

Jubilation as ANC leaders come home

By Stan Hlophe

Soweto streets were alive with the black, green and yellow colours of the ANC yesterday when hundreds of jubilant supporters of the organisation celebrated the early-morning release of eight long-term political leaders.

Four of them — former ANC secretary-general Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, Mr Elias Motsoaledi and Mr Andrew Mlangeni — arrived at their homes after 26 years in prison at 5.30 am and were met by their families and well-wishers who had camped outside the leaders' homes.

Youths, clad in ANC colours, danced the "toyitoyi" and sang freedom songs for hours.

There were shouts of "Amandla" and "Victory is certain".

An ANC flag was hoisted and banners were displayed calling for the unbanning of the movement and the release of Mr Nelson Mandela, now the only Rivonia accused still in jail.

Marshals wearing Umkhonto we Sizwe uniforms formed a human chain to control the crowd and eager members of the local and foreign press.

At the Sisulu home in Orlando West, hundreds of people of all colours, ages and races flocked to the area for a glimpse of the ANC stalwart. The marshals had a busy time controlling the crowd.

Mr Sisulu came out on three occasions and greeted well-wishers overjoyed to see him.

Wearing a grey suit, the bespectacled 77-year-old looked in good health.

Eight 'will be watched closely'

Police will be closely watching the eight high-profile security prisoners released unconditionally at the weekend, security sources have said.

It is understood the SAP will watch the eight, their supporters and anti-apartheid organisations.

"Their release is a testing of the waters. We will have to wait and see what will happen and we will monitor the situation closely. Whether the eight will behave or start mobilising the people still remains to be seen. We will be watching them closely," said a high-level security source.

After a brief salute Mr Sisulu went back inside and the crowd continued dancing the "toyitoyi" and singing.

Visitors streamed to see him, including three former Robben Island prisoners — Mr Strini Moodley, Mr Lombard Mbatha, Mr Thami Mkhwanazi — and Black Consciousness leaders Mr Lybon Mabasa, Mr Ishmael Mkhabela and Mr Nkosi Mola-la.

At Mr Mlangeni's home an ANC flag was at the gate and a banner which said "Welcome home, Comrade Mlangeni, Viva ANC," greeted the former political prisoner. Mr Mkwai was also welcomed by a huge crowd at Mr Mandela's home in Orlando West.

Late in the afternoon the crowd waited for more than an hour to have the opportunity to listen to the political leaders, including Mr Raymond Mhlaba and Mr Oscar Mpetha, who were flown from Cape Town for the press conference at the Holy Cross Anglican Church.

Chanted

Hundreds of people chanted freedom songs and shouts of "ANC, ANC" echoed through the small church hall. A flag was displayed and tables were wrapped in a green, black and yellow tablecloths.

At 6.15 pm the seven, all wearing grey suits, were ushered in to ululation and dancing.

It took Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, who was the master of ceremonies, 15 minutes to calm down the jubilant hundreds. Those who could not secure a place opted to perch on the balcony to have a glimpse of the "magnificent seven", as they were dubbed.

All seven looked in good spirits except Mr Mpetha, who was brought in in a wheelchair.

Mr Sisulu assumed a leadership role and was given the right to deliver a press statement printed on the organisation's letterhead.

The ANC leaders' wives sat behind them and Mrs Winnie Mandela, dressed in an Umkhonto we Sizwe uniform, was among them. Mrs Priscilla Jana, a Johannesburg lawyer, was among those in the audience.

The seven leaders were formally introduced to the crowd, most of whom were in their teens or not born when the men were sentenced to life imprisonment.

AP1989-10-10-16

Albertina Sisulu can speak again

By Special Correspondent

NI African 14/10/89
SOWETO: The New African scooped the first interview with Mrs Albertina Sisulu, co-president of the anti-apartheid United Democratic Front (UDF), soon after her restriction orders had been lifted.

An unexpected early morning visit to her Soweto home by security police armed with an order lifting her restrictions surprised Sisulu.

'The whole time since I heard that Walter would be released unconditionally I have been wondering how things will work with him being allowed out at night and to talk to whoever he wishes and me sitting at home in the evening, gagged,' she said.

Sisulu believes the unbarring will allow her to take a more active public role in the organisations with which she was involved, such as the UDF and the Federation of Transvaal Women.

'For me the struggle continues,' added Sisulu.

One of her first acts in her new-found 'freedom' was to join a march through the streets of Johannesburg on Saturday celebrating the release of the eight long-term political prisoners.

In terms of the restrictions, Sisulu - who was under house arrest for 17 years until 1983 - was not allowed to participate in mass political activities or speak to the press. She was confined to her home at night.

Referring to her first visit to Nelson Mandela at Victor Verster prison last Tuesday she said:

'It was one of my most stimulating experiences in many years'.

She visited Mandela with Murphy Morobe and Cassim Salojee on an invitation by the jailed African National Congress (ANC) leader.

She said Mandela told them that 'I hope my release too will be soon'.

Sisulu believes the government was afraid to release Mandela 'because it knows that the people outside will be guided by him and other leaders. That is why he said the government is not ready to release him'.

'The release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners, as well as the lifting of the restrictions and the scrapping of apartheid, would create the right climate for negotiations between blacks and state president FW De Klerk's government.'

'Only then can the government talk about negotiation'.

Sisulu said she agreed with those who said the release of her husband and others was a government ploy to maintain the status quo in South Africa and take the pressure off British prime minister Margaret Thatcher at the forthcoming Commonwealth meeting where pressure for intensified economic sanctions is expected.

'Certainly there is no doubt the government was pressurised nationally and internationally, but particularly by the Commonwealth into making this move'.

She said the government was using the releases as a cover to protect it from international fire.



God save Africa . . . clenched-fist salutes from five of the seven African National Congress leaders released from jail yesterday. Singing "Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika" at a press conference

in Soweto are (from left) Mr Andrew Mlangeni, Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, Mr Elias Motsaoli and Mr Wilton Mkwayi.

● Picture by Herbert Mabuza.

STAR

16 OCTOBER 1989

Govt 'ready to negotiate with ANC'

'We continue the fight' — Sisulu

SIAR 16 OCTOBER 1989

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

The seven African National Congress prisoners released yesterday have immediately resumed a high-profile political role inside South Africa, with every indication that they intend to operate as if the ANC (officially still banned) has had all restrictions on it lifted.

"This is the first press conference of the ANC since it was banned in 1960," Mr Walter Sisulu told a jubilant crowd of about 1 000 people packing the Holy Cross Anglican Church in Orlando West, Soweto, last night.

He had been asked whether the press conference signified the *de facto* unbanning of the ANC. "Yes," was his answer.

The Government released the political prisoners (seven ANC members and one from the PAC) without any restriction, but has so far made no move to lift the ban on the ANC or PAC, banned since shortly after the Sharpeville riots in 1960.

In London the South African ambassador Mr Ray Killen said today that the Government is ready to negotiate with the ANC without preconditions.

Asked on an early morning BBC news programme whether Pretoria was prepared to have talk with the ANC, he said: "Not only with the ANC but with leaders of all communities in South Africa."

So far there has been no other Government reaction to statements made at the press conference.

Adjacent to the Sisulu home where the former ANC general secretary's arrival was awaited throughout the night by scores of media representatives, the church was packed by hundreds of chanting supporters, many wearing clothes and decorations in ANC colours.

The ANC stalwarts pledged themselves to continue the banned organisation's struggle for freedom "in an orderly and disciplined manner".

They said the ANC did not have any alternative but to continue with its present methods, including the armed struggle and the call for sanctions, as long as the Government refused to meet its demands.

The ANC leaders, some of whom have spent almost three decades in jail, received a heroes' welcome in Soweto after their release early yesterday from prisons close to their homes.

Resuming their political roles in the ANC as free men were Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, Mr Oscar Mpetha, Mr Elias Motsoaledi, Mr Raymond Mhlaba, Mr Andrew Mlangeni and Mr Wilton Mkwayi.

The eighth political prisoner released yesterday, Mr Jafta Mase-mola, is a member of the Pan Africanist Congress.

In a statement read out by Mr Sisulu and printed on paper displaying the ANC logo, the seven men said their dedication to the

Jubilant crowds welcome home ANC leaders — Page 3
'I cannot express happiness about my release' — Page 6
Stepping into sunshine for first taste of freedom — Page 11

struggle had not been weakened by the long years of imprisonment.

"On the contrary we have been strengthened by the developments in the country and by our own clear vision and confidence in the future of South Africa."

They expressed their joy at being reunited with their families, friends and political "comrades", but said there could be no real joy about their release while many other political prisoners, especially Mr Nelson Mandela who had been incarcerated longer than all of them, remained in jail.

"We, his comrades, the people of South Africa and the people of the whole world, demand his release."

They expressed their gratitude to

all the people — individuals, governments, organisations and the progressive press — who had for years been deeply concerned about their incarceration and welfare.

These groups had been "a tremendous inspiration" and had played a vital role in their release.

He added: "On the occasion of our release we wish to salute the people of South Africa who have courageously, and at very high cost, held high the banner of freedom in our country."

The men answered evasively questions concerning their future leadership roles in the ANC.

Mr Sisulu said their future political roles would be determined by "the leadership".

He said the men regarded themselves as part of the broader movement of organisations, including the ANC, United Democratic Front and Mass Democratic Movement.

Asked whether they would apply for passports to report to the ANC in Lusaka, Mr Kathrada said: "We belong to the ANC. We are not individuals. If the organisation feels we should apply for passports, we will do so."

The seven reiterated their commitment to the ANC's stance on sanctions, the armed struggle and negotiations.

Mr Sisulu said they demanded from the Government the unbanning of the ANC and other political organisations, the lifting of the state of emergency, the unbanning of "all people who are banned", the scrapping of laws that "hinder the freedom of the people" and the return of all exiles to their homes.

Unity with PAC is goal

The seven ANC stalwarts who were released yesterday have made it clear they would work towards unity with the outlawed Pan Africanist Congress.

Addressing a media conference in Soweto, Mr Wilton Mkwayi described the ANC as a party based on unity. It was therefore incumbent on the leadership to work towards unity with the PAC and other political organisations.

Earlier in the day, Mr Walter Sisulu met Mr Strini Moodley, a founder-member of the Black Consciousness Movement, at the Sisulu house in Orlando.

In the past, serious differences had emerged between the

ANC and the BCM over tactics, methods and ideological positions regarding the question of land redistribution, socialism and the inclusion of white activists in leadership ranks.

At one stage, the differences led to serious, physical clashes at public meetings with supporters of the Freedom Charter on the one hand and the Azanian Manifesto on the other.

The difference between the ANC and the PAC dates back to 1948 when an "Africanist contingent" lambasted the Freedom Charter on the basis that it did not address the question of land dispossession of the African majority. — Sapa.



Cape trade unionist Mr Oscar Mpetha with well-wishers after arriving at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday afternoon. The welcome was organised by the National Reception Committee. **16 OCTOBER 1987** ● Pictures by Karen Fletcher.

Despite releases, many still jailed or restricted

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

While the weekend release of eight long-term security prisoners is continuing to make headlines worldwide, many South Africans are being kept in jail under emergency or security legislation while several hundred more are restricted.

The Human Rights Commission (HRC), the only organisation which regularly monitors detentions, says 71 people are being held in terms of the emergency regulations.

Of the 71, 16 are being held in the PWV area, 36 in Natal, 13 in the Eastern Cape, one in the Western Cape and five in the Northern Transvaal.

In addition, 41 people are being detained under section 29 of the Internal Security Act and 10 under section 31 of the Act.

An HRC spokesman said the relatively low figure should be viewed in the light of the hunger strikes by scores of detainees which had led to the release of many of them.

More than 650 people were currently res-

tricted, she said.

According to Government figures, 349 people were serving jail sentences in 1988 after being found guilty of offences "against the security of the State".

The HRC spokesman said the figure probably referred to people found guilty of offences in terms of the Internal Security Act only.

"Many other politically motivated crimes are excluded. Many people are serving sentences on criminal convictions such as murder, intimidation and public violence."

NATAL WITNESS 16 OCTOBER 1989

Back at the forefront after years in jail

OSCAR MPETHA

KNOWN as the father of South African trade unionism, Mr Oscar Mpetha was jailed in August 1985 after his appeal on an incitement charge had failed.

The charge carried a mandatory jail sentence.

Mr Mpetha spent most of his prison term under guard in the Groote Schuur Hospital in Cape Town. He is a diabetic and had one leg amputated while serving his term.

Mr Mpetha was born in the Mount Frere district in Transkei on August 15, 1909.

He first started organising workers in the 1940s in fish factories along the Cape West Coast.

In 1951 he became general secretary of the Food and Canning Workers' Union.

In the same year he joined the ANC, eventually becoming regional secretary and later vice-president of the Cape region.

His banning in 1963 forced him to leave the union, but he continued to organise workers and later rejoined the union.

A large number of friends and well-wishers congregated to welcome Mr Mpetha back to his Nyanga home yesterday. — Sapa.

ANDREW MLANGENI

ANDREW Mlangeni (61) was one of the ANC leaders who were jailed after the Rivonia trial.

He was born on May 3, 1926. He completed his standard 8 in Johannesburg and then worked as a clerk, bus driver and golf caddie to earn money to further his education. He also worked as a journalist for the now banned newspaper New Age.

Mr Mlangeni joined the ANC Youth League in 1951 and was involved in the 1952 Defiance Campaign. In 1958 he was elected secretary of the ANC's Soweto region.

In the 1960s he went underground and, according to Rivonia trial evidence, he and Elias Motsoaledi joined the Johannesburg command of Umkhonto we Sizwe and were responsible for explosives for sabotage. — Sapa.



African National Congress leader Oscar Mpetha (80), one of eight long-term security prisoners freed yesterday, arrives home. Mr Mpetha, who was sentenced to five years' imprisonment for terrorism in 1985, spent all of his sentence in hospital under prison guard.

AP Wirephoto

Sisulu appeals to Government to create a climate for negotiations

Defiant ANC men

SPATIAL WITNESS

16 OCTOBER 1989

test FW

Releases take the heat off Thatcher

LONDON — The release of eight political prisoners, ahead of the Commonwealth Conference which starts in Kuala Lumpur on Wednesday, puts British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in a strong position to resist pressure to impose further sanctions on South Africa.

The releases will give Mrs Thatcher a bargaining tool to delay any new moves until the Pretoria Government has been given time to produce sufficient evidence of its stated commitment to reform.

While British Foreign Secretary John Major said that the "immensely helpful move" had shown President F.W. de Klerk was "serious about reform", the European Community (EC) foreign ministers were more cautious.

French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas said that while the 12 ministers were pleased with South Africa's move, the eight releases had not significantly altered the EC's attitude. He pledged to keep up the pressure for reform.

At the Kuala Lumpur conference Mrs Thatcher will be up against a strong pro-sanctions lobby.

Speaking yesterday, President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe said he would

advocate more drastic sanctions. However, he conceded that the South African Government had made moves recently to eliminate discrimination, and said he was inclined to relax the pressure temporarily, especially since Mr de Klerk had condemned apartheid.

Mr Mugabe said Mr de Klerk had to be carefully watched, because he had not been in office long.

"We would like to give him a honeymoon, but not a long honeymoon," he said.

"Until South Africa has renounced apartheid in toto, one should not anticipate that a solution is coming."

He said the sanctions already imposed had had a biting effect, and the South African Government had had to ask the World Bank and international agencies to reschedule its debt.

"If we can mount pressure on the Commonwealth members to impose more sanctions, it will break South Africa's back," Mr Mugabe said.

— Sapa-Reuter.

by BRYAN PEARSON
in Johannesburg

AFRICAN National Congress veteran Walter Sisulu, fresh from his release after 26 years in jail, yesterday challenged President F.W. de Klerk to "create a climate" for negotiations with representative black leaders.

He and six other ANC prisoners released at dawn yesterday also rejected suggestions that they had renounced violence.

The men were speaking at the first de facto ANC press conference on South African soil since the organisation was banned in 1960.

Mr Sisulu led his fellow ANC stalwarts on to a platform at the Holy Cross Anglican Church across the road from his home in the Orlando West district of Soweto, proclaiming them "the spear of the ANC".

About 2 000 supporters crammed into the hall, squeezing into window frames and climbing onto the roof.

But Mr Sisulu read a statement telling them: "There can be no real joy about our own releases when we know that others have been left behind, especially comrade Nelson Mandela."

Mr Sisulu shared the platform with 80-year-old Oscar Mpetha, who was brought on in a wheelchair, with Raymond Mhlaba (69) who flew in with Mr Mpetha from Cape Town; Elias Motsoaledi (65); Andrew Mlangeni (63) Ahmed "Kathy" Kathrada (60) and Wilton Mkwayi (65).



Former commander of Umkhonto we Sizwe Wilton Mkwayi (67) gives a black power salute after being released from prison yesterday morning.

AP Wirephoto



Walter Sisulu, African National Congress leader, waves outside his Soweto home after his release from prison. His wife Albertina looks on. AP Wirephoto

The seven men supported the economic sanctions campaign by the ANC in exile, the United Democratic Front, the "mass democratic movement", and Cosatu, Mr Sisulu said.

He said the Government could create the climate for negotiations by ending the state of emergency, unbanning the ANC and lifting restrictions on other organisations, freeing political prisoners and allowing exiles to return.

He denied the seven had renounced violence. "The question of violence is not our choice, but (has arisen) because the ruling class is adamant in its repression of the people of South Africa."

In answer to a question, Mr Sisulu stressed that it was the "duty of the leadership to continue... to pressurise the Government in every possible way... in an orderly and disciplined way".

Mr Mlangeni warned that the ball was in the Government's court. "If the Government does not agree to our demands, we have no choice but to continue to fight for our freedom," he said.

Answering a question, Mr Sisulu referred to their releases as "half-measures we think (are) doing great harm to the country".

He attributed their freedom to pressure from governments, organisations and the "progressive press".

The political future of the seven ANC men will be determined by the leaders of the movement both at home and abroad, Mr Sisulu said.

"We are not individuals, we are part of a whole. If the ANC decides that we should apply for passports to visit Lusaka, we will go."

Earlier yesterday, insiders said Mr Sisulu had held telephonic discussions with ANC secretary general Alfred Nzo.

An eighth man released yesterday Jafta "Jeff" Masemola, a member of the breakaway Pan-Africanist Congress, was ostracised by the national reception committee set up by the MDM, and spoke to reporters alone in the Pretoria township of Atteridgeville.

Professor Meer's call welcomed

Political Reporter

DAILY NEWS

16 OCTOBER 1989

NATAL sociologist Professor Fatima Meer's recent call to stop classifying people as collaborators for working in government-created structures has been welcomed by three top "in-the-system" political leaders.

The division of black political figures into collaborators and liberators was resented by people in government structures, she said, even if in most cases they deserved it.

Professor Meer described this name calling as puerile politics which should be done away with. It resulted only in hurting and distancing people. Instead,

all disenfranchised blacks and democrats of whatever colour should work together to force the hand of the National Party, she said.

Mr Luwellyn Landers, the Labour Party member of the House of Representatives for Durban Suburbs, said: "We have always said that our end-goal is the same — a non-racial democratic South Africa. We always said that we should agree to differ when it came to strategy, but that our strategies should be complementary rather than a source of division."

"If Professor Meer's statements signal a change in attitude and approach, then it is most welcome and can only lead to a better understanding of one another's approach, which it would seem, is a sign of the times."



Professor Meer

Mr Ismail Omar, national chairman of Solidarity, said the division between the so-called system and struggle politics had divided opposition to apartheid for more than 50 years. Professor Meer's call "is therefore not only timely but an eminently sensible suggestion which, if heeded, can change the face of opposition politics with far-reaching consequences for South Africa".

It could close the rift in opposition ranks which sometimes assumed genocidal propor-

tions, and could put an end to the infighting which served only to prolong apartheid.

"Also, it can bring about much needed unity amongst South Africans of all shades in a combined onslaught which apartheid cannot withstand."

Since more black lives had been lost in recent times fighting one another for political supremacy than in the main struggle against apartheid itself, Professor Meer's call "must be taken seriously by leadership on both sides of the political divide," Mr Omar said.

Mr Mamoo Rajab, the Democratic Party Member of the HoD for Springfield, said he was pleased people such as Professor Meer were beginning to think realistically. He said Professor Meer needed support in her stand. Her statement

"must have taken a great deal of courage" he said.

To fashion a new society "we will have to get together all the people who are like-minded in opposition to the present structure and do what we can to remove apartheid".

People opposed to apartheid should work out a common strategy on "how we are to build a new South Africa, instead of wasting our time calling one another names. We should be working for the common good of the people of South Africa".

People had not participated in Government-created institutions because they accepted them but because they believed the institutions should be used to attain a non-racial democracy. "After all, this is what the majority of people in the country desire," said Mr Rajab.

BLACK HUNGER FOR EDUCATION

DAILY NEWS 16 OCTOBER 1989

Rural community leaders flood Urban Foundation

WHEN the Urban Foundation was started in 1976, the needs expressed by Natal's black communities were overwhelmingly education-oriented.

Although the aim of the foundation was to improve urban conditions, word soon spread to the most rural areas that help was at hand.

And before long, concerned community members were flooding to the Urban Foundation's Durban office to put their case — "help us to build classrooms".

Housing, water, sewerage and other problems aside, their main drive was to educate their children.

Educationists involved in the KwaZulu Natal area can all vouch for the unique and enormous commitment of even the most impoverished families to organise the best possible education for their children.

Now, nearly 14 years later, the needs are still enormous.

The Urban Foundation's Natal Schools Project organisers see about 20 communities a week, wanting to make use of the classroom building scheme — and there is presently a waiting list of 140 schools needing assistance with classroom building.

And while the needs seem insurmountable, the project has listened to and assessed every need, until now it can boast having built over

THE needs seem insurmountable, but the Natal Schools Project is working consistently to meet the needs of black communities in terms of additional classrooms and various school facilities. **SUE SEGAR**, The Daily News Education Reporter, reports on a growing commitment to black education in Natal/KwaZulu.



MR Nigel Wood

850 classrooms and about 45 administration blocks at various schools throughout Natal since 1977.

Mr Nigel Wood, Project Manager in the Natal School's Project explained how the scheme works.

"When a community decides that a school is needed in their area,

they will meet with the chief of the area, and apply to him for a site to build a school.

"The chief usually gives them a site of about five acres, which is then registered with KwaZulu. This gives them the go-ahead to build a school.

"The community then pays a cash deposit to

the Urban Foundation, of about 20 percent of the estimated cost of the project.

"We then help in the form of advice, technical supervision and a loan.

"Our technical staff then finds a suitable local builder, and signs a simple contract with him.

"The Urban Foundation then orders the necessary materials directly from suppliers for delivery.

"From then, the construction is monitored through to completion.

"Once the classrooms have been built the community leaders are able to apply to KwaZulu for a subsidy of up to R5 000 per completed classroom.

"A KwaZulu 'rand for rand' subsidy is ceded to the Urban Foundation to reduce the loan, and any balance is paid off by the school over three or four years.

"The whole process involves a very substantial financial commitment by the foundation."

Mr Wood said the importance of establishing classrooms and schools could not be overstressed.

"Apart from the obvious needs, schools have in many cases been the only unifying factors amidst all the unrest and instability in Natal and KwaZulu," he said.

"This is partly because of the importance the people place in education and partly because the communities have themselves worked to have the building done."

NIC and Red flag: Gandhi must be turning in his grave

SIR — I could barely contain my disbelief when I read the response of Messrs Sewpersadh, Coovadia, Ramgobin, Nair and Meer in defence of the Russian flag (The Daily News, October 5).

Since when has the Natal Indian Congress become the sponsors of the apologists for the South African Communist Party? Gandhi, whose legacy Congress bears, must be turning in his grave! Do these gentlemen of Congress also really expect people to believe that Archbishop Dennis Hurley's wariness about marching behind a communist flag is not the product of his own thinking but the result of "massive State and white media propaganda"? If the State has indoctrinated Hurley, who's left?

When Mandela had called for the expulsion of the communists from the ANC in the early forties, did he also succumb to the propaganda, bias and prejudice of a select minority at the time? To discredit one's opponents by accusing them of being indoctrinated by the enemy's propaganda is a communist tactic and these gentlemen should know better.

Surely they must know that the worst crimes against humanity in modern times have been inflicted in the name of the infamous four anti-democratic and dictatorial ideolo-

gies, namely fascism, nazism, communism and racism, regardless of the variances in species. Have they forgotten Afghanistan already?

Russian communism, in spite of having one of the best Bill of Rights in the world, did after all produce the excesses of a Stalin.

What freedom of expression did the Sakharovs and Scharanskys enjoy despite constitutional protection of such freedoms? Why have thousands of East Germans died in trying to escape from such communist havens?

Perestroika, some would argue, is a gradual and nervous move away from communism towards democratisation and the freeing of enterprise. Perestroika or reform have one thing in common; they implicitly admit the existence of undemocratic State structures.

I ask three simple questions, to which I expect three simple responses, from these gentlemen:

1 — Should any organisation be allowed access to the democratic process in order to abolish that very process?

2 — Would the NIC accept communist rule in post-apartheid South Africa?

3 — If communists are allowed to compete, can the same right be denied to fascists, racists and nazis?

ISMAIL OMAR, Qualbert

An evil far worse than apartheid

SIR — The recent letter by Dr Farouk Meer and Co. needs a response.

Firstly, we must agree that the Church has in collaboration with Western colonialism and capitalism committed the most horrendous crimes against humanity. However, that was not the Christianity that Christ taught and Christians need to dissociate themselves from it.

At the same time, true Christianity needs to dissociate itself from a communism based on a godless Marxist philosophy and humanistic ideology. Must we dissociate ourselves from communists on ideological differences? Yes, we must. For communists in their quest for power overplay the virtues of "freedom", "democracy", "egalitarianism", in order to enlist the support of the ignorant masses.

At the same time, they underplay their ideology. Once they seize power they dispense with the concepts they extolled in their power-seeking strategy and their monstrous ideology then begins to raise its ugly head.

They will use all the machinery at their disposal to see to its entrenchment — and let's not dismiss this as Government or media or right-wing propaganda as communists are arrogantly wont to do!

The Christian church certainly cannot march side by side with the South African Communist Party since the latter is the surrogate of Russian communism which perpetrates the most brutal crimes against the church in its own country where the church is forced to go underground while the Russian State church continues to propagate Marxism in Christian guise.

Yes, the Red Flag in the MDM marches cannot be tolerated in the name of democracy since communism stands for a democracy whose wickedness far exceeds that of the bogus democracy presently experienced in South Africa.

Beware the evil of apartheid being replaced by the greater evil of communism. Beware the liberation from apartheid leading to poverty, enslavement and total bondage to communism.

JOHN RAMSAMY, Verulam

The real meaning of Red slogans

SIR — Some apparently learned people used high-sounding words or slogans, such as democracy and freedom in comment on the "Red Flag Flap" (The Daily News, October 5).

It is time that the average man learned what the real meaning behind these words are. They are certainly not what we in the free world understand them to be.

For example:

Democratic: Russia has just held "democratic" elections. Trouble is that all candidates had to be members of the Communist Party. That is like Henry Ford who said of the model T "You can have any colour you like as long as it is black." Kenneth Kaunda's Zambia is held up as a democracy — a one-party, president-for-life one candidate only democracy. Is this what we want for South Africa?

Freedom: In communist terms, this means: "Free to obey the laws of the land." What it does not mean is free

to own, earn or worship or even to leave the country. Is this the freedom we seek here?

The People: When a communist regime seizes power in the name of the people, those people are all for the good of the people. Confusing? Not at all, once you realise that the people are not you and I. No sir! The people are ultimately only the members of the Communist Party. You and I are merely what Lenin referred to as: "Man, the providing animal."

Non-racialism: This is a new term and I have not yet been able to discover exactly what it means. All I know is that it is not causing any peace and harmony on our university campuses, and it seems that it could be another word for reverse racialism. It sounds really great though, like so many slogans.

I just pray that some of our religious leaders will see the way they are being used and misled.

J.L. WESSELS, Durban North

The Red flag of suppression

SIR — Your correspondents, Messrs Sewpersadh, Coovadia, Ramgolin, Nair and Meer complain about the hysterical reaction of the clergy and the media to the flying of the red flag (The Daily News, October 5).

Personally I noticed no hysteria in the media and I saw a lot of clergy marching under the banner. I and many others criticise them for doing that. The red flag and peace are mutually incompatible.

Your correspondents should acknowledge the truth rather than trot out their silly clichés. They should remember that, if it were not for British colonialism, all Indian people would still be the serfs of the Maharajah. British colonialism stopped the tribes of Africa from "slaughtering" each other. Britain stopped the slave trade which was organised in part, by the Arabs, who presumably enjoyed the blessing of Allah.

Britain developed her colonies and brought them to nationhood, a

lot of which has subsequently been abused. Russia has devastated Afghanistan, as did China Tibet. Christian missionaries usually travelled ahead of the colonial establishment. They did not follow the drum. That is history.

The red flag is associated with Stalinist repression, the suppression of all religions and the total domination of the individual by the state. We do not want or need that in South Africa. Poland and Hungary have thrown it out and are no longer communist.

Tens of thousands of East Germans are fleeing from it and it may be dying in Russia. Under a red flag there would be no free press to publish letters of criticism.

Your correspondents do not have a monopoly on the desire for a non-racial democracy in South Africa. The sooner they and their "congress" get together with and support the Democratic Party, the sooner we shall see one established.

WILLIAM STANLEY, Winterskloof

Religion and communism irreconcilable

SIR — "Five wise men of the East" (The Daily News, October 5, "Red flag-flap hysterical") is contemptuous of any Christian who believes in a free, just democratic society. The use of the term "hysterical" is both ludicrous and derogatory towards the Christian faith.

The issue is whether to march

under the Red flag, nothing more and nothing less. No Christian or even any believer in any religion whatsoever can expect to reconcile themselves with communism! Only a fool would try to sell us the story that God and Marxism-Leninism go together.

HILTON (Mrs), Berea

'Create climate for negotiation'

of emergency would also have to be lifted and banned people should be unbanned.

"We also demand that the laws which hinder our freedom should be removed and that all exiles should be allowed to return to their homes."

Mr Sisulu said it was the duty of the ANC leadership to continue to pressurise the government in an "orderly and disciplined manner."

He stressed that the ANC had always conducted its struggle in an orderly and disciplined manner. "We have gone into the question of violence not because of choice, but because of the role chosen by the government in refusing people to be free."

Asked whether their

release should be seen as part of Mr De Klerk's vision for a new South Africa, Mr Sisulu said it would have been better had Mandela been included in the release.

"Instead it is a half measure which is doing great harm to the country."

Questioned about the political significance of their release, Mr Sisulu said the government was beginning to become sensitive to issue affecting the people of this country.

He said this was the first Press conference of the leaders of the ANC who have been in prison "and it is, therefore, the first Press conference of the ANC inside South Africa since it was banned".

Asked if he regarded the ANC as de facto unbanned, Mr Sisulu said

that this question had not yet arisen and would have to be discussed with the ANC leadership.

As to their future role, another Rivonia treason trialist, Ahmed Kathrada, said in a Sapa report, it was up to the ANC to decide.

"We're not individuals, we are a part of a whole. If the ANC, decides that we should apply for passports to visit Lusaka, we will go," he said to rapturous applause.

The seven ANC leaders also rejected suggestions that they had renounced violence.

Mr Andrew Mlangeni described the methods of the ANC as well known.

"The ball is in the government's court. If the government does not reach our demands, we have no alternative but to fight for freedom.

"There are no other methods, we will continue with the present methods of struggle of the ANC."

A statement read out at the conference said the seven ANC members constantly thought of their colleagues that had been left inside, especially Nelson Mandela.

"We, his comrades, the people of South Africa and the people of the whole world demand his release," said the statement.

The statement also expressed solidarity with the people of Namibia and in particular, Swapo.

Hundreds of youths toyi-toyed, sang freedom songs, and chanted ANC slogans prior to the arrival of the seven activists.

The crowd quietened down as the seven waited outside the church hall.

A phalanx of "comrades" lead them into the

hall amid strong cheers and ululating from the colourful crowd.

Each activist was taken to the central table, with Mr Sisulu — because of his seniority — seated on a high chair in the middle.

He was flanked on either side by Mr Kathrada and Mr Mlangeni.

At the end of the con-

ference, journalists were requested either to leave, or to disconnect sound and video equipment on the basis that the ANC activists wished to "speak informally" with their people.

Media representative from throughout the world attended the Press conference.

16/11

Mpumalanga's struggle for peace

16/1/14
N/A/14/14
16/1/14

UNDER the flag of the African National Congress (ANC), more than 25 000 United Democratic Front (UDF) supporters surged to the Mpumalanga police station denouncing the presence of the South African Police (SAP) Riot Unit and kitskonstabels in the township.

At the police station, local UDF leader Noel Ntsele handed in a petition to the local station commander, Mandla Mbhele, demanding the withdrawal of the riot unit and kitskonstabels, who were allegedly largely responsible for the violence which flared up in Mpumalanga.

Mbhele said he would forward the petition as soon as possible to his superiors.

The march kicked off with a peace rally at the Mpumalanga stadium and proceeded to the police station.

The crowd sang the praises of the ANC and the UDF and in full glare of the police flew the ban-

IN recent weeks there has been an upsurge in attacks against United Democratic Front (UDF) supporters in Mpumalanga. This reign of terror resulted in a massive protest march to the local police station last week where residents voiced their anger against the presence of the South African Police (SAP) riot unit and kitskonstabels in the township. FAROUK CHOTHIA - after having visited the area - reports on the devastating effects of the violence in the place known as 'where the sun rises'. Pictures by RAFAEL MAYET.

ners of the banned organisations.

Among those who took part in the 25 000-strong march were Mpumalanga mayor Rodgers Sishi, local UDF leader Alfred Ndlovu, National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (Numsa) projects organiser Willie Mchunu and National Medical and Dental Association (Namda) president Diliza Mji.

The authorities had given the Mpumalanga residents six hours to hold the peace rally and march, but before the period had expired protesters had already been tear-

gassed.

Teargas was fired after the march had ended and when the protesters were peacefully going home on foot or were boarding buses.

The police action - slammed as 'provocative' by lawyer Bheka Shezi - left at least two people injured while 43 were arrested. Eric Funeka and Mduduzi Mkhize sustained shotgun wounds.

Later in the week 42 people appeared in the Mpumalanga Magistrate's Court on charges of public violence. They were not asked to

plead and their case was adjourned to November 8.

Natal Black Sash chairperson Wendy Annecke appeared in court on charges of crimen injuria. She was not asked to plead and the hearing was adjourned to October 31.

At the rally the call for peace was made by the crowd who held placards declaring: 'Stop the killing' and 'Troops are terrorising the country'.

Only about 200 of the 25 000 marchers were from outside areas. The rest were Mpumalanga residents.

An Eminent Persons Group (EPG) consisting of diplomats, businesspeople and religious leaders also visited Mpumalanga and held talks with UDF and Inkatha leaders.

They expressed their concern at the violence and found that residents wanted peace, as well as professional and impartial policing.



Part of the 25 000 strong crowd which marched on the Mpumalanga police station last week to demand the withdrawal of the riot unit and kitskonstabels

'His dream was to be a lawyer. Now he is in a grave'

WRAPPED in a blanket, Esta Shangase (54) sat on a mattress staring into the darkness. Her only light was a candle which is a traditionally lit in times of mourning.

Outside her home scores of singing youths were paying tribute to her son, Ukusa High School student Natalie Shangase (21), who was killed by vigilantes in a three week rampage against UDF supporters in Mpumalanga.

The New African entered the Shangase home and after paying our respects, uncomfortably asked her for an interview.

She agreed and almost in a whisper told of her ordeal.

'I came home on that Monday from work. I was told that my son was killed earlier that day. I was confused and that evening and on Tuesday we did not

know what to do.

'Then on Wednesday his father went to the Camperdown mortuary but he could not find the body. Then I went the next day (on Thursday) to see if I could find it.

'There were a whole lot of bodies lying naked on top of each other. That is why his father could not find his body.

'But a mother knows her son and in no time I found it. Natalie was burnt. 'Someone else would not have recognised him but I knew it was my son.

'I told them to clean his body and then on Friday I got it transferred to Mariannhill. The mortuary is much better there.

On Thursday Natalie was buried. His dream was to become a lawyer. Instead, he is now in a grave.

Weapons for attack and defence

THE sun has set in the place known as 'where the sun rises' - Mpumalanga.

For the past three weeks, when fighting broke out between Inkatha and United Democratic Front (UDF) supporters, Mpumalanga has turned into a war zone.

At least 20 people have been killed and hundreds injured.

People - and not only police - are walking around the streets armed with R1 rifles and shotguns. In the areas where these modern weapons are scarce people walk around with home-made guns, sticks and other weapons for attacks and defence.

At least 25 homes have been gutted in recent arson attacks.

Barricades burn as one group attempts to keep the other out of its territory when an attack is imminent.

And then there is the South African Police (SAP) riot unit and kitskonstabels, who have a massive presence in the township. They are stationed at strategic points - at one point last week journalists saw at least 20 police vans.

As they patrol the township they spread fear among UDF supporters who run for safety when they see the yellow vans: otherwise they could have an appointment with death.

Police search lights zoom on the homes throughout the night to monitor residents' movements. If police do not like what is happening, they swoop and detain, arrest and shoot.

Against this backdrop, will the sun ever rise again in Mpumalanga?

Both the local UDF and Inkatha leaders are prepared to get around



Marchers protest against the presence of the riot unit while police look on.

the table and talk, but there are many obstacles in their path.

Perhaps, the biggest hurdle is the presence of the riot unit and kitskonstabels in the township.

UDF leaders are adamant that they must be withdrawn from the township and hold them largely responsible for the outbreak of violence.

Attacks

The leadership claims that the riot unit and kitskonstabels are co-operating with Inkatha supporters in attacks against them and that prior to their arrival, the township was relatively quiet.

However, a local Inkatha leader has reportedly said that the SAP must not only remain but their presence must be stepped up.

As for the police, their com-

mitment to ending the violence remains questionable.

Earlier this year, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok announced that an 'iron fist' would be used against the 'radicals'.

The UDF/Cosatu warned this would lead to an escalation of violence and Mpumalanga seems to have proved them correct. However, there is no signal from Vlok that he intends backtracking.

Perhaps, Mpumalanga is now witnessing the effect of this 'iron fist'.

Diakonia director Paddy Kearney said he understood arrangements had been made for an Eminent Persons Group (EPG) to meet the Commissioner of Police, Major General Johann van Niekirk, to hear their viewpoint

on the violence on Monday.

But this meeting failed to materialise because police claimed no prior arrangements had been made.

Another major obstacle to peace initiatives is the Inkatha Central Committee's (ICC) decision to place a moratorium on peace talks with the UDF/Cosatu.

Local UDF leaders said if peace was to be achieved in Mpumalanga, talks also had to take place at a national level.

They say that since the outbreak of violence warlords from outside areas have been seen in Mpumalanga 'instigating' attacks.

'So all these people must be committed to peace otherwise they would continue coming to the area and causing violence,' a UDF leader said.



Youths from Mpumalanga and other areas march for peace

HOME

Tumultuous welcome for released eight

THE African National Congress stalwarts who were released from prison early yesterday morning came home to a tumultuous and emotion-charged welcome.

It was one of the biggest home-coming ceremonies ever held in Soweto.

Traffic came to a virtual stand-

By SY MAKARINGE

still in most parts of Soweto as hundreds of youths singing freedom songs and chanting slogans as well as elderly people marched from one home to another to welcome their leaders.

There were ululations and hundreds of people lined the streets. Many others stood on rooftops to get a glimpse of the

released men who have been in jail for more than 25 years.

The Orlando West home of Mr Walter Sisulu, former general secretary of the outlawed African National Congress, was a beehive of activity as scores of people waited outside to see him.

He emerged a few minutes later with his wife, Albertina, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, general secretary of the National Union of

• To page 3

Back home

• From page 1

Mineworkers, and Mr Murphy Morobe, an executive member of the Mass Democratic Movement.

Looking fit and in good spirits, Sisulu, raising a clenched fist, told the crowd he was excited to be back home.

He said he and the other long-term political prisoners were told at the Johannesburg Prison at about 2.30 am that they had been freed.

"There was a time when I thought I would die in prison. I was prepared to die in prison but I never despaired because the spirit of the people outside was inspiring. But I'm very excited to be back," Sisulu said.

He said the township still looked the same and some of the houses still looked the way they did before he was imprisoned.

Mr Wilton Mkwayi, one of the leaders who were released yesterday, greeted the crowds with a clenched fist salute at the Orlando West home of Mr Nelson Mandela.

He did not speak to them but a marshal said

the aging anti-apartheid activist still needed a rest. He was happy to be back home.

Another Rivonia Trial accused released yesterday, Mr Andrew Mlangeni, said from his Dube home: "I'm extremely happy to be among you. We're back and hope we'll be able to help you."

Mlangeni, like Sisulu, looked very fit and healthy.

Mr Elias Motsoaledi was carried shoulder high when he emerged from his Mzimhlophe home with his wife, Caroline, to address a crowd which had then swelled to more than 3 000.

With his clenched fist raised, he said their release was a victory for the people.

"I'm here because of you," he said to chants of "We love you, Motsoaledi, we love you!"

The crowds who welcomed the leaders moved from one home to another in an orderly fashion. There was not even a single incident of violence while police were conspicuous by their absence.

Longest jail sentence

SOUTH Africa's longest political life prisoner, Mr Jeff Kgalabi Masemola, slipped quietly into Atteridgeville, Pretoria, yesterday and declared his unswerving aim of wresting power from the "racist regime."

Unlike the Rivonia trialists, Masemola was sentenced to life imprisonment a year earlier than Nelson Mandela and his colleagues for sabotaged engineered by the Pan Africanist Congress.

He said: "Our release from prison after such a long period is intended to soften world pressure on this racist regime."

By **MONK NKOMO**

Masemola, who was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1963, was released at 2.15 am yesterday after spending 27 years in jail.

Teacher

At the time of his arrest he was a teacher at Banareng Primary School in Atteridgeville.

In an interview with *Sowetan*, Masemola (58), who looked healthy and young, said he was not happy to be released

because the crime he allegedly committed did not warrant a life sentence."

Masemola was arrested together with 15 others on March 21 1963.

and he was sentenced to life imprisonment by Mr Justice Cellie sitting with two assessors in the Pretoria Supreme Court on July 2 1963 for conspiring to commit acts of sabotage and overthrowing the government by violent means. Asked to comment on his release,

Masemola, dressed in a grey-three piece suit, said: "I believe that our release is intended to soften world pressure.

"We are being used as chips to buy world favour. Our release is not so much out of humanitarian consideration."

Masemola said he was unjustly sentenced to life imprisonment because he did not have legal representation. "Our lawyers, who included, Mr Sydney Kentridge and Mr Jack

Unterhalter, were refused access to interview us. The sentence was too harsh because no act of sabotage was committed," said Masemola.

Asked to comment on the Government's widely publicised policy of negotiation with black leaders, Masemola said: "Speaking for myself the issue at the moment is not whether there should be negotiations or not. We cannot negotiate with usurpers of our land. Our primary task, as stated over and over again, is to repossess our country - Azania."

Masemola stressed, however, that he was not going to stand in the way of those who consider negotiation as a solution to this country's problems.

He said he had not yet planned his future.



Jeff Masemola

150 000 people march

SCHEIDAN 16 OCT 1989



Members of the Mass Democratic Movement and trade unions marched in Johannesburg in protest against the Labour Relations Amendment Act and to welcome the released ANC activists.

MORE than 150 000 people participated in Cosatu - organised marches at 17 South African centres countrywide on Saturday to protest the Labour Relations Amendment Act.

The largest march was held in Port Elizabeth, where an estimated 20 000 people gathered at their march starting - point at 10.30 am but were joined by at least another 20 000 more by 12.30pm as the march proceeded.

Apart from Maritzburg's march, during which shop and bus windows were smashed and people arrested for looting, no other incidents of violence were reported.

Police reported damage to the value of R45 000 as a result of the Maritzburg march by about 2 000 workers.

Cosatu march marshalls were praised for their efforts in controlling crowds at most centres.

Several petitions listing demands for the scrapping of the Labour Relations Amendment Act, the lifting of the state of emergency, the release of all political prisoners and detainees, the unbanning of political organisations, and others were presented to police by march leaders for delivery to the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok.

At Secunda a march of 6 000 protestors proceeded despite a refusal by the town's Conservative Party-controlled council to allow it.

According to a Cosatu spokesman the number of marchers was reduced after an anonymous

Violence mars protest in Natal

pamphlet had been circulated in Secunda's Embalenhle township saying the march had been postponed to coincide with the National Union of Mineworkers' march on October 20.

Bogus pamphlets were also circulated in Port Elizabeth in the name of Namda (National Medical and Dental Association), claiming marchers would be sterilised by means of radiation.

The right-wing Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) in a statement promised to put an end to protest "communist-inspired" protest marches which were evidence that State President F W de Klerk had in his short term of office allowed the country to become ungovernable.

Between 2 000 and 3000 protesters joined the march in Pietersburg which was conducted in

good spirit.

In Durban the marchers numbered between 3 500 and 5 000. The march drew peacefully to a close shortly after midday on Saturday.

About 15 AWB members were seen standing next to the local police station in Nelspruit showing live bullets to the marchers.

The police watched as about 1 000 marchers led by local priests, who included the Reverend Muntu Ndlangamandla of the Lowveld Council of Churches and Father Joseph Mitchell, marched along the 4km route. Sapa



Walter Sisulu (77), the former secretary-general of the ANC, was welcomed home by his family.



Elias Motsoaledi (65) was banned for his involvement in the ANC's defiance campaign in the 1950s. All pics by MBUZENI ZULU.

Welcome home



Andrew Mlangeni (63) was the ANC's Johannesburg branch secretary.



Wilton Mkwayi (67) grew up in Port Elizabeth. His father signed him up for membership of the ANC in 1940 when Mkwayi was 17 years old. He was active in the Council of Non-European Trade Unions and participated in rent and bus boycotts. In 1953 he was chosen as the defiance campaign's volunteer-in-chief for the Eastern Cape.

Chief calls for unity as

'New future awaits SA through negotiation'

By Erik Larsen

THE new future that awaits South Africa is going to be produced by the politics of negotiation, Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said at the weekend.

Addressing the Inkatha Women's Brigade in Ulundi on Saturday, Chief Buthelezi said the new South Africa is not going to be produced unilaterally by the ANC in exile, or by Inkatha, but through negotiation.

"I cannot stress sufficiently to the South African Government how important it is to release Dr Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners so that negotiation will not be delayed and our brothers and sisters in exile are able to join in the negotiations should they desire to do so."

Chief Buthelezi said he had met Mr F W de Klerk soon after he was elected as leader of the National Party and he was "pleas-

antly surprised" at the extent to which Mr De Klerk showed his new-style of leadership and spoke with ease about his determination to put the politics of negotiation on track.

"It is early days yet, but quite independently of what one thinks of Mr De Klerk as a man, you can be quite assured that he must be attempting something as the survival of the National Party depends upon Mr De Klerk's making progress in reform."

"We are standing at the threshold of an entirely new political era. Whether we cross that threshold remains to be seen, but I most certainly am not going to be the one who blocks the way for Whites to cross it."

Chief Buthelezi said he

would not negotiate about the political future of South Africa while Nelson Mandela remained in jail. "He and other political prisoners must be released, and I believe they will be released because without them there can be no real negotiations."

Regarding the peace talks between Inkatha, the UDF, Cosatu and the ANC, Chief Buthelezi said that although Inkatha had called for a moratorium on further discussions it was not withdrawing from the talks.

"It is merely saying let us hold it gentlemen, let us put the peace talks back on track, let us attend to the priorities which are disrupting the talks."

He said it was tragic that the peace initiatives which the whole world applauded were turning out to be so shaky.

"Now more than any time in the history of South Africa, we need Black unity to attack apartheid everywhere in every possible tactic and strategy without becoming divided ourselves."

Chief Buthelezi also launched a scathing attack on the military ruler of Transkei, Major General Bantu Holomisa, who recently made remarks about the KwaZulu leader.

"The independence shoe is really hurting and you have not got the guts to take it off, because you would then be politically

flat-footed and the thorns of South African politics would prick your tender feet," Chief Buthelezi said.

For Chief Minister's attention

Citizen

16/10/89

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Things are happening in this troubled land that I did not expect to see in my lifetime. Already the more nimble-minded political animals — people like Harry Schwarz and Professor Fatima Meer — are adjusting to a new climate. For the slow-witted, a cold wind blows.

Private conversations with old friends in the higher echelons of the National Party have convinced me that President de Klerk is in earnest. His vision may be flawed, and his methods dubious, but he plans to bring the people of South Africa to the conference table. He will work to that end.

The ANC, which can draw on the resources of the Western intelligence agencies for information that is denied to other South Africans, came to that conclusion some time ago. It has staked out a negotiating position which, it confesses, is intended to capture the high ground before negotiations begin.

Other strange and exciting things are happening. Little more than a week ago I sat in a hall in Lenasia listening to the most extraordinary speech by Fatima Meer, in which she earned a predominantly left-wing audience that the "liberatory struggle" had drifted from its democratic roots.

She accused it of a "vulgar Trotskyism" which preached irreconcilable conflict, branding some people as laborators. I took this to be a reference to Chief Mangosuthu Buthe and Inkatha, and indeed, within moments she was warning of the deeply felt resentment of both thelezi and his followers at being joined out of the freedom struggle. She spoke of the secrecy of the liberation movements, the manipulation spawned by that secrecy, the vicious effect of foreign funding, the deep divisions between generations. Pointing to Mozambique and Angola, she warned of the danger of similar warfare between rival lack groups after liberation.

Her speech, interestingly, fol-

Democracy begins to sprout in the strangest places

By 16/10/89

KEN OWEN

lowed publication of an article in the intellectual socialist magazine, *Work in Progress*, in which socialist Daryl Glaser indulged in a similar *mea culpa*. He confessed that the left had long perceived South African liberalism as its enemy, "to be fought at all costs".

He observed that the "revisionist history" which had emerged in such a flood from the English universities from the early Seventies onward was aimed at debunking liberal historiography. Now (perhaps the new "line" has come from Gorbachev?) he calls for partial conciliation with liberals.

I shall take a bow, thank you very much, for spotting early in the Seventies what was happening in the history departments, and setting up a howl of protest which lasted until about a fortnight ago. It will take honest graduate students a decade of hard work to go through all the work of the revisionists to separate the history from the propaganda; but at least they know now that any "history" book of the past two decades may well be adulterated by rubbish. They have been warned.

However, to return to the point, the release of political prisoners is a preliminary move in a process which has a long way to go, and which will

throw up surprises — sometimes very nasty surprises — for everybody who has given his life, in one way or another, to the fight against apartheid.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu, for example, calls himself and his clerical side-kicks, the Rev Frank Chikane and the Rev Allan Boesak, "facilitators", not negotiators (and if a sustained display of sibilant menace can be called facilitative, he is right). Their role ends when the negotiations begin.

The Rev Boesak has ample precedent in the Dutch Reformed Church for a switch to a political career, but for an archbishop to descend from the opulent heights of Bishopscourt to the back benches of the commons would be most unusual. If negotiations occur, Archbishop Tutu may well find himself exiled to spiritual fields.

The same dilemma (if indeed it is a dilemma) confronts Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, Idasa, the protesting mums of the Black Sash, Wynand Malan, and perhaps most of the Democratic Party. Some of South Africa's finest, and most-repeated,

speeches about freedom, and some of the best posters, are dating very quickly as the government tries to meet the legitimate preconditions for talks.

Harry Schwarz, displaying as usual the quickest analytical mind in South African politics, has already observed, in effect, that it would be wicked to put obstacles in President de Klerk's way if, indeed, he is trying to get negotiations started. But the prospect is threatening.

The first precondition for sensible negotiations, surely, is permit-free political activity in order to identify the legitimate representatives of the various factions of a divided society. A negotiated settlement reached without the participation of the Conservative Party would plainly sow the seeds of an Ulster-type civil war; a settlement that excluded Inkatha, or Chief Sebe, or Bantu Holomisa, or the communists, would hardly be better.

In fact, behind Mrs Meer's plea for a new conciliation with blacks, I detect the evil smell of the necklace. As the political system is freed up, so the pressures for conformity from status-threatened leaders will rise. The ANC wants to be the sole negotiator for liberation and it is ready —

as it has often said — to kill people in order to achieve its ends.

Anyway, as Mrs Meer says: democratic traditions of "liberatory" politics have been undermined by the years of banishment and spiracy. In the place of open there is secrecy, manipulation hidden foreign money, in the place of debate, there is a dreadful Trotskyist demand for conformity (best seen the campuses); and in the place of healthy diversity, there is a wretched search for "collaborators" and "sell-outs".

The real spirit of liberation, briefly displayed when government control of the townships was down in 1985-86, is a ferocious conformity, enforced by terror. Meer, living in Natal where a pitiless war rages between Inkatha and UDF, understands the danger.

The white opponents of apartheid, a drowsy bunch in the main, with little awareness of the important and very courageous — endeavor on which Mrs Meer has now embarked to prepare the wider community for a new society. Unless they wake up, and soon, they will find themselves left behind; the new South Africa will be formed without them.

As matters stand, the Democratic Party is still mouthing platitudes about freedom, but half its members don't believe that liberal stuff anyway, and half its leaders want to find virtuous facilitators like Archbishop Tutu.

This is a pity, because the only useful role open to the DP in the next (critical) five years is intellectual: to offer liberal solutions to the many dilemmas that will arise as the representatives of two failed ideologies, apartheid and socialism, grope their way towards each other.

Only liberalism can secure both liberty and progress, while accommodating the diversity of South Africa. But the liberals have had the stuffing knocked out of them by the bully-boys, Nationalists on one side and socialists on the other, for 40 years. They don't have much courage or conviction left.