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Apartheid can be fought

without

Almost three years ago the Government drew a curtain across the tragedy being played out in South Africa by introducing the first state of emergency.

Since then it has allowed only occasional glimpses behind that curtain and has carefully stage-managed any scenes it has allowed the white audience to see,

In its own version of theatre of the absurd the Government created a quiet calm during which a passive audience has grown increasingly isolated from the events on stage.

It was to this audience that the

Five Freedoms Forum (FFF) began

to direct its actions in March 1987.

A few months before that â\200\224 November 1986 â\200\224 the idea of creating such an organisation emerged when the Reverend Beyers Naude, Mr Geoff Budlender of the Legal Resources Centre and New Nation editor Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu organised a well attended meeting to discuss the problems created by the Governmentâ\200\231s imposition of the state of emergency. The major ob-

â\200\234jective of the meeting was the development of a unified response-

against these actions. An important rider was that this response was to be anti-apartheid in nature, not anti-South African. It is a distinction that is not often drawn.

Some four months later the FFF

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breaking law- [

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The Flve Freedoms Forum was born 13 months ago into a South

\_ African society struggling in the

turmoil of change. But it arrived with the twin - commitments to harness and give direction to the struggle for an open and apartheid-free society. Vice-chairman ' Barbara Buntman provides some insights into the aims, history and objectives of the organisation.

awareness among fellow South Africans. People first need to know and understand what is happening around them before they can be expected to take part in doing something about it.

Emergency regulations give the State wide and unchecked power to do almost anything it pleases. Newspapers are censored and even closed down, thousands of people have been detained without trial some for two years and more and political organisations are banned and restricted.

Against this background the FFF has set itself a series of tasks:

• To inform and educate the white community as to what is real-

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Emergency regulations give the State wide and unchecked power to do almost anything it pleases

was launched with its own manifesto and, as expressly stated in its name, a commitment to restore to millions of South Africans the five basic freedoms which apartheid

| denies them.

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These freedoms are:

• Freedom from want.

• Freedom from fear.

• Freedom from exploitation and discrimination.

• Freedom of conscience.

Â® Freedom of speech and association.

In the past two years the Government has made massive inroads into basic freedoms â\200\224 without which no democratic society can function.

The FFF believes\that educating white South Africans about the lack

-of these basic freedoms is an impor-

tant task and is committed to addressing the issues of human rights and of raising the level of political

ly happening in our country.

Â®To protest against mfrmgements of human rights.

Â® To give concerned individuals something constructive to do to help create an environment better suited to negotiation.

Â®To address the fears that whites have for the future and to encourage all white South Africans

to â\200\234stay and contributeâ\200\235 rather than leave the country.

Â®To create a situation where black and white South Africans can meet and learn to know each other.

The FFF strives to emphasise the common ground among people and organisations opposed to apartheid rather than highlighting their differences. To this end the FFF has attempted to make itself a wide-rang- â\200\230 ing movement and at present is an umbrella body for some 25 organisations which include human rights groups, religious bodies, profession-

al bodies, and youth and student organisations.

Individuals are also given the space within the FFF to feel comfortable working for the ideals of a broad-based organisation.

All these groups and individuals have one thing in common â\200\224 they are all working within the white community to bring about an open

,and apartheid-free society.

" The FFF, however, is not confined to any particular community. It enjoys the respect of and is supported by a wide cross-section of the black community. And as a measure of its wide appeal the forum is also working with people within the parliamentary structures as well as those working outside of these structures.

~ This was clearly seen in the range  
- of participants in a conference held  
by the FFF at Wits University in  
September last year. -

It was at that meeting that the commitment to unite and contribute to the ending of apartheid was strengthened.

Since then the FFF has involved itself in several activities in line with its manifesto objectives, the latest of which was launched yesterday.

This campaign is "101 Ways to end

Apartheid" aims to create an

awareness among whites that it is possible to oppose apartheid without breaking the law, even within the constraints of the present cli-

mate.

People are being asked to suggest

ideas of how to take positive steps

to end apartheid. A booklet will then be produced which will outline 101 constructive ways in which every person can work towards a free and just South Africa

South Afri

Desmond M, Tutu

By  
CAI'E TOWN  
lack South Africans have

exercised the most re.  
markable patience in

pressing for their  
human rights,  
In the 1950's, they

launched a nonviolent defiance  
paign. In 1960, their peaceful protests  
were met with the bullets of Sharpe.  
ville and the banning of the African Na-  
tional Congress and the Pan-African  
Congress. With nothing to show for half  
a century of pleading, the black leader.  
ship went underground or into exile to  
begin an armed struggle,

But the peaceful campaign went  
on, with Steve Biko and other young  
black intellectuals forging a new phi-  
losophy of black consciousness that  
helped people assert their humanity  
and self-respect. The uprisings of  
1976 began as peaceful protests by  
our children against their fifth-rate  
education and turned violent only in  
reaction to police bullets,

In the 1980's, the pattern has contin-  
ued. While increasing numbers, the  
young in particular, have chosen vio-  
lence as a last resort, many of us still  
explore every last possible peaceful  
avenue for change. We have devel-  
oped a range of Organizations (the  
largest of which is the United Demo-  
cratic Front, a coalition of about 600  
anti-apartheid groups) whose purpose  
is to resist a Government that in 1984  
went so far as to incorporate apart-  
held into the Constitution by creating  
separate chambers of Parliament for  
different races.

We have used many nonviolent ways  
of trying to bring change, such as  
strikes, rent strikes and consumer boy-  
cotts--

cotts. The authorities have responded

by declaring states of emergency and  
tightening Emergency regulations,  
They ban peaceful protest, they detain  
our children and they ban our leaders,  
Step by step, since 1985, President

P. W. Botha's Government has closed off avenue after avenue of peaceful political change -- most recently, last week's ban on the newly formed Committee for the Defense of Democracy. At the same time, Mr. Botha isn't even delivering the reforms he promised us. A few years ago, many claimed that the Government's final solution -- its policy of uprooting people from their homes and dumping them to starve in the bantustans in pursuance of its aim of segregation -- had been abandoned. Now we hear otherwise. In Mr. Botha's old parliamentary seat, the authorities want to remove the people of a small place called Lawaafkamp. When the people appealed, he told them he was op-

Desmond M. Tutu, Nobel Peace Prize winner in 1984, is Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town and head of the Anglican Church in Southern Africa,

passed to forced removal unless it is accompanied by the provision of better living standards.

Just over 4 months ago, the Government removed nearly all effective means of working for true change by peaceful means when it prohibited political activity by 186 organizations and banned 18 leaders,

What other church leaders and | found particularly horrifying were the restrictions placed on two leaders of the United Democratic Front who had been advocates of peace in two of the most desperate crisis areas of our land -- at a squatter camp in Cape Town and the townships around Johannesburg in Natal province,

In an unusually strong statement, we argued that when we saw the banning of these leaders, the harassment of Peacemakers, the Government's failure to arrest people against whom there is clear evidence of murder and assault, we could only conclude that the authorities are deliberately obstructing peace in our country and en-

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It's time for 5' /5/  
Washington,  
London

and Bonn

to make new  
demands

On )

Pretoria.

couraging violence d4mMong outr people.â\200\235

â\200\234Their purpose,â\200\235 we said, "is to use surrogate forces to smash effective opposition to their heretical policy of apartheid, and to insure as far as possible that it is the blood of black people, and not of white people, that is spilled in pursuance of their aim."

If allowed to continue, the deliberate incitement of violence in our country will turn it into a Lebanon-like wasteland.

We felt so strongly about this that on Feb. 20 we tried to proceed to Parliament to present a petition calling on the Government to turn from the path it had chosen. The most creative response to a peaceful act of Christian witness that the Government could come up with was to arrest us all).

It has become abundantly clear that the present Government has chosen a military option for the future.

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ture, The Law and Order â\200\230Minister, Adriaan J. Vlok, has spoken openly of

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caâ\200\224 a Lebanon?

the need to "eliminate radicals and revolutionaries."â\200\235

Not only does the Government threaten the security and lives of the people of South Africa, it is destabilizing the whole of Southern Africa and threatening the interests of its major trading partners, including the United States, Britain and West Germany. Even if its most extravagant claims of offering a power sharing deal with blacks were to be believed, they offer nothing more than token black faces in the Cabinet. The Government has no intention of relinquishing control,

As one who believes that one ought never to resort to violence under any circumstances, I also believe there can come a time â\200\224 as when the Nazis invaded Europe â\200\224 when it is justified to take up arms to overthrow an un-

just system. I can therefore sympathize with those South Africans who have already decided that violence is justified,

For myself, though, I agree with Dr. Allan Boesak, head of the Dutch Reformed Mission Church and a patron of the United Democratic Front, when he says that we must not descend to the Government's level in re-

sponding to its latest actions with vio-

lence. That group of us in Cape Town formed the Committee for the Defense of Democ-

the reason that a number of

racy to fight peacefully against the -

Government's suppression of its opponents. And now, the Government has chosen to ban even this group,

It should come as no surprise, therefore, that those of us who ask desperate people to take nonviolent action are filled with despair when they learn that the U.S. and Britain have once again vetoed international attempts to do the same. The American and British decisions to veto sanctions in the U.N. Security Council were all the more staggering in the light of the South African representative's arrogant challenge to the Security Council to "do your damndest,"

I want to issue a challenge to the American, British and West German Governments. You say you are against apartheid. If you are, then make three demands of the South African Government ;

First, the state of emergency must be lifted,

Second, last month's restrictions against our people's organizations and leaders must be lifted.

Third, detainees, particularly children, must be tried in open courts or released. ;

If the Government accedes to these demands, you must cut diplomatic ties. That would not be a radical step to take in the circumstances, but it is not going to cost jobs and lives. It would be a gesture, but a dramatic one with profound psychological consequences for those who wield power in South Africa.

emergency must



does not meet

Or do you want another Lebanon?0

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#### ANGOLAN PROMISE

THE SEEMINGLY out-of-the-blue â\200\230talks about talksâ\200\231 over Angola â\200\224 with South West African independence negotiations 2 very outside possibility â\200\224 which are expected to take place in London today might, to some, have been a surprising development if it were not for a Russian overture to the Americans during the meeting a few days ago during the signing of the Afghanistan peace agreement.

Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze surprised U S Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, with a request that discussions be broadened to embrace the Middle East, Persian Gulf and all other areas where a â\200\230broader understandingâ\200\231 could â\200\230avoid the risk of the superpowers being drawn into regional conflicts.â\200\235 Angola was again discussed in passing between the two in Moscow on April 22 and the new talks are lt));a'lieved to flow partly from

is.

It is reported the Russians have told the Angolans and the

Cubans that after 13 years of -

devastating war the bottomless pit has cost Moscow billions in arms losses and Cubans a good few thousand dead and that Mr Gorbachev says it's time to talk.

Reports are that the Kremlin

has accepted that South Africa

is the regional power and is looking for a compromise. South Africa has had contact with the Russians, the Americans with all parties and President dos Santos has told President Botha that, like the Russians, he would

like a chat too.

South Africa is unlikely to press the point in London, but considers South West independence uncoupled from Angola and while Britain's involvement at today's talks is reported to be as an independent broker, the threat from Pretoria is that only if the Russians and the Americans get the Cubans right out of Angola and allow for some sort of government of reconciliation with Savimbi, will she talk at all. It's really the . umpteenth deal in a long-running poker game.

If London flops, then Pretoria being totally disillusioned with the West anyway especially the Americans, with or without a Dukakis in the White House will fight on and seek an African solution, whatever that eventually means.

The Russians want out; the White House Republicans would give a lot for some significant success as the curtain goes up on the final round of the presidential election; the Angolans have been all but hammered into the ground with an economy in tatters; and the Cubans, having to explain sig-

nificant losses at home, are also.

growing ruinously expensive for the impoverished Angolans.

The Brits, pelted internation-

ally with as many bad eggs and tomatoes as any indifferent player at Shakespeare's old Globe theatre ever was for their refusal to impose economic sanctions on South Africa lest their massive investment here

pe endangered as well as

fearing the loss of millions of {

jobs at home if it happened and

~ the return of tens of thousands

of British passport holders should they be successful as they dearly want to say: "Look, com-

~ promise we can achieve!

Unita, too, is no longer with-

. out its dissidents seeking

accommodation and an end to a war they believe only Dr Jonas Savimbi and others in Luanda will not stop with are determined to perpetuate.

South Africa, it is said, having

long since been subjected to !

every conceivable pressure and abuse and survived it, might

well offer to do a deal over Dr -

Savimbi's head as it did with Ian Smith's Rhodesia if the Cubans can be got out, knowing that Unita will fight on anyway and allow for covert action to continue against Swapo in Angola.

Short of all-out economic . which doesn't really work and which would simply fan a trekker spirit of defiance in adversity a back-to-the-wall, no-holds-barred response \_ what more is to be done to Pre-

torial short of force of arms on

which neither East nor West

could agree?

So why not play along while encouraging creeping independence in South West. It could explain President Botha's recent return of powers to the Administrator-General allowing him to enforce second-tier ethnic elections there.

Weekend reports from the US of a sudden increase in Cuban troops in Angola are unlikely to faze Pretoria. If Russia says the Cubans go, they all go. And even if an accommodating US Government, over-anxious for settlement, says the 13th parallel would be far enough, they must still satisfy Pretoria.

Without a massive intervention by the Russians, which seems unlikely while they're sweet-talking the Americans, South Africa holds a number of very strong cards. And Pretoria, without some major concessions, is not going to simply pull out, allowing belligerent forces to roll right up to the Ovambo border and surely not the Orange River!

The hope is that real advances are made in London and that, with Mozambique sending fresh greetings, greater stability for southern Africa is in the offing.

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