against South Africa. A Sunday Times opinion poll carried out last week shows that 77% of blacks believe other countries should impose sanctions unless South Africa gets rid of apartheid.

This poll, covering a sample of 400 urban blacks, shows mounting radicalisation among blacks following the unrest in which 630 people have been killed. Civil war is expected by 69% of blacks even though a majority believes violence is not justified to bring about the end of apartheid.

Do you think that other countries are right or wrong to impose economic sanctions on South Africa unless South Africa agrees to get rid of the apartheid system?

Right	77%
Wrong	21%
No opinion	2%

The poll, carried out by Markinor, the Gallup affiliate in South Africa, was commissioned by Market & Opinion Research International (Mori) for The Sunday Times. It is the first detailed poll to be undertaken since the new constitution was introduced last year. This gave Coloureds and Indians, but not blacks, their own parliaments, and provoked violence in the black townships.

Only 29% of blacks polled now believe that a peaceful solution is possible in South Africa. Blacks from liberal Durban, women and those over the age of 50 are only marginally more optimistic than the black average. But there is a clear division over the use of violence to change apartheid. 52% believing it is not justified. However, this majority is based on strong opposition to violence among older blacks: 70% of those over 50 are against it. In the younger age groups, half those polled believe violence is justified to end apartheid.

The answers on violence and civil war may in some cases have been influenced by fear on the part of respondents that they might be reported to the authorities if they said they supported violence. It is possible, therefore, that the true support for violence may be greater than the poll suggests.

Some people say that violence is justified to change the South African apartheid system. Others say that violence is not justified. Which of these do you believe?

Violence is justified	43%
Violence is not justified	52%
No opinion	5%

However, one ray of hope is that eight out of 10 blacks still believe in the possibility of a multi-racial government ruling South Africa. Oddly, the strongest support for black and white working together in government comes from the 25-34 age group, which is also the most militant segment of the black population.

The black support for economic sanctions is a reversal of previous trends in South African polls, which have tended to show a slim black majority against sanctions. However, previous polls have concentrated specifically on disinvestment.

Blacks now support sanctions even though 48% of them

continued on page 2

Next week: what the Whites say

South Africa

continued from page 1

expect that they would suffer personally if sanctions were imposed, against 46% who believed they would not suffer personally. Blacks who had jobs were just as keen on sanctions as those who were unemployed. Support for sanctions was highest among the young, reaching 84% in the 25-34 age group.

In our poll, the most overwhelming response concerned Nelson Mandela, the African National Congress leader, who has been in prison for 25 years for treason: 90% of blacks polled believe he should be released "without any preconditions". Just 6% thought he should be released only on condition that he renounces violence (as President Botha has proposed) and 2% were against his release at all.

● Yesterday a meeting of EEC officials in Luxembourg was discussing possible European sanctions against South Africa.

● Scores of activists of the United Democratic Front in South Africa went into hiding yesterday after the arrest by police of 27 leaders of the UDF and its affiliates in countrywide raids on Friday night.

Mori/Markinor interviewed quota sample of 400 blacks in Johannesburg and Durban areas face-to-face between August 19 and 21. Data were weighted for representativeness. Mori/Sunday Times.

More details and how the poll was done, page 10

THE SUNDAY TIMES, 25 AUGUST 1985

Poll shows blacks oppose Botha's 'collaborators'

by Peter Godwin

A BIG majority of South African blacks reject the idea of working within the present structure of black urban councils and homeland governments, according to a Sunday Times poll of urban areas. This finding will be a blow to President P W Botha's present model of reform, which is based on these institutions.

Of blacks polled, 73% said they thought it was wrong to "work within the existing South African system by accepting positions on local councils and in homeland governments". Only 14% were prepared to concede that working within the system was justified.

During the recent violence, black councillors have been singled out for attack. Many have been killed and their property has been destroyed. The poll finding confirms the swing of black opinion against them.

When presented with a list of candidates for president, blacks gave most support to the imprisoned African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela: 49% of blacks say he would make the best for South Africa. Second, with 24%, came the Bishop of Johannesburg, Desmond Tutu. However, Tutu has ruled out any possibility of taking up any political position in the future. He told The Sunday Times last week that there were three reasons why clerics should stay out of politics: "Archbishop Makarios, Ayatollah Khomeini and Bishop Muzorewa."

The leader of the Kwazulu homeland, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, received a surprisingly low vote of only 6%. Even in the greater Durban area, the main city of Natal, from where Buthelezi draws most of his Zulu support, he attracted only 27% of the vote, half of Mandela's 47% in the same area. This will disappoint Buthelezi and his Inkatha movement, which many whites see as the most co-operative partner for future negotiations.

It also casts doubts on the feasibility of a multi-racial Natal based on partnership with the Zulu leader, an idea Buthelezi launched that is now being seriously considered by Botha.

Of the other candidates on the list, neither Botha nor his rightwing adversary, Andries Treurnicht, attracted significant black support. In the past Botha has claimed he enjoyed support of "responsible and law-abiding blacks".

Helen Suzman, a leading member of the Progressive Federal Party, the white opposition in parliament, attracted a surprisingly high 11% of votes. One of the explanations for this is that some blacks polled thought it unrealistic to nominate a black president so they voted for the most "acceptable" white candidate on the list.

The poll also showed that 59% of blacks would object in principle if a member of their family married a white person; only 36% said they would not mind. Legislation banning mixed marriages has only recently been eliminated from South Africa's statute book, and our poll suggests that blacks are almost as disinclined as whites to marry across the colour bar.

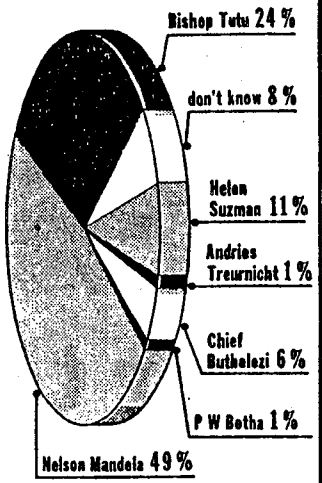
On a scale, ranging from "very happy" to "very unhappy", a vast majority of blacks said they were "very unhappy" with the apartheid system. The abolition of pass laws also attracted great support, with 79% of blacks in favour of their complete abolition, as opposed to 18% who believed they should only be amended to make them less severe. Almost no blacks were satisfied with the present system of pass laws.

On the subject of the sports boycott, 83% of those polled felt it was wrong for international sporting organisations to play against South African teams so long as apartheid persisted.

Looking to the future, 59% of blacks feel confident that apartheid will not exist in 10 years' time, against 29% who are not so hopeful.

In general, the findings of the poll show that blacks aged 16-34 are more radical than their elders. It also shows that blacks in the area around Durban, populated predominantly by Zulus and until recently one of the better areas for race relations, are more moderate and optimistic.

Q. Who would make the best president for South Africa?



The new black militancy is reflected in strong support for Nelson Mandela

Some blacks believe it is right to work within the existing South African system by accepting positions on local councils and in homeland governments. Other blacks believe this is wrong. Which comes closest to your view?

Right	14%
Wrong	73%
Neither	8%
No opinion	5%

Would you object or would you not object if a member of your family married a white person?

Yes, object	59%
No, not object	36%
No opinion	5%

Do you think that the apartheid system will or will not still exist in 10 years' time?

Will still exist	29%
Will not	59%
No opinion	12%

Do you think the pass laws for black South Africans should:

Stay as they are?	2%
Should be changed to make them less severe?	18%
Should be abolished?	79%
No opinion	1%

How the poll was handled

IS our poll reliable? The difficulties of testing opinion in a divided and violent country are obvious. So the most experienced South African poll company, Markinor (an affiliate of Gallup International), was chosen by Mori to do the fieldwork and its methods were closely supervised by The Sunday Times.

The pollsters interviewed 400 blacks. This is a smaller sample than is usual for political polling in Britain, where only a few percentage points divide the parties, but the maximum likely error is no more than +5% or -5% on each question.

The questionnaire was translated into all the main African vernaculars – Tswana, Sotho, Xhosa and Zulu. Fifty experienced interviewers, all black, conducted the interviews. A second check call was then made on at least one in five of those whom each interviewer had questioned, to make sure the work had been properly done.

The interviews were carried out between Monday and Wednesday, in the aftermath of P W Botha's controversial "reform" speech. Interviewers did report that more people than usual refused to be questioned: most said it was because they feared the poll was connected to the police or government. But the interviewers are unanimous that the poll *does* provide an accurate reflection of black opinion.

Three-quarters of the interviews were carried out in the Johannesburg, Reef and Pretoria areas and a quarter in Durban, districts containing 79% of the metropolitan black population. All interviews were done face-to-face. It was not possible to poll in the troubled East Cape, for fear of the interviewers' lives; opinion there is likely to be more radical still. But only 11% of metropolitan blacks live there.

Rural blacks were not polled. Studies have shown that they tend to be less well informed than urban blacks, whose political lead they generally follow.

The Washington Post

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MONDAY, AUGUST 26, 1985

BY PETER MUGABANE FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Winnie Mandela, from behind a fence, displays a photo taken of her with husband Nelson Mandela shortly before his imprisonment 23 years ago.

Mandela Finds Forum in Jail

Absence Adds to Stature

By Allister Sparks
Special to The Washington Post

JOHANNESBURG, Aug. 25—The earnest young man in a yellow T-shirt that proclaimed his membership in a black political movement paused for a moment from the singing, chanting ritual of the big funeral rally to answer his questioner. "Nelson Mandela is my leader," he said in tones of reverence. "He is a great man. He is going to lead our people to freedom."

He could not have been more than 16, which meant he had never seen the subject of his admiration nor heard him speak. Nelson Mandela, 67, the acknowledged leader of South Africa's main black nationalist movement, the outlawed African National Congress, was imprisoned for life 23 years ago for sabotage.

Since then, only Mandela's family have been allowed to visit him regularly and only an occasional

ASSOCIATED PRESS

Nelson Mandela, now 67, as photographed in 1961. He is serving a life term plus 5 years.

seeped through the controls and gag laws that enclose his cell.

Yet, instead of fading from memory as the government hoped when it sent him to a windswept prison off Cape Town in August 1962, Mandela's fame has grown with the years into a legend that has assumed an almost messianic importance to many of the 21 million blacks who live under the apartheid system of white-minority rule.

The swelling demand for his release could lead to a major confrontation Wednesday as Allan Boesak, a pastor who plays a prominent

MANDELA, From A1

role in the black activist movement, prepares to lead 20,000 demonstrators in a march to Cape Town's Pollsmoor Prison, where Mandela now is held, in defiance of a warning by Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange that the march is illegal and police will stop it.

It is not only the militant youth who respond to the Mandela legend. Even black political opponents, including conservatives who work within the apartheid administration and are despised by the ANC, acknowledge it and join ritually in the calls for Mandela's release. To do otherwise would be seen as an act of sacrilege in the black community.

An opinion poll published in a Johannesburg newspaper today showed that more than 90 percent of the country's blacks want Mandela released unconditionally. "He has become the symbol of our people," said Nobel Peace laureate Bishop Desmond Tutu. "His imprisonment represents their oppression. His self-sacrifice is what we would all like to be in resisting that oppression, and his release has come to symbolize the liberation they are longing for.

"It may seem almost childish, but the faith in him is so complete that somehow I think people believe that if he were to come out, things would be all right."

Lucas Mangope, president of the nominally independent tribal "homeland" of Bophuthatswana, said, "Freeing Mandela unconditionally would make it possible for the government to unban the ANC and start negotiating with it."

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, the influential Zulu leader who also heads a homeland administration, has made similar calls for Mandela's release, but his declared hostility toward the African National Congress suggests that he has greater respect for the personal symbol than for Mandela's political policies.

Mandela's stature among his own people and his growing reputation abroad have become major political problems for the Pretoria government, which now finds itself involved in a sort of shadow negotiation with its prisoner over the conditions under which he might accept his own release and over the policies of his outlawed organization.

For seven months, a kind of dialogue has been going on through the media between Mandela and President Pieter W. Botha as first one, then the other, has defined his position—Mandela speaking through members of his family and other occasional visitors and the president replying in major public pronouncements. This spectacle of the long-term political prisoner forcing his chief jailer to respond to him, and thereby increasing the international pressures on the white government, has added to Mandela's reputation.

In a way, said Tom Lodge, a specialist in black politics at Johannesburg's Witwatersrand University, the Botha government has become Mandela's prisoner, trapped in the choices it faces over what to do with the growing legend in its cell.

"On the one hand, it would like to demythologize him by releasing him," said Lodge. "It is also worried that he may die in prison, which would cause a massive black reaction.

"On the other hand, it is worried about the impact he would have on the black population if he were released to become politically active again. And Mandela is not making it easy for them. He is playing it tough, refusing to accept any conditions and making it clear that he will not renounce the ANC or any of its policies."

Last December, Mandela rejected a government offer to release him into the Transkei tribal homeland, which is run by a relative, Chief Kaiser Matanzima. Mandela made it clear he would accept no restrictions, nor have anything to do with what he regards as puppet states established under the apartheid system.

In February, Botha offered to free him if he would renounce the ANC's commitment to guerrilla struggle. Again he rejected the offer out of hand.

"Only free men can negotiate. Prisoners cannot enter into contracts," he said in a statement read for him at a rally in Soweto by his daughter, Zindziswa, 23, adding that "I cannot and will not give any undertaking at a time when I, and you the people, are not free."

His wife, Winnie Mandela, 52, who has herself been restricted during the 23 years, said in an interview yesterday: "If they were to release him unconditionally, he would come right back here to Soweto and pick up where he left off when he was sent to prison. He would completely disregard the banning of the ANC and all the other laws imposed on him by a government he does not recognize.

"I do believe he would be back in prison within hours."

By the accounts of those who knew him before, and the few who have seen him in prison, the figure behind the legend is a man of considerable presence—tall, now gray-haired, vigorously healthy, with a dignified bearing that visitors describe as being incongruous in the prison surroundings.

"Throughout our meeting I felt that I was in the presence not of a guerrilla fighter or racial ideologue, but of a head of state," wrote Samuel Dash, former chief counsel to the Senate Watergate Committee and now a director of the International League of Human Rights, who saw him last January.

Helen Suzman, a white liberal South African member of Parliament who has been his most frequent visitor outside the family, described him as "quite indomitable," with a warm, outgoing personality. "There is nothing withdrawn or depressed about him."

Even the white prison warders show him respect, according to Neville Alexander, who spent 10 years with Mandela in a small "leadership group" of political prisoners who were separated from the others on Robben Island, where Mandela was held until he was moved with four others to Pollsmoor Prison, outside Cape Town, three years ago.

Alexander, a Colored (mixed race) intellectual strongly opposed to the ANC politically, recalled "the quite outstanding force of Mandela's personality .... He effortlessly attracts people and for most of them inspires total veneration."

Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela was born on July 18, 1918, a prince of the royal house of Tembuland, which now falls within Transkei. Some think his royal upbringing freed him at an early age from the emotional and intellectual shackles of second-class citizenship and helped build the assured manner he later displayed.

As a student at the black university of Fort Hare he is said to have become convinced that the prospect of tribal rule was not to his liking. He became involved in African nationalist politics and was expelled for helping to organize a student strike.

Mandela distanced himself still further from the tribal system when he fled from an attempt by the Tembu chiefs to arrange a marriage for him. He went to Johannesburg, where for a time he worked as a policeman for a gold-mining company, patrolling the huge compounds where the black miners are housed.

Mandela eventually became apprenticed to a firm of white lawyers and later established his own law firm in partnership with Oliver Tambo, a lifelong friend who is now the president of the ANC in exile.

Tambo and Mandela rose rapidly together through the ranks of the ANC, the oldest black nationalist movement on the African continent. Founded in 1912, the ANC at that stage was still a moderate, almost deferential organization whose leaders petitioned the white government politely for a better deal but never dreamed of seeking majority rule.

When a white Afrikaner nationalist government came to power in 1948 and tightened segregation with its apartheid ideology, the two young lawyers formed a militant wing called the Youth League and soon imposed its views on the old organization. "Mandela showed at an early stage that he had a good analytical mind and a sense of long-term strategy that not many of his generation displayed," said Lodge.

Mandela and Tambo foresaw that the ANC might have to operate underground, and in the mid-1950s Mandela devised a program, called the M-Plan, for establishing cells on every street in the black townships that would enable the organization to continue functioning if its national and branch leaders were imprisoned.

"If the ANC had managed to implement the M-Plan properly, the government would have found it much more difficult to crush its organizational structure after banning it in 1960," Lodge noted.

As the government began closing in on the increasingly militant organization, Mandela was first given a suspended sentence for organizing a campaign of civil disobedience, then silenced and restricted in his movements with a banning order under a catch-all security law called the Suppression of Communism Act. Put on trial for treason, he and 155 codefendants were acquitted after four years.

In the international outcry that followed the police shooting of 69 passive resisters in the black township of Sharpeville in 1960, the government outlawed the ANC. The organization, which until then had waged Gandhi-style passive resistance campaigns to try to pressure the government into ending apartheid and calling an all-race convention to write a new constitution, decided that peaceful methods were no longer possible.

The ANC has long had an alliance with the small, predominantly white South African Communist Party, which was outlawed in 1950 and today receives arms and other aid for its guerrilla forces from the Soviet Union.

There are several known Communists on the ANC national executive committee, the most conspicuous being Joe Slovo, a white who once was a leading lawyer in Johannesburg. But both Mandela and Tambo have denied that the ANC is itself Communist, as Pretoria claims.

Samuel Dash wrote after seeing Mandela that the imprisoned leader dismissed charges that the ANC was controlled from Moscow and "emphasized the congress' independence and discipline, comparing its Communist members to radicals in Britain and other western democracies."

Announcing the 1960 decision to switch to guerrilla struggle in what was to be his last public speech, Mandela, then a provincial president of the ANC, went underground and formed a military wing called the Spear of the Nation.

As its first commander, Mandela slipped abroad to arrange training facilities in Algeria and undergo a brief training course himself. He returned to South Africa to a daredevil underground existence, tales of which have added greatly to his romantic image among blacks.

Dubbed the "Black Pimpernel" by the South African newspapers, Mandela dodged the police for 18 months, issuing statements and giving clandestine interviews. His biographer, Mary Benson, recalls how an amused Mandela drove her around Johannesburg, playing the role of her black chauffeur.

Secret meetings were arranged with his young wife, whom he had married only months before he went underground. Winnie Mandela recalls one occasion when a black ambulance driver took her, posing as a woman in labor and with his siren wailing, through a police barrier to a house where Nelson was hiding.

Eventually Mandela was caught and sentenced to five years' imprisonment for incitement and for leaving the country illegally.

A year later he was back in court, this time as the main defendant in a trial, on charges of sabotage, featuring the entire high command of the Spear of the Nation: blacks, Asians and whites caught on a small farm near Johannesburg. All were sentenced to life imprisonment.

The trial was probably the most important single event contributing to the Mandela image. With crowds attending court each day, he conducted himself, in the words of a defense lawyer, "in a manner that was almost regal," ending with a Socratic address to the court that has become part of the litany of the black resistance.

Mandela spoke of his ideal of a democratic and free society in which all people could live together in harmony and with equal opportunities, then declared: "It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die."

His long incarceration has honed that message. There has been no act of compromise or misjudgment to tarnish the image of self-sacrifice. His invisibility has added to the mystique.

There, for a time, the story seemed to end. The ANC, its leaders jailed and its organization broken by extensive grass-roots arrests, seemed no longer to exist as a viable political movement, above or below ground. The Spear's guerrillas made occasional bomb attacks, and were usually caught almost immediately.

Mandela and his colleagues toiled in gravel pits on Robben Island through wet winters, lashed by winds blowing from Antarctica. Life imprisonment for political prisoners in South Africa means life, with no parole, and Mandela's sentence was life plus five years.

From the moment Mandela went to prison, however, the ensign of defiance was taken over by his wife.

Nomzamo Winnie Madikizela was only 20 when she left a remote rural district in the Transkei and traveled to Johannesburg to become the first black woman in the country to qualify as a medical social worker. She knew little of politics but when she met Mandela, then 35, she says she immediately fell in love.

It was not much of a preparation for the life to follow, and Winnie Mandela admits today that she had little idea of what awaited her.

On the day Mandela was sentenced to life imprisonment, Mrs. Mandela emerged smiling on the steps of the provincial Supreme Court building in Pretoria, the capital and Afrikaner heartland, wearing a full-length ocher robe of her Tembu tribe with a matching turban. The black crowd in the square below cheered her.

She has continued her role of defiance, although she has lived under restriction orders limiting her movements and prohibiting her from being in the company of more than one person at a time.

Eight years ago she was banished to the remote country town of Brandfort in Orange Free State Province, 250 miles south of Johannesburg. She is currently defying this restriction and living in Johannesburg following the firebombing of her home and clinic by unknown assailants 12 days ago.

She has been subjected to frequent police raids, has been charged almost every year with breaching her restriction orders, and has been imprisoned several times.

"Winnie Mandela has made a major contribution to Nelson's image," said Tutu. "They have become a symbolic couple with their incredible strength and refusal to be broken."

While their political rhetoric is strident and unyielding, the two Mandelas reveal a different side of themselves when speaking of their own relationship. The language of Mandela's letters to his wife in particular would almost seem more appropriate to a Victorian novelist than to a man regarded as a hardened revolutionary.

"Your love and patient support have given me so much strength and support," he wrote in a recent letter, "yet there have been moments when that love and happiness, that trust and hope, have turned into pure agony, when conscience and a sense of guilt have ravaged every part of my being, when I have wondered whether any kind of commitment can ever be sufficient excuse for abandoning a young and inexperienced woman in a pitiless desert, literally throwing her into the hands of highwaymen; a wonderful woman without her pillar and support at times of need."

Winnie Mandela speaks in longing tones of what life might have been. Their silver wedding anniversary was last year, but she estimates that they have spent a total of only four months together, in broken spells.

"It has been a great marriage," she said with a slow smile, "the marriage of the century. But I still feel like that young girl of 20 when I first met him, still looking forward to being married to him and living with him and our family."

It was Winnie Mandela who last Wednesday conveyed the latest message from her husband in the strange dialogue between him and Botha, a hard-line statement that he would refuse to join a constitutional convention with the government if it released him.

"The only thing that is left to be discussed by the people of this country and the ruling Afrikaners is the handing over of power to the majority," she quoted him as saying.

The statement dismayed white liberals and some members of what is known as the "enlightened" wing of Botha's National Party who see Mandela as the only black leader with across-the-board support in the fragmented black community and say the only way to avoid the looming prospect of an all-out racial confrontation is for the government to strike a deal with him.

In fact, Mandela restated the ANC's decision that he had spelled out before going underground nearly 25 years ago, abandoning the quest for a constitutional convention and committing itself to trying to overthrow white-minority rule by violent struggle. The congress formally endorsed that decision at a conference held in exile in Morogoro, Tanzania, in 1969.

"I think what Mandela was doing in the light of all the speculation was to make it clear that if he is released he will come out as a member of the ANC who is still committed to its policies and will not turn against the leadership in exile," Lodge said.

Lodge also suggested that Mandela was responding to a hardening of black attitudes during the current wave of racial unrest, in which more than 600 blacks have died, and following the government's declaration of a state of emergency July 21 that has led to more than 2,200 arrests in the black ghettos.

Winnie Mandela hinted that her husband's refusal to negotiate is not immutable. "If the government abandons apartheid, lifts the ban on the ANC, releases all political prisoners and allows the exiles to return, then Nelson and the other ANC leaders would be prepared to sit down and talk," she said yesterday.

Botha seems a long way from considering that. He has ruled out the one-person, one-vote formula the ANC demands and made it clear that the only changes he is prepared to consider allow for little more than black participation and consultation in the current political system.

How apartheid hit the rand

from PATRICIA SIDLEY in Johannesburg

THURSDAY night's thunderously anti-climactic speech by President P. W. Botha left the rand at an all-time low of $0.385.

It was a signal of the disappointment with which the speech was greeted in those quarters with the most staked on a clear statement of intent to restore confidence to South Africa's ailing economy.

'He fluffed his date with destiny,' said Tony Bloom, chairman of Premier Group, the company which was held by British Associated Foods until three years ago.

Echoes of similar disappointment have come from the deputy chairman of Anglo American Corporation, Julian Ogilvie-Thomson, and Dr Zac de Beer, chairman of the building company subsidiary of Anglo LTA, which has recently been the target of anti-apartheid moves by the Australian Government.

Normally conservative business groupings have criticised Botha, as have those which see themselves as in the forefront of reform. *Business Day*, a business' daily newspaper which reflects the more conservative views of business, has pressed for Botha's resignation in a front page editorial. 'Botha had a chance to talk to people, not only in South Africa, but most importantly to the rest of the world,' says Bloom. 'He has grossly underestimated the receptiveness of the business community and most whites and blacks, for change. It's a grave setback.'

Ogilvie-Thomson was 'disappointed, if only because the circumstances of the country seemed to call for new initiatives.'

But he said he was pleased to note the improvements in the economy, and to hear a reaffirmation of reform from Botha. He continued: 'One would hope the Government would soon come forward with the implementation of positive proposals on citizenship and influx control, the latter of which is so unacceptable in so far as we are meant to practise free enterprise.'

Businessmen are not only disappointed but also divided over what Botha actually said —or meant to say. Bloom saw little valuable commitment in the speech and said the interpretation of those who saw commitments in it were simply wrong.

He had his own list of demands which would have eased the situation both domestically and taken some of the outside pressure off. This includes: talking to 'popular and elected' black leaders to devise a formula for bringing blacks into the constitutional future of the country, a timetable for the elimination of all forms of statutory discrimination from all walks of life, including access to freehold title, an end to forced removals, an end to influx control laws, and citizenship rights for all and a return to the rule of law.

The association of Chambers of Commerce (ASSACOM) and two more conservative groupings, the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut (AHI) — which represents Afrikaans business interests — and the Federated Chamber of Industries (FCI) all found reason to tentatively welcome certain aspects — but all reflected the disappointment and concern of the business community.

ASSOCOM said it would have liked to have seen much more emphasis on the urgent need for visibly effective dialogue between goverment and black leaders across the political spectrum to promote stability.

The view that business is in the forefront of change in South Africa is not shared by many blacks, and this has expressed itself in the current wave of boycotts against white businesses.

This is emphasised by Bishop Tutu's response to Botha's speech which effectively gave notice that he believes sanctions should be imposed soon.

Organised business has met cabinet ministers and the president on several occasions in the past fortnight about boycotts, strikes and the emergency. As the success of the boycott strategy bites deeper into white business margins and the State's handling of it becomes more repressive, more meetings are schedued. Leaks at high government level lead to stories and speeches reflecting an almost hysterical hopefulness that help was around the corner for the beleaguered business community. This was dampened later by Botha's speech.

The rand is consistently breaking records as it plunges into unexplored depths, inflation is at a high it reached only once before of 16 per cent, South Africa is being pressed to pay back its short-term debt and unemployment is at record highs with up to 30 per cent of rural blacks unemployed.

In contrast, Harry Oppenheimer, former chairman of Anglo American, at the Urban Foundation, said this week, there was 'no real reason for gloom or despondency. He added that material conditions in the townships had improved and the mood in the country had moved towards a greater willingness to accept radical changes.

☐ ***TRAFALGAR HOUSE is believed to have expressed an interest in acquiring Vosper Thorneycroft, the warship maker being divested by British Shipbuilders. The sale is being handled by Lazard Brothers. Interested parties had to make an approach by last Friday. The Vosper management, advised by County Bank, is also believed to have made a pitch. Lazard hopes to conclude a deal by October.***

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Black miners' strike looms in S. Africa

BY MICHAEL HOLMAN AND JIM JONES IN JOHANNESBURG

SOUTH AFRICA appeared to be heading yesterday for a major strike by black miners on the country's gold and coal mines, while political tension rose further with the arrest of the eldest son of Bishop Desmond Tutu, the Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, and at least 27 leading anti-apartheid activists over the weekend.

The combination of a strike threat, the arrests, an illegal protest march due to take place in Cape Town tomorrow, and the funerals this weekend of 19 victims of political violence present the Government with its most testing period since the state of emergency was imposed on July 20.

The arrest of Mr Trevor Tutu followed an incident in a Soweto magistrates court where hundreds of young black schoolchildren faced charges of illegally boycotting their classes. In the course of proceedings, Mr Tutu is said to have described the prosecution of the students as "a shame" and "a joke."

He was escorted out by a policeman with whom a further exchange took place. Mr Tutu was then arrested and subsequently detained for 14 days under the country's emergency regulations, his lawyer said last night.

Officials of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), which represents 150,000 of the country's 550,000 black gold and coal miners, said yesterday that a majority of its members appeared to have rejected last week's fresh pay offer by mining companies and would opt for strike action due to begin on Sunday. The NUM is expected to give its formal response to the companies tomorrow morning.

Last Thursday, the companies represented by the Chamber of Mines dropped their united front and offered what amounted to bilateral deals with the union, led by Anglo American whose new terms came significantly closer to the union's demand for a 22 per cent increase. But another leading mining house, Gencor, refused to shift from the 14.1 – 19.6 per cent wage increases which all the mining companies implemented in July.

Union officials described the development as an attempt to divide the union, which is strongest on Anglo American mines. The company reported yesterday that police were investigating an explosion on its Western Holdings mine near Welkom. Nobody was injured.

The threatened strike could undo recent government moves to restore confidence in the South African economy and heighten investors' unease which even before the political turmoil of the past few weeks has led to a substantial net outflow of capital. The 1985 annual

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Black miners' strike looms in S. Africa

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report of the Reserve Bank, published this week, shows that foreign investors made net sales of securities totalling R236m ($95m) in the second quarter of the year, reversing the trend of the previous nine months when they had been net purchasers.

Although no official figures are available since the end of June, Johannesburg stockbrokers estimate that the net outflow exceeded R100m in the week after the declaration of the emergency and has since escalated.

However, total long and short-term capital outflows in the second quarter fell sharply to R9m from R2.45bn in the first quarter, the Reserve Bank said.

The bank's report for the year ended June 1985 says that the current account balance of payments moved to a surplus of R5.4bn in the second quarter of 1985 from a deficit of R2bn in the corresponding period of 1984.

WISDOM FROM THE FINANCIALLY EXPOSED IN SOUTH AFRICA

'Generally, it's "do not panic", but if you do panic, be the first one.'

- Senior New York banker, FINANCIAL TIMES, 29 August 1985

Financial Times Thursday August 29 1985

How South Africa came close to debt default

By Jim Jones in Johannesburg

SOUTH AFRICA came perilously close this week to becoming the world's latest major problem debtor, a spectre which has receded only slightly with the temporary suspension of foreign exchange and stock market transactions.

It can only be removed entirely if foreign banks are prepared to close their eyes to the country's political turmoil and focus solely on economic fundamentals.

The mathematics of South Africa's brush with international loan default are simple. The country owes about $17bn (£12bn) in foreign debt, of which about $12bn is short-term and, in theory liable for repayment within a year. At the end of July the country's Reserve Bank had about 6.43m ounces of gold in its vaults—worth about $2.1bn at the current gold price—and liquid foreign assets of Rand 630m (£180m).

According to Dr Gerhard de Kock, the Reserve Bank governor, South Africa's surplus on the current balance of payments is likely to amount to about Rand 5bn this year and, as a result, the country could afford to service its foreign borrowings and meet about Rand 400m a month in loan capital redemptions.

In a nutshell, South Africa either reaches some form of agreement with its foreign creditors or defaults on its loans. The face-saving device of "rescheduling" is not possible while foreign banks such as Chase Manhattan maintain their publicly stated determination to reduce their South African exposure.

In South Africa's case any temporary arrangements with lenders are unlikely to dissipate the extreme crisis of confidence which cut the rand's external worth to an all-time low of $0.35 on Tuesday. Foreign lenders are likely to maintain their exposure only if they are locked in by a South African refusal to repay loans or if their confidence is maintained. The latter alternative appears highly improbable under current conditions.

For the present South Africa's best option lies in some pretty hard horse trading. One bank economist in Johannesburg estimates that the crisis could be overcome if South Africa entered into a $1bn gold swap with other central banks and/or arranged direct credit lines with other central banks which permitted it to service and repay its short-term borrowings on time. Essentially, of course, that would mean central banks accepting lending risks which commercial banks in their own or other countries are unwilling to bear, something the U.S. Federal Reserve has been reluctant to allow over Latin American debt.

Special direct assistance by the U.S. Federal Reserve would almost certainly elicit calls from American anti-apartheid groups for corresponding political concessionsf rom an increasingly obdurate South African Government.

The most likely immediate outcome of domestic and foreign negotiations over the next few days will be extension of additional central bank facilities to the South African Reserve Bank combined with persuasion of foreign commercial banks to continue rolling over current lines of credit.

This, though, will be a temporary palliative. Longer term there remains the problem of the continuing capital flight which threatens the country's economic recovery. For the present, bankers in Johannesburg stick to the view that the current temporary measures will not be followed by strict foreign exchange and import controls. Nevertheless they do concede that some tightening of the foreign exchange relaxations made since February 1983 is inevitable.

In Johannesburg a growing view is that the world's bankers may need to support South Africa for fear that a default would trigger off or set a precedent for defaults by other debtor nations.

South Africa is a comparatively small borrower by Latin American standards. However, if it were to halt loan repayments without rescheduling the balance sheets of several major commercial banks could be badly damaged.

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