

Releases will alter political scenario

By PATRICK LAURENCE

The pending release of eight top political prisoners has set the scene for the *de facto* unbanning of the African National Congress or, as one foreign observer put it, the emergence of an "internal ANC".

Seven of the eight prisoners whose imminent release was announced by President de Klerk fall clearly within the ANC camp. The only exception is Mr Jeff Masemola, a stalwart of the rival Pan-Africanist Congress.

The unconditional release of the eight men will take place in the midst of a groundswell process in which the outlawed ANC and PAC are gradually resurfacing from underground.

The ANC's re-emergence as a political force was foreshadowed in the talks in July between jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela and former President P W Botha. It gained momentum with each public display of the black, green and gold ANC flag during protest marches through South African cities last month.

The PAC's partial reappearance from its subterranean existence into the publicly observed political arena started with release late last year of its president, Zephania Mothopeng.

Since he was freed, Mr Mothopeng has been freely quoted by the press as the PAC president; indeed, he was the author of an article in the Sunday Star last weekend on the futility — as he saw it — of the protest marches.

By allowing the PAC to articulate its views through no less a person than its ailing but tough-minded president, the authorities were indirectly but unmistakably signalling their willingness to allow the PAC to emerge from its existence as a proscribed organisation.

Freedom Charter

The implications for the now widely expected release of Mr Mandela are obviously important; it establishes a precedent for him to talk as the leader of a formally outlawed organisation.

The unconditional release of the eight political prisoners — who include five of the men sentenced to life imprisonment with Mr Mandela in 1964 — implies that they will be free to speak out politically; with the exception of Mr Masemola, their statements will propagate the ideas of the 1955 Freedom Charter, the ideological linchpin of the ANC and the UDF.

Reading between the lines of Mr de Klerk's statement announcing the release of the eight, it is clear that their freedom is a prelude to Mr Mandela's.

Mr de Klerk said in part: "Mr Nelson

Mandela is fully apprised of these proposed releases ... Discussions were held with him and he confirmed that his release is not now on the agenda."

The unmistakable inference is that Mr Mandela's freedom will be on the agenda once his co-prisoners are freed and provided their return to the political arena does not lead to violence. The purpose in freeing the eight is to facilitate the smooth and non-violent return to political life of Mr Mandela.

As a diplomat put it, the hope is that the ANC leaders will, on their release, act as a collective stabilising influence; a great deal of weight is being attached, it seems, to the belief that Mr Walter Sisulu, the former ANC secretary general, will, in particular, use his immense authority to keep the atmosphere as calm as possible.

Negotiated settlement

But the freeing of Mr Mandela is a means to an end: a negotiated settlement to South Africa's conflict.

As Mr de Klerk and his chief constitutional negotiator, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, are only too aware, the release of all political prisoners — including and especially Mr Mandela — has been set as a fundamental precondition to negotiations by a wide range of political forces, stretching from Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to the exiled leaders of the ANC and PAC.

Thus, the scheduled freeing of the eight, and the expected emancipation of Mr Mandela after more than 27 years as a prisoner, sets the stage for initial talks between the Government and a wide range of anti-apartheid forces; barring some unforeseen development, the anti-apartheid camp at these "talks about talks" will include representatives of an "internal ANC" or an "ANC tendency", if not the ANC as such.

The meeting in Pretoria yesterday between President de Klerk and the trio of anti-apartheid clergymen — Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Dr Allan Boesak and the Rev Frank Chikane — can be seen as a step in that direction.

In 1981 Mr Ton Vosloo, the perceptive managing director of Afrikaans publishers, Nasionale Pers, warned his white compatriots that the day would come when the Government would have to sit around the same table as the ANC (and by implication the PAC).

The pending release of the eight political prisoners will mark the largest simultaneous freeing of political prisoners since the process was started by P W Botha in 1985. It will also move the day referred to by Mr Vosloo from the distant horizon to the near future.

Businessmen, churchmen on agenda: lack of timetable seen as obstacle

FW aims to meet range of black leaders

STAR 12 OCTOBER 1989

By Esmaré van der Merwe
and Norman Chandler

President de Klerk is planning to meet representative leaders of black business as well as other political and church leaders following his three-hour meeting yesterday with a church delegation led by Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

He made it clear at a press conference after yesterday's talks at the Union Buildings in Pretoria that Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen would mainly be involved. The discussions would be with leaders of "various constituencies".

But yesterday's talks brought Mr de Klerk face to face with the enormous difficulties he confronts in forging the "new South Africa" he promises.

The church leaders — Archbishop Tutu, Dr Allan Boesak and the Rev Frank Chikane — expressed unhappiness with the State President's refusal to give a specific timetable for minimum requirements set out in a memorandum presented to him during the meeting.

These were: the lifting of the state of emergency and restrictions on people, the release of detainees, lifting of restrictions placed on activities of organisations, the release of political prisoners and the reprieve of all those sentenced to death and the declaration of a moratorium on the imposition of the death penalty.

Additional issues raised were the abolition of discriminatory laws such as the Group Areas Act.

Mr Chikane said afterwards: "If there are no results, the talks held in Pretoria will be discredited. We made it clear we need results. For without results, there cannot be negotiation."

But despite their differences, both parties acknowledged the value of the discussions.



President de Klerk meets prominent anti-apartheid clerics (from left) SA Council of Churches general secretary the Rev Frank Chikane, Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu and president of the World Alliance of Reform Churches the Rev Allan Boesak.



Shake . . . President de Klerk greets Archbishop Tutu yesterday before the talks on reform.

Significant role

Mr de Klerk said he personally would take the initiative for talks with church leaders of various denominations. This would, however, not be "in the immediate future".

He would do so because the Church had a significant role in "creating an atmosphere for real interaction between the peoples of this country".

Mr de Klerk said he had impressed upon the church delegation that the time had come to change their attitude and to assist the Government in creating a climate conducive to negotiation.

At separate press conferences afterwards, both delegations gave their impressions of what Mr de Klerk termed "talks about talks".

Mr de Klerk urged the churchmen to "re-evaluate their attitude" by accepting the bona fides of the Government in its commitment to reform and a new, fair dispensation in which blacks would be represented in all spheres of government.

While Mr de Klerk said he hoped the meeting would "become a milestone on the road ahead", the church delegation promised to "say to our friends that the sanctions programmes should be put on hold" if the Government appeared to be committed to reform.

They also assured the State President that the lifting of the state of emergency would not lead to confrontation and violence.

Mr de Klerk acknowledged the need to address the specific issues raised by the delegation: "I committed the Government to address the obstacles in an orderly manner."

Explaining his refusal to reveal a particular time schedules for reform, Mr de Klerk said: "We talked about time frames and time schedules, and I strongly emphasised, in that regard, that no government could adhere to specific time schedules and spell out in concretised terms what would happen on whatever date."

The reaction to one reformist step would determine when the next step would be taken.

Mr de Klerk deplored the "lack of recognition for definite statements" the Government had made regarding reform adding that mistrust is one of the major problems to be faced.

He expressed the hope that the meetings to follow would contribute towards lengthening the list of issues "on which we agree."

The Star

A step into the negotiated future

AT LAST, the logjam moves. It is early days yet, but the imminent, unconditional, release of eight key security prisoners can be seen as a start towards creating the long-awaited "climate for negotiation". It follows that the release of Nelson Mandela, the most important single player, cannot now be far off. That accomplished, a major obstacle to negotiation will have been disposed of — and the way cleared to remove the others and get on with shaping a new South Africa.

Precisely what is holding up Mr Mandela's release is not clear at this point. There may be some unstated arrangement between him and the Government. This conclusion stems from the talks he has had in prison over the past two years with Mr Kobie Coetsee; from the assurance he apparently gave to President Botha several months ago about his constructive intentions; and from the latest talks which two senior Ministers held with him on Kruger Day.

It could be that the plan is to release the leader not into a political vacuum but into some sort of negotiating situation

which is still being quietly set up. Or perhaps Pretoria still has security fears about the impact his return might have in the townships, and wishes to lessen it. In this context the earlier release of Walter Sisulu and his fellow prisoners could be seen as testing the waters.

Mr Mandela's meeting this week with leaders of the Mass Democratic Movement might suggest they were discussing how to handle the return to society of the eight. If it goes off without trouble this will help clear the way for Mr Mandela's own release — and its corollaries, the unbanning of the ANC and other bodies and the release of other prisoners.

As the scenario starts to unfold, three things are clear. First, negotiations cannot begin without a freed Mandela. Second, that step cannot be long delayed — the momentum must be maintained. And, third, President de Klerk deserves all due credit for translating a major promise into deeds. We trust he will show equal resolution in pressing on with the next inevitable steps.

Former rival UDF, Inkatha leaders pledge to rebuild Ntshongweni

ECHO 12 OCT 1989

by Heidi Gibson

PLANS to rebuild schools and build new football grounds, a community hall and clinic in the Ntshongweni Valley are being made following a peace pact declared by local grassroots leaders of the UDF and Inkatha.

No incident of political violence has been reported in the area since former rivals Inkatha chairman Mr Victor Sibisi and UDF youth leader Mr Thulani Zulu met to resolve their differences on August 27.

At a community meeting on Sunday both leaders again pledged to continue working together.

Residents were told that negotiations to bring back teachers to the schools next year, and restore and possibly extend a water pipeline were underway.

Representatives of Kwazulu Transport, which halted its service in the area in June, also attended the meeting.

Chairman of the meeting, Mr Lucky Zwane said: "Things are looking good but we will need help, not only from the people in the community, but also from outside. We need funds to build all these things up."

The UDF and Inkatha leaders stated that it was a "community effort sparked by an awakening to the futility of fighting" which brought them together. They denied reports that the South African Police had been responsible.

Both Mr Zulu and Mr Sibisi said the commander of the local riot squad, Captain Ray Harald had only facilitated the peace process.

This however has been disputed by Natal riot squad co-ordinator Brigadier Gerrit Viljoen.

"In all our work we are trying to bring the groups together. In Ntshongweni we policed the area. We went in during the night and day time to help the people," he said.

Township mayor leads thousands in march

ECHO

12 OCTOBER 1989

by Nomusa Cembi

THE first protest march to be led by the mayor of a township ended in 43 arrests and at least two injuries when Mr Rodger Sishi headed a group of about 25 000 banner-waving Mpumalanga residents to the township's police station on Tuesday.

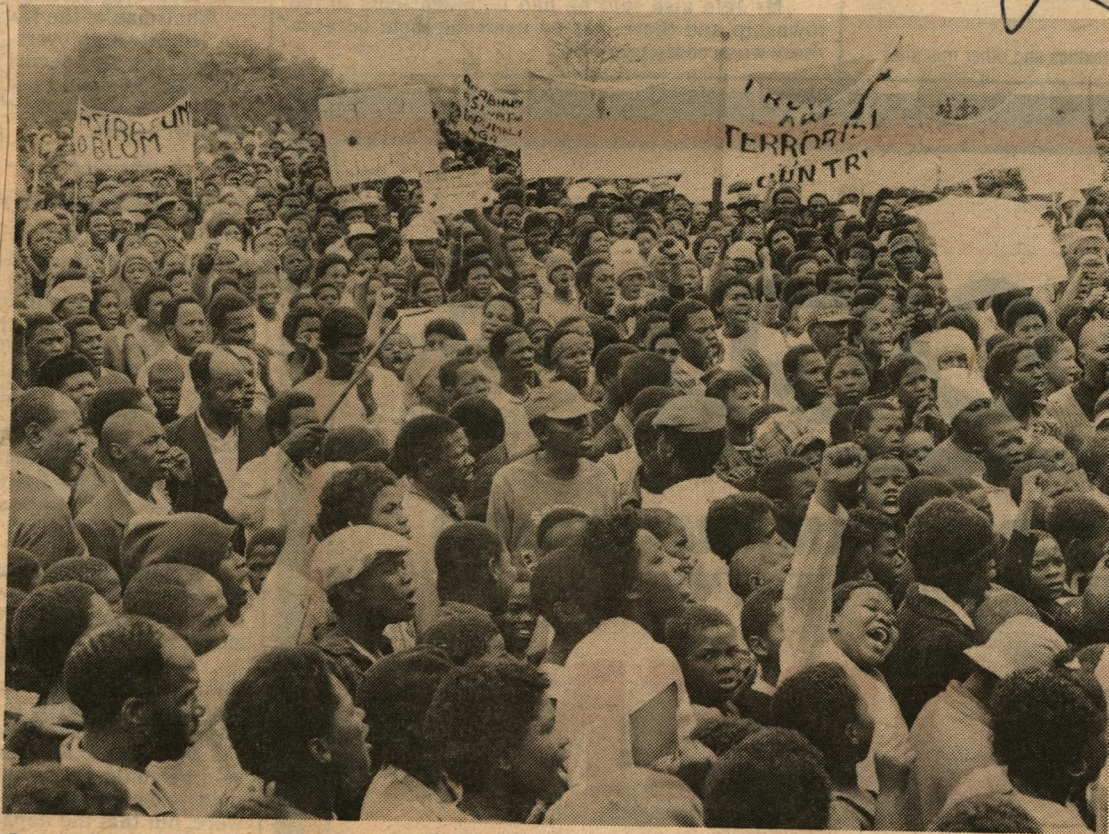
Mr Sishi is the second mayor to lead a protest march after Cape Town's mayor Mr Gordon Olivier led about 30 000 people last month.

March organiser Mr Noel Nseli handed over a petition to Mpumalanga station commander Lieutenant Mandla Mbhele.

The delegation also comprised Dr Farouk Meer of the NIC and residents Ms Rejoice Mcoyi, Mr A. Ndlovu and Mr J. Ntsingila.

The petition called for the removal of the South African Police and the kitskonstabels from the township and for the KwaZulu Police to be in sole charge of the area.

Lt Mbhele accepted the petition and pro



Part of the 25 000 crowd sang and chanted slogans at the Mpumalanga soccer ground on Tuesday before marching to the Mpumalanga police station to hand over their petition.

mitted to send it to Ulundi and Pretoria as soon as possible. He said he was not sure when they were going to respond.

The rally resembled a cultural day celebration with toyi-toying, poetry recitations and music from the Hamarsdale Youth Congress.

It was addressed by Dr Meer and Dr Diliza Mji who is the key member in the UDF-Cosatu Natal peace initiative. Both called for peace and unity in the township and the rest of Natal.

UDF, MDM, NIC and Swapo banners called for the removal of police from the township and the ANC flag was also displayed.

Mr Sishi said he was surprised that so many people had turned up as the march was announced by word of mouth.

"This shows how sensitive the issue is. The people are concerned about what is happening in the area," he said.

After the march police fired teargas to disperse the ululating crowds. According to the residents' lawyers two youths were allegedly shot by the SAP. They are Eric Funeka and Mduzi Mkhize.

An SAP spokesman confirmed that 42 males had been arrested including two who were wounded by shotgun fire and who would be charged with public violence.

Black Sash member Ms Wendy Annecke was also arrested and charged with crimen injuria. She was released on R100 bail and was to appear at the Mpumalanga magistrate's court yesterday.

An MDM spokesman said the march was made up of Mpumalanga residents. Echo counted two buses which brought about 200 marchers from Chatsworth and KwaNdengezi. But an Inkatha leader in Mpumalanga claimed that most of the marchers had been bussed in from other areas.

He said Inkatha wanted the SAP presence to be increased because "they do not take sides".



March organiser Mr Noel Nseli hands over the petition to Mpumalanga station commander Lt Mandla Mbhele as Echo reporter Nomusa Cembi takes notes.

ANC-raised Buyekhaya returns from
exile — and challenges Pretoria

Rebel Transkei welcomes the 'comrade' king

By **THANDEKA GQUBULE**
in Umtata

THE African National Congress-connected king of the powerful Thembu clan, Buyekhaya Dalindyebo, is back in the Transkei and living under the protection of the military government — reinforcing the rebellious homeland's challenge to Pretoria.

Weekly Mail yesterday obtained the first-ever interview with the 26-year-old "comrade" king, who was raised by the ANC in exile and uses colloquialisms typical of an exile.

The gentle and shy but articulate king revealed that he was at the reburial on Sunday of his father, Sabata Dalindyebo — though he chose to remain incognito. He stood inconspicuously in the crowd of thousands at the funeral and was seen — but not recognised — by dozens of journalists.

He poured sand on the grave of his father and waited for most guests to depart, and then left under the personal protection of Brigadier TT Matanzima, acting head of the Transkei armed forces and a distant cousin of former President Kaizer Matanzima.

Dalindyebo is now living at the heavily-guarded home of a member of the military government in Umtata.

His return to the homeland that forced him and his father into exile and was until recently notorious for its brutal treatment of the ANC and other political opponents is likely to add to the new climate of excitement in the Transkei.

The military government of Major-General Bantu Holomisa has raised uncertainty over the territory's relationship with the rest of South Africa — and set itself on a collision course with Pretoria.

Weekly Mail sources say South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha wrote a letter to Holomisa after Sunday's funeral, which effectively became a mass ANC rally. However, the contents of the letter are not known.

Despite reports that arrangements for Dalindyebo to return were cancelled after the family received a tip-off he may be assassinated, he told

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Bantu Holomisa ... Throwing down the gauntlet

Picture: TREVOR SAMSON, AFP

THE WEEKLY MAIL

Buthelezi plea to EEC

THE British Government was asked by KwaZulu's chief minister and Inkatha president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, to help curb EEC activities which were making it harder to end apartheid peacefully in South Africa.

A statement released in Johannesburg said Buthelezi, who addressed party leaders at a lunch in Blackpool, England, said the vast majority of South African blacks admired Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's approach to reform in South Africa.

At the lunch, where

the ruling Conservatives were holding their annual general conference, Buthelezi also praised Russia's *glasnost* and *perestroika* policies and said they were poignant with promise for South Africa.

Buthelezi said he and millions of blacks looked to Britain to lead the world in doing what was necessary to eradicate apartheid completely and establish a fair and just society.

South and southern Africa were now ripe for British intervention. Leaders in Mozambique and Zambia had spoken encouragingly about Mr FW de Klerk, and he was

also impressed with the way the new State President's style differed from his predecessors', he said.

The new situation called for a finesse of which Thatcher was quite capable. The bludgeoning of South Africa and its people through sanctions and accumulative isolation should now be judged internationally as crude.

"Please do whatever can be done to inhibit EEC tendencies to take desperate measures to assist in South Africa because they see the SA Government as being incapable of bringing about change." - Sapa.

COMMENT

Telephone: (011) 474-0128

SOWETAN 12 OCTOBER 1989 All games

THE Government has a way of souring the little good that it does. On Tuesday it announced the impending unconditional release of Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Japhtha Masemola and six other security prisoners - and the whole world applauded.

Yesterday there was a cat-and-mouse game as journalists and other people tried to find out where and when the eight would be released. At one time it was reported that hundreds were waiting to welcome some of the men at a stadium in Cape Town.

It was only later that it became clear that the men would not be released yesterday; that they were still going to be transferred to prisons near their homes; that they were still going to spend a few more hours in custody.

The Government should have made arrangements for the men to be released immediately after the announcement.

The clumsy arrangements seem to prove that the Government is again playing games: giving as little information as possible to the public, but at the same time trying to make capital out of an act that should have been done years ago.

Japhtha Masemola, of the PAC, was jailed for life 26 years ago; ANC secretary-general Sisulu and five of the men were jailed for life a year later, and the sickly Oscar Mpetha was jailed three years ago.

If the men owed society a debt, they paid it years ago. They should have been released more gracefully.

Their followers and the rest of the world have however been clamouring for their release because they believe they were jailed for fighting for justice.

Buthelezi
advocates
a central
economy

ULUNDI—Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi told a visiting Zairean delegation yesterday of his vision of an African central economic system based on a 'mineral backbone' starting in Zaire and running through Zambia, Zimbabwe and Botswana into South Africa.

With the now inevitable ending of apartheid and the withdrawing of the superpowers' 'prescriptive and proscriptive interference' in southern Africa, it was time for greater inter-African contact, Dr Buthelezi said.

'We need to take the mineral backbone running down from Zaire through Zambia, Zimbabwe and Botswana and through South Africa right down to the Cape Province and turn it into a great highway for human development.

'Every country in South and Central Africa should be brought into a symbiotic relationship with every other country,' he said.

In the consequent sharing of knowledge, initiative and technical know-how, there would be the potential for creating vast internal markets and realising huge internal productive capacities for exporting to first world countries.

'The raw material that leaves Southern and Central Africa should be processed in Africa to generate more jobs and more wealth.'

Dr Buthelezi questioned how much the OAU had done to help the deprived in places like Lesotho, Swaziland and Mozambique. His African pride was hurt at seeing the presidents of 'poverty-stricken countries having to turn to Western industrialised nations for help. — (Sapa)

Sisulu: Mandela's comrade-in-arms

WALTER Max Ulyate Sisulu, who is due to be released shortly after a quarter of a century in jail, is probably Nelson Mandela's most intimate friend and closest associate and comrade within the ANC, writes PIERRE CLAASSEN.

Unlike the noble birth of Mandela, he was born to a peasant family in the Encobo district of Transkei in 1912, the son of a white road builder foreman who fell in love with the young Sisulu girl and then abandoned her and their two children.

Walter's mother took them to Johannesburg, found lodgings in Alexandra Township and put them through school on a washerwoman's wages, eventually securing the rare privilege of her own house in Orlando where Mandela later became a lodger.

In 1940 Sisulu, employed in a bakery, organised a strike for higher wages and was fired. He established his own estate agency (which closed down after two years) and joined the African National Congress (ANC).

The following year he met Nelson Mandela. He took him to his mother's house, helped him to be articled to a legal firm, enrolled him as a law student at the University of the Witwatersrand, and paid his fees. The two became almost instant friends and with Oliver Tambo formed a formidable trio whose influence was to shape the ANC for decades to come.

During World War Two, Sisulu, a militant anti-white, campaigned against blacks joining the army. He also had his first clash with the police and was imprisoned for accosting a white ticket examiner who allegedly confiscated a black child's season ticket.

In 1944 Sisulu, Mandela and Tambo pioneered the ANC Youth League, along with David Bopape and A P Mda, in an effort to offset the weak leadership of Dr Alfred Xuma.

At the 1949 ANC conference at Botshabelo location, Bloemfontein, they succeeded in ousting Xuma, having their programme of action adopted and Walter Sisulu was elected secretary-general of the ANC under its new leader,

Dr James Moroka. Sisulu's hard Africanist stance had now mellowed considerably and he was personally instrumental in establishing co-operation with the Transvaal Indian Congress.

With the added support of the Communist Party a coordinating committee was formed under the joint chairmanship of Sisulu and Yusuf Cachalia which called for a national work stoppage on June 26 1950 in protest against apartheid laws.

Banned

THE fact that Dr Moroka, the ANC president, lived in the OFS, demanded that Sisulu take over most of his leadership responsibilities. He was arrested during the defiance campaign and then banned under the Suppression of Communism Act.

Sisulu, Nelson Mandela, Dr Moroka and others were charged and convicted under the same Act in December 1952 for leading the campaign and given suspended sentences. Whereas Dr Moroka's conduct, separating his defence from the others, led to the subsequent rejection of his leadership, Sisulu was re-elected secretary-general that same month.

The following year he went on a five-month tour of China, the USSR, United Kingdom, Israel and Romania and returned impressed by the Soviet industrialisation but disgusted by Stalin's authoritarianism. The tour further diluted his once militant Africanist views.

Like Nelson Mandela he helped organise but, being banned, could only watch from a distance as the Congress of the People gathered on June 26 1955 at Kliptown to approve the Freedom Charter, thereby formally approving co-operation between all race groups opposed to the Government.

The Congress was also the source of material for a massive police investigation, dubbed 'Operation T,' which cul-

minated in the December 1956 arrest of 156 people, among them Sisulu and Nelson Mandela.

The subsequent trial lasted for over five years and, having neutralised the ANC leadership, the Africanists were given the chance to organise a revolt against Dr Albert Luthuli's ANC leadership and take the initiative in leading black opposition to the Government under the banner of a new organisation, the Pan African Congress.

The PAC, lead by Robert Sobukwe, and its military arm, unleashed a campaign of strikes, marches and terror which ended in a state of emergency and mobilisation of the military. Sisulu and Mandela, who abhorred the brutal killings of the military wing of the PAC, were among many of the treason trialists detained for several months during the emergency.

The State also banned both the ANC and the PAC, placing Sisulu under house arrest.

In 1962 he was arrested six times and in March 1963 he was convicted of furthering the aims of the ANC and organising a stay-away in May 1961. He was granted bail pending an appeal but placed under 24-hour house arrest. On April 20 he went underground, broadcasting a short message from an ANC underground radio station in June.

Weeks later, on July 11, he was one of six men studying a document entitled 'Operation Mayibuye' at a secret hide-out on Liliesleaf Farm, Rivonia when someone suddenly shouted a warning. Sisulu leapt out a back window, and like his ANC comrade Govan Mbeki and fellow treason trialist Ahmed Kathrada, jumped straight into the waiting arms of the security police.

The police also arrested three whites, Lionel Bernstein, Bob Hepple and Dennis Goldberg, and soon more were pulled into the net for a sensational trial in which Sisulu was accused No 2 after Nelson Mandela in the State vs the (Umkhonto we Siswe) National Command.

Nine of the 10 accused were convicted; Sisulu, like Nelson Mandela, on all four counts which included two of sabotage. They were all given life sentences.



BACKED by one of his security men, President F.W. de Klerk (second left), chats to church leaders and representatives (left to right) the Rev Frank Chikane; Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu; Mr John Allen and (obscured) Mr Matt Esau, assistants to the archbishop; and the Rev Alan Boesak.

De Klerk, top churchmen in talks over 'new South Africa'

PRETORIA: President de Klerk has come face-to-face, in a three-hour meeting with church leaders, with the enormous difficulties he confronts in forging the "new South Africa" he has promised.

In spite of the fact that he and Archbishop Desmond Tutu's delegation went to the talks table at the Union Buildings yesterday with vastly different aims and expectations, Mr de Klerk seems anxious and determined to move rapidly to deliver his pledges.

Announcing further exploratory discussions with other black leaders, Mr de Klerk appeared to be out to follow through on his rhetoric by engaging the

Daily News Correspondent

widest possible range of black leaders in the political, religious and business fields to jump-start negotiations.

Mr Tutu, the Rev Allan Boesak and the Rev Frank Chikane wanted specifics to take back to their constituency. Mr de Klerk bluntly told them this was impossible now.

He urged them to re-evaluate their positions.

"The time has come for them to change their attitudes," Mr de Klerk said, noting that the churchmen should be helping to create a climate conducive to negotiations.

Mr Chikane said afterwards: "If there are no results, the talks held in Pretoria will be discredited. We made it clear, we need results for without results, there cannot be negotiation."

The clergymen were plainly sticking to their pro-sanctions stance until they saw visible responses from the Government to their demands.

Dr Boesak is due to attend the conference of Commonwealth leaders at Kuala Lumpur on Wednesday.

Mr de Klerk spoke after the "talks about talks" of mistrust, talking past each other, and the need to accept the

Government's bona fides. Obviously disturbed at the chasms between them, he sought to play down the importance of the encounter, saying it would be one of many with black leaders.

The clergymen said they would report back to their synods. No further meetings between them and Mr de Klerk were planned yesterday.

Mr Chikane said Mr de Klerk had "not moved beyond his inaugural speech rhetoric".

If government showed movement on meeting the six conditions, "then we can talk on how to negotiate".

The defiance campaign resulted in 8 500 arrests without a single instance of violence but he and 19 colleagues were convicted for their role under the Suppression of Communism Act even though their actions had nothing to do with communism.

The ANC was not and never had been a communist organisation, he said. 'The Government has always sought to label all its opponents as communists.'

When the ANC was banned after the (PAC-

lead) Sharpeville tragedy, he and his colleagues decided not to obey this decree. 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 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.'

When a peaceful stay-at-home was organised to protest against the Republic in which they had no say, the State reacted by sending troops and Saracen armoured vehicles into the townships.

It was an indication the Government had decided to rule by force alone and this decision was a milestone on the road to (the creation) of Umkhonto.

'What were we, the leaders of our people to do? Were we to give in to the show of force and the implied threat against future action, or were we to fight it out, and if so, how? We had no doubt that we had to continue to fight. Anything else would have been abject surrender,' Mandela said.

Disturbances which had flared up in reaction to passes, enforced cattle culling, and the imposition of Bantu Authorities, pointed to an inevitable growth amongst blacks that violence was the only way out and small uncontrolled groups were planning violent forms of political struggle.

'At the beginning of 1961, after a long and anxious assessment of the South African situation, I and some colleagues came to the conclusion that as violence in this country was inevitable, it would be unrealistic and wrong for African leaders to continue preaching peace and non-violence at a time when the Government met our peaceful demands with force.'

The decision was made to embark on violent forms of political struggle and to form Umkhonto we Siswe. 'We did so not because we desired such a course, but solely because the Government left us with no other choice,' Mandela told the court.

The ANC as a mass political organisation whose members had joined on the express policy of non-violence, could not undertake violence. It did however depart from its policy to the extent that it would no longer disapprove of properly controlled sabotage, in which no-one was injured or killed, nor discipline any member partaking in such activity.

He dissociated Umkhonto from bombing attacks carried out on the homes of pro-government people in Port Elizabeth and East London in September, October and November 1962.

The farm Lilliesleaf, which he had often visited in disguise while a fugitive, was not the headquarters of the ANC or Umkhonto.

Mandela said the claim that the aims and objectives of the ANC and the Communist Party were the same was false, an old allegation disproved in the Treason Trial.

THE NATAL MERCURY

12 OCTOBER 1989

Freedom Charter

The most important document ever adopted by the ANC was the Freedom Charter which was no blueprint for a socialist state although it did provide for nationalisation in order to remove race-dominated control of the mines, banks and monopoly industries.

The ANC had never advocated revolutionary change to the economic structure of the country nor ever condemned capitalist society.

The Communist Party was prepared to work for the Freedom Charter as a short term goal to remove white supremacy on the road to a Marxist State.

The ANC sought full political rights for blacks while the Communist Party wanted to replace the capitalists with a working class government. The SACP sought to emphasise class distinctions while the ANC sought to harmonise them.

'This is a vital distinction, my lord,' he told the judge.

It was true there was often close co-operation between the two organisations but this was just proof of a common goal — the removal of white supremacy — and not proof of a complete community of interests.

'I believe that communists have always played an active role in the fight by colonial countries for their freedom, because the short-term objects of communism would always correspond with the long-term objectives of freedom movements.'

He said he was not a communist and was never a member of the party.

Whereas communists regarded the parliamentary system of the West as undemocratic and reactionary, he personally admired such a system.

'I regard the British parliament as the most democratic institution in the world and the independence and impartiality of its judiciary never fail to arouse my admiration,' he told the court.

International symbol of anti-apartheid resistance

SAFAL • MERCURY The rise and fall of 12 OCTOBER 1989 Nelson Mandela J

THE TRIAL of Nelson Mandela and nine others, also known as the Rivonia trial or 'The State versus the National High Command and others,' can be regarded as one of the most significant political trials in South Africa's legal history.

Not only did it produce evidence of a sensational underground conspiracy but in time also produced, in the incarcerated person of No 1 accused, Nelson Mandela, an internationally fêted symbol of black resistance to apartheid in South Africa.

Mandela's statement from the dock, protected against banning or censorship by the privilege of the court, was the exposition of the ANC's view of apartheid, its motives for resisting it and its methods and goals couched in the articulate words of a trained lawyer.

In time they became an oft-quoted manifesto for the whole black cause against racial discrimination and the oppression Mandela and his supporters claimed they wanted to remove.

Legal drama

Although the trial became the arena for high legal drama, involving some of the most colourful legal and political personalities in the country, it took several months before public interest in the proceedings in Pretoria's Palace of Justice took hold.

In the end it became a national *cause celebre*, also attracting unprecedented media and political attention internationally.

The accused had all been arrested or were connected with arrests carried out by security police in a raid on the farm Lilliesleaf, a smallholding in the sprawling rural suburb of Rivonia north of Johannesburg on 11th July, 1963.

The raid, launched from a laundry van, netted a pile of papers originated by No 1 accused, Nelson Mandela, already serving a five year jail sentence on Robben Island.

It also netted the nine other accused: — No 2, Walter Sisulu, ANC Secretary General; — No 3, Dennis Goldberg, a former emergency detainee and Congress of Democrats executive member; — No 4, Govan Mbeki, a senior Eastern Province ANC official and journalist; — No 5, Ahmed Kathrada and — No 6, Lionel Bernstein, both members of the Communist Party and co-accused of Mandela and Sisulu in the 1956-61 Treason Trial; — No 7, Raymond Mhlaba, Cape executive member of the ANC; — No 8, James Kantor, a Johannesburg solicitor; — Nos 9 & 10, Elias Mtsosaledi and Andrew Mhlange, like Raymond Mhlaba, relatively unknown but identified as members of the so-called Johannesburg Regional Command of Umkhonto we Siswe (Spear of the Nation).

The first two counts under the Sabotage Act alleged the accused, together with a list of other persons, including Oliver Tambo, Joe Slovo, Julius First and Harold Strachan, had (Count 1) committed or (Count 2) conspired to:

□ Recruit persons for training inside and outside South Africa in the manufacture and use of explosives for acts of violence and destruction in the RSA and in the art of warfare, including guerilla warfare and military training generally, for the purpose of causing violent revolution in the RSA and:

By Pierre Claassen in Cape Town

□ Commit a list of annexed acts whereby the accused had injured, damaged, destroyed, rendered useless or unserviceable, put out of action, obstructed, tampered with or endangered the public health or safety, the maintenance of law and order, the supply and distribution of light, power and fuel, postal, telephone and telegraph services or installations, the free movement of traffic on land and the property, moveable or unmoveable of other persons or of the State.

□ The third count, under the Suppression of Communism Act (1950) charged them with committing acts furthering the cause of communism as defined by the Act.

□ The fourth count alleged contravention of Section 3 (1) (b) of the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1953 which prohibited the soliciting, accepting or receiving from any person or body, whether inside South Africa or outside, any money or article enabling any person to 'Commit an offence by way of protest against a law or in support of any campaign for the repeal or modification of any law, or the variation or limitation of the application or administration of any law'.

Two other men who were also arrested, Arthur Goldreich, lessee of the farm, and James Kantor's legal partner and brother-in-law, Harold Wolpe, dramatically escaped from the Johannesburg Fort after bribing a young warden with R4 000. One more, Bob Hepple, offered to turn State witness, was released on bail and fled the country.

The trial opened on 9 October 1963 with the central themes of the State's case revolving around the National High Command of an ANC-connected organisation called Umkhonto we Siswe (Spear of the Nation), its organ-

isational structure named the 'M-Plan' after its creator, Nelson Mandela, and an ambitious blueprint for a nation-wide sabotage war called 'Operation Africa Mayibuye' (Operation Come Back Africa).

Although legal opinion, including that of the presiding judge, held the accused had in essence committed high treason, the Attorney General decided, in view of the failure of the five-year treason trial to secure any convictions, not to proceed with treason charges.

The State's case was directed at proving four counts against each of the accused; two under the Sabotage Act, which qualified for the death penalty, one under the Suppression of Communism Act and one under the Criminal Law Amendment Act.

On the bench was the Judge President of the Transvaal, Mr Justice Quartus de Wet with the famous Dr Percy Yutar, SC, prosecuting and the son of a revered former Judge President and personal friend of Mandela, Mr Braam Fischer, SC, leading the defence team.

Fischer, a member of the Communist Party, later went underground and became a celebrated fugitive himself.

Apart from the documentary evidence obtained in the Rivonia raid, the State called 173 witnesses, including two, X and Y, former Umkhonto members.

The State case revealed that three properties, Lilliesleaf, another smallholding near Krugersdorp called Travallyn, and a secluded cottage behind a house in the Johannesburg suburb of Mountain View, had been acquired by Umkhonto.

Travallyn was earmarked as an arsenal and weapons factory although no production had actually taken place. The cottage in Mountain View was a hide-out and publishing house.

Documentary evidence also showed large contributions received from African states and plans to fly recruits at R30 000 per plane load out of Botswana for military training.

One document seized at Rivonia listed 'Production requirements' as '48 000 anti-personnel mines, 1 500 time devices for bombs, 144 tons of ammonium nitrate, 21,6 tons of alluminium powder and 15 tons of black powder'. There were plans for building a furnace for casting grenades and quotes for boxwood to build vast numbers of mines.

At the end of the State's case James Cantor was discharged as the State had failed to establish a *prima facie* case against him.

Admissions

MANDELA made a long statement from the dock in which, his defence conceded, he admitted to be a founder of Umkhonto we Siswe, a member of the ANC executive, that he had toured Africa and received military training, arranged for recruits to receive the same, and had solicited financial help for Umkhonto.

He had also requested the ANC executive to assist Umkhonto in transporting recruits and approved of its decision to allow its secretariat and external missions to be used for this purpose.

In his statement Mandela denied the struggle in South Africa was under the influence of foreigners and communists. He had done whatever he had done because of his experience inside South Africa and not because of what any outsider may have said, the court heard.

He had not planned sabotage wrecklessly or out of a love for violence but because of the political situation which had arisen over many years of tyranny, exploitation and oppression of his people.

'We believed that as a result of Government policy violence by the African people had become inevitable,' he said.

For the 37 years since the ANC was formed in 1912, it adhered to a constitutional struggle but the white Government remained unmoved and the rights of blacks became less instead of becoming greater.

Even after 1949 when the ANC decided to protest peacefully, but unlawfully, against certain laws, the organisation remained determined to avoid violence.

ECHO 12/10/89

Residents 'were told of election'

by Nomusa Gembu

DEPARTMENT of Development Aid's regional representative Mr W.F.N. Wiggill denies that Imbali people were not told about the elections that took place on September 28.

This follows a story in last week's Echo where it was reported that Imbali residents had written an open letter to the township manager, Mr Len Koch calling on him to disband the council until February next year because residents were never told about the elections "except what we heard over radio Zulu".

Mr Wiggill said the elections were advertised two months before the election date, September 26.

"The department also hired two tents in July this year for councillors to hold meetings and we issued a notice in the government gazette saying there would be an election," he said.

Told that few people read the government gazette, Mr Wiggill said notices were also issued and pinned up in the township for the people to read.

Elected councillor Mr Ben Jele said the best way to have advertised the election would have been for ex-councillors to have called a public meeting to inform residents that they were resigning.

But the councillors "just left without telling the people so that is why the people never knew", he said.

Mr Jele also said he had not seen tents in the township and there was no need for them because there was a community hall.

Top level meeting on violence

Echo Reporter

KWAZULU government concern about the increasing violence in Natal led to a high level meeting in the city on Monday involving KwaZulu government representatives, the SA Department of Justice and the South African Police.

"We as Inkatha are sick and tired of the violence. It must be stopped and the police must arrest and prosecute all trouble-makers whether they are from Inkatha or the UDF," said Mr V.V. Mvelase, KwaZulu regional representative.

The meeting, held at the request of the KwaZulu government, was attended by Deputy Minister of Justice Danie Schutte, high-ranking police officials, representatives from the Attorney-General's office and KwaZulu government representatives.

Among the police delegation was retired policeman, General Stan Schutte, who is believed to have been mandated by the office of Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok to investigate allegations of police conduct in the violence.

Mr Schutte said he would discuss issues raised at the meeting with Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee.

'Peace will come from us: those who bear the guns'

"IT'S going to be difficult for peace to come to Natal."

"It'll have to be through negotiation between grassroots leaders ... those who are directly affected."

"Yes, between the military commanders. Not those who are wearing ties..."

"And sitting having English breakfasts and lounging in swinging chairs."

"Or discussing it in plush, carpeted boardrooms..."

"It won't be through the Jay Naidooos and Dhlomos of this world."

These were some of the sentiments uttered at the weekend between staunch political rivals — executive members of the Shongweni Youth Organisation (Shoyco — a United Democratic Front affiliate), and local Inkatha chairman of Shongweni, Mr Victor Sibisi.

They were sitting at a local store, chatting over a few beers, after a community meeting in the area. Among them was Mr Thulani Zulu, the former "military" commander of the local amaqabane (comrades or UDF-supporting youth).

Not even two months ago, Mr Zulu and Mr Sibisi were deadly opponents, both wanting to see the other dead. Once, a long time ago, they had been friends at school, but during the years of political violence in Natal, they became estranged, fostering opposed political ambitions, until one day they were both leaders of the two warring factions in their community.

The violence in Shongweni was perhaps the most vicious in the long-running Natal conflict. Shongweni's degeneration to the "valley of death" this year was swift. In a matter of months, the once vibrant community was reduced to a deserted battlefield.

Unlike other areas hit by political violence, the community's destruction has been documented by the press. But exactly how many people have died, and who killed whom, is not known. As in all other affected areas, statistics and names of victims are not provided by the police.

After more than half the residents had fled the area, the community divided into two distinct "ideological" camps, eventually becoming geographically defined.

In one section, "Ezakheni", Inkatha predominated. On the other side, "kwaMbisa", the comrades ruled. No one from either faction dared venturing into "enemy" territory.

Claims that the KwaZulu Police were partisan added to tensions. After the KwaZulu Police withdrawal, reports

While political violence in Natal has erupted into bloody street battles reminiscent of the conflict in 1986-1987, in Shongweni, a small rural community near strife-torn Mpumalanga, order has been maintained by two former "warlords" who declared a truce a month ago. FRED KOCKOTT revisited the area.

began filtering through that the comrades were gaining the upper hand. In April it was rumoured that the amaqabane had a "big gun" and were waging a war of attrition against their Inkatha rivals — they controlled the access route into the valley.

This change in the power equation may have sparked tentative peace talks culminating in the truce declared on August 27. At past meetings, Inkatha supporters had arrived, their assortment of weapons in hand, indignant at any accusations levelled against them or slurs on the organisation's name. At the August 27 meeting, Inkatha supporters had abandoned their weaponry and, at the close, sung freedom songs and toyi-toyed with amaqabane.

The local leaders of both parties, Mr Sibisi and Mr Zulu, agree that it was the disintegration of community life, including the withdrawal of the bus service to the area, that brought them together for talks. They say they are now working on an interim peace committee to restore normality to the area.

They said Captain Ray Harrold, the commander of the local riot unit at the time, had deserved the tribute paid to him for the role he had played, but that the South African Police had capitalised on this and had been portrayed in the media as peacemakers.

Police confirmed that they circulated about 40 000 photostat copies of a Durban newspaper's report about the first successful Shongweni peace meeting in townships in and around Pietermaritzburg, Hammarsdale and Durban. The headline stated: S.A.P. bring bitter enemies together in death valley. "This was not true," said Mr Zulu.

Mr Sibisi agreed: "What was achieved was a community effort. The peace will go on because the people want it."

The conciliatory process under way in Shongweni contrasts starkly with the situation in other Natal townships. A few kilometres away, and a 10-minute drive by dirt road in the direction of Pietermaritzburg, takes one to Natal's worst and bloodiest hot spot, Mpumalanga, where an estimated 2 000 lives have been lost in four years of conflict.

"In Hammarsdale there are people who don't want peace," said Mr Zulu.

"Yes, on both sides," Mr Sibisi added.

"There are people who won't forgive the thelewenis (Inkatha fighters) until they've all gone," Shoyco member, Mr Thadeus Sithole, explained.

"Some of the Hayco (Hammarsdale Youth Congress) members want to stop fighting, but other's don't," he added.

"They invited us to come and attend a peace meeting between Inkatha and UDF on September 24. We went. But neither organisation arrived. It was only us," Mr Zulu said.

"According to my hopes, and Mr Sibisi's, we'd like there to be peace in Mpumalanga, as it came to Shongweni. All over Natal, we'd like it," he added.

But the two former warlords were sceptical about prospects of talks between regional leaders of the Inkatha and the Cosatu/UDF alliance making any headway.

The latest round of talks was scuttled a fortnight ago by the Inkatha central committee on the grounds that violence had continued while talks were in progress and because Inkatha had been excluded from anti-apartheid action during the "mass democratic movement's" defiance campaign.

The UDF and Cosatu have reacted by saying that local peace initiatives will go ahead "with or without Inkatha".

For the people in Shongweni, the breakdown in the negotiations is disappointing.

"But in ways, it's of little direct effect. When they (senior leadership) talk," said Shoyco's Mr Sithole, "they reach agreements, but the message arrives diluted. It's those who are attacking each other who must make agreements. Those who are carrying the guns," he concluded.



Ms Tryphina Nojiyeza . . . jubilant to be back at her home in Shongweni after she fled to Transkei to escape the violence.

Former rival UDF, Inkatha leaders pledge to rebuild Ntshongweni

by Heidi Gibson

PLANS to rebuild schools and build new football grounds, a community hall and clinic in the Ntshongweni Valley are being made following a peace pact declared by local grassroots leaders of the UDF and Inkatha.

No incident of political violence has been reported in the area since former rivals Inkatha chairman Mr Victor Sibisi and UDF youth leader Mr Thulani Zulu met to resolve their differences on August 27.

At a community meeting on Sunday both leaders again pledged to continue working together.

Residents were told that negotiations to bring back teachers to the schools next year, and restore and possibly extend a water pipeline were underway.

Representatives of Kwazulu Transport, which halted its service in the area in June, also attended the meeting.

Chairman of the meeting, Mr Lucky Zwane said: "Things are looking good but we will need help, not only from the people in the community, but also from outside. We need funds to build all these things up."

The UDF and Inkatha leaders stated that it was a "community effort sparked by an awakening to the futility of fighting" which brought them together. They denied reports that the South African Police had been responsible.

Both Mr Zulu and Mr Sibisi said the commander of the local riot squad, Captain Ray Har-rald had only facilitated the peace process.

This however has been disputed by Natal riot squad co-ordinator Brigadier Gerrit Viljoen.

"In all our work we are trying to bring the groups together. In Ntshongweni we policed the area. We went in during the night and day time to help the people," he said.

Police challenge report on Mpumalanga

Witness Reporter

POLICE have challenged reports on the protest march on Tuesday in Mpumalanga.

Major Pieter Kitching, police liaison officer for Pietermaritzburg, disputed the crowd estimate of 25 000 people and said police estimates were between 5 000 and 6 000.

He added that most of this crowd had been bused into Mpumalanga from Umlazi, Folweni, kwaNdengezi and kwaMakutha.

An Inkatha leader in Mpumalanga also claimed that most of the marchers were bussed in from other areas.

The marchers handed a petition to the station commander of the KwaZulu police at the Mpumalanga police station asking for all S.A.P. units and special constables to be withdrawn from the townships.

Major Kitching said yesterday that the

S.A.P. had no special constables stationed in Mpumalanga.

Several marchers carried banners on Tuesday saying "Asibafuni oblom (We do not want the special police)".

The police said that at the entrances to all the residential areas of Mpumalanga on Tuesday there were placards and banners being displayed asking for the S.A.P. to remain in the area.

A group of prominent Natal people on a fact-finding tour of Mpumalanga said Inkatha held a rally elsewhere in the township at which such banners were displayed.

The police also said that 42 people were arrested and two injured when police took action against a group of about 400 who had left the township's football stadium at noon while the mass rally was still on.

Police said these youths had gone to Unit

B, armed with axes, knobkerries and stones and had attacked houses in the area causing damage of R100 000. "Two police vehicles were also attacked, causing damage of R6 000," said Major Kitching.

He said police had dispersed the group with teargas and those attacking police vehicles had been fired at with birdshot.

Police said teargas, stun grenades and birdshot were used after the march to disperse people who had re-grouped and refused to obey police warnings to disperse.

"We had to take action to prevent possible problems. The groups were toyi-toying and singing and were on their way to Unit B again. They were becoming riotous and ignored repeated warnings to disperse," said Major Kitching.

He said no one was injured on this occasion.

Chief in court after attack on Zumas

CHIEF Shayabantu Zondi is one of four people appearing in the Pietermaritzburg magistrate's court in connection with the attack on the home of Mr Lawrence Zuma at Inadi near Taylor's Halt.

Three of Mr Zuma's relatives, including his six-year-old daughter Ngobile, died a result of the attack and Mr Zuma was shot through the jaw.

Chief Zondi, named as Mr Amon Siphwe Zondi on the court roll, appeared with KwaZulu policeman Constable Cyril B. Zulu, Mr Bonginkosi Nkabinde and Mr Zamakwakhe Petros Nkabinde. — WR.

Sally News
11/10/89

Foreign
Service

BLACKPOOL: KwaZulu Chief Minister, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, assured himself a seat at the negotiating table by telling the Conservative Party conference here yesterday that Britain should lead an international settlement for South Africa.

Dr Buthelezi also appealed to British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, to continue her opposition to economic sanctions at the upcoming

Buthelezi calls on Britain to lead a settlement for South Africa

Commonwealth Conference and for Britain to do all in its power to inhibit European Community funding of "those who seek to support revolutionary violence" in South Africa.

The Tory conference has made Blackpool look more like a South African riot zone than a pleasant seaside resort.

Hundreds of police are patrolling the streets.

Armed look-outs are perched on rooftops, helicopters drone overhead and manhole lids have been welded tight in an attempt to prevent a repeat of the IRA bombing at a previous party conference in Brighton.

Speaking at a "fringe meeting" attended by about 350 delegates, Dr Buthelezi said the prospect of negotiations to dismantle apartheid and establish a just society in South Africa had never been greater.

He said none of the world's leading nations could compete with Britain as a perceived honest broker.

"My message to the Conservative Party is that South Africa and southern Africa are now ripe for intervention by Mrs Thatcher and the British Government."

Dr Buthelezi said that when making predictions based on hoped for changes of heart one was on very shaky ground. "When, however, one is making predictions based on clearly discernible survival patterns which are being reinforced by strong economic imperatives, one can be very sure that one will be correct."

There was convincing evidence that the superpowers would no longer use southern Africa as an arena for East-West conflict, that the Nkomati Accord would be revitalised and relations with frontline states would improve.

Political Reporter

ABOUT 15 000 people marched through dusty Mpumalanga streets yesterday to deliver a petition to the KwaZulu Police asking them to take over policing the township from the South African Police.

Prominent Mass Democratic Movement leaders were at the head of the march.

The authorities allowed Mpumalanga residents six hours to meet at a stadium for a peace rally and then march to the police station.

Station commander Lieutenant Mandla Mbele received the petition from United Democratic Front leader Mr Noel Ntsele. As thousands of people stood back and sang and waved banners, Lieutenant Mbele promised to pass the petition on to his superiors as soon as possible.

The marchers then moved off.

Later, as the time period expired, the SAP fired teargas at the crowd.

Mpumalanga plea for KwaZulu police

The petition was to the commissioners of the SAP and KP. It said residents had noted that before the arrival of the SAP and special constables, "the township was relatively quiet and the KwaZulu police command had the situation under control".

"Your petitioners do not claim that the KwaZulu Police are without blame but what has become more clear is that since the arrival of the SAP units they have been standing by helplessly whilst the said units ostensibly gave their support to the vigilantes who maim and kill innocent people and destroy property."

The petitioners asked for the withdrawal of all SAP units and special constables from Mpumalanga and for the KP to be in sole charge of

the area. The petitioners did not want to "create the impression that they favour one police force to another, but merely want to point the way so peace and tranquillity can reign in the township."

MDM leaders said the march was made up of Mpumalanga residents, with only two bus loads of supporters coming from Durban.

However, an Inkatha leader in Mpumalanga claimed that most of the marchers had been bused in from other areas. He said Inkatha wanted the SAP presence to be increased because "they do not take sides". He claimed the KP were not qualified to handle the situation and "when they see UDF people carrying guns they do not go for it because they say they are

not instructed to do that job".

The teargas was fired just as Mr Paul Graham of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa (Idasa) started addressing a press conference on a tour to Mpumalanga by a group of eminent people yesterday to get first hand experience of the political violence that has plagued the area since 1983. Reporters at the press conference ran into the street to see what was happening.

Community leaders had asked Idasa and Diakonia to put the group together

Mr Roger Sishi, mayor of Mpumalanga, and the township manager Mr B.P. Nzimande hosted the tour. The group was comprised of Mr Peter Badcock of the Consultative Business

Movement; the Catholic Archbishop of Durban, the Most Reverend Denis Hurley; Rev Bheki Dladla of the United Congregational Church; Mr Peter Gastrow, DP MP for Durban Central; Mr Pierre Cronjé, DP MP for Greytown; Mr Barry Morkel and Mr Basil Smith of Rainbow Chickens; Professor David McQuoid-Mason of the University of Natal; Pandita Saroj Ramoutar, Vedic Temple, Rt Rev Philip Russell, former Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town; Mr Nic Theunissen, President of the Natal Law Society; Mr Richard Steyn, Editor of The Natal Witness; Mr David Wightman, Managing Editor of The Daily News; Mr Tex Harris, US Consul-General; Mr John Dickson, American Cultural

Centre; Mr John Creamer and Ms Mary Grace McGeeghan from the US Embassy in Pretoria and Mr Dick Ristano, US State Department, Washington.

Mr Gastrow and Mr Cronjé joined the delegation after they and three other DP MPs spent three hours discussing the political violence in Natal and KwaZulu with senior SAP members, including the Regional Commissioner, Major-General Johann van Niekerk.

The delegation met members of Inkatha and the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, the MDM and a crisis committee.

Mr Graham told the press conference they had discovered that the residents wanted peace, and professional, impartial local policing. "It is not entirely clear to us that this is the case at present," Mr Graham said.

The problems in Mpumalanga could be solved if a local peace initiative ran parallel with a national initiative and was backed by impartial, professional policing, Mr Graham suggested.