

Beginning with delegations from the University of Cape Town and the University of the Western Cape in September 1986, there were many visits by representatives of universities and students in the next three years. They were usually invited to visit Zambia by the University of Zambia and had meetings with leaders of the ANC, including Thabo Mbeki, and with members of the education department, such as Jack Simons, and the Department of Arts and Culture, such as Barbara Masekela.

The largest of all the delegations was one of 115 people from the Five Freedoms Forum. This brought together a number of white organisations including NUSAS and the Black Sash, in July 1989, for a conference in Lusaka on the theme 'Whites in a changing society'. According to one source, the delegates included 23 academics, 20 businessmen, 16 journalists and authors, 23 politicians, and representatives of churches, trade unions and city councils. In his opening speech on that occasion Tambo called for a minute's silence in honour of David Webster, the social anthropologist and activist who had been assassinated in Johannesburg on 1 May. He had visited Lusaka in 1983 and 1984 and had been investigating hit squads at the time of his death. His partner, Maggie Friedman, was among the delegates, as was Helen Suzman. She received a warmer welcome from Tambo than she had done in 1970, and a hug from Steve Tshwete, but she reiterated her opposition to armed struggle.⁴⁹

In his opening address Tambo paid a moving tribute to Zambia in general and Lusaka in particular:

We address a special word of welcome to those who have come directly from home to the city of Lusaka; a city that will surely be remembered in the annals of the struggle for freedom and independence in this region of Africa, as the second home of all the liberation movements that have wrought such immense change in our subcontinent during the past two decades.

The Republic of Zambia, the Zambian people, their party and its government, have hosted wave upon wave of national liberation movements since this country's independence. Every movement that has subsequently become a government in this region owes something to the unstinting hospitality of the people of Zambia. This weekend, once again, Lusaka plays host to a galaxy of distinguished personages from our country.⁵⁰

Visits of this kind did a great deal to break down the barriers between home and exile. Jeremy Cronin, who had been in Lusaka for only a few years and was actively involved in liaison with the MDM inside South Africa, noted that he had 20 close friends among the delegates. Louise Colvin, who was able to welcome her mother Ann, a leading member of the Black Sash in Durban, recalls her brother describing the impact of meeting the ANC in Lusaka on returning 'pilgrims'. They 'were kind

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of bowled over by the fact that we are humans' and were astonished to find that 'JS [Slovo] and OR [Tambo] are such human people'.⁵¹

The shrinking of the distance between Lusaka and South Africa was vividly demonstrated by the remarkable funeral of Johnny Makatini in December 1988. He had been the long-serving representative of the ANC in the USA and at the United Nations, a member of the NEC and head of the International Affairs Department from 1983. A formal vigil took place on the evening before the funeral at Evelyn Hone College at which the speakers included members of the Luthuli Detachment, who reminisced about his leadership of one of the first groups of MK recruits to travel through Northern Rhodesia to Tanganyika in 1962. Adelaide Tambo, who flew in from London where she was still working as a nurse, made a prophetic speech in which she blamed his death on overwork and the neglect of his own health, something which she saw as typical of ANC leaders, including her own husband.⁵²

This was the first ANC funeral to take place at the Anglican Cathedral of the Holy Cross since that of John Dube in 1974. Makatini was a practising Anglican and the service was notable for the participation of a number of clergy of various denominations and for the attendance of a large contingent of people from inside South Africa. Two coachloads of mourners had travelled from Makatini's home province of Natal and, at one stage, sang their own Zulu hymns. The service was conducted by Canon John Osmer and Frank Chikane, the secretary-general of the South African Council of Churches, who had flown in from Johannesburg. He was a prominent member of the UDF and delivered what was billed as the 'message from South Africa'. A tearful message from the United States was delivered, in the absence of his father, by Jesse Jackson, Jr. The American and French ambassadors were conspicuous by their presence, but the promised message from the Soviet Union was not delivered, a failure that was attributed by some to the distractions of *glasnost* and *perestroika*.

Oliver Tambo pointed out that when Makatini joined the ANC it was an act of courage, for 'we were few and our enemies were many. Now we are many and our enemies are becoming fewer.' The most moving intervention came at the cemetery, where the blessing was delivered by the Reverend Beyers Naudé, who chose to speak in Afrikaans in the hope that it would be cleansed by its use on this occasion, and that when justice had triumphed it would be seen as 'a language of blessing and not a curse'. Elinor Sisulu was there and recalled:

I cannot think of any other white Afrikaner who could have got away with praying in Afrikaans in such a gathering, yet people accepted Oom Bey's blessing because of the love and humility with which he delivered his message. I was struck by the courage, power and humility of the man. He challenged

my own prejudices and dislike of Afrikaans and my stereotype of Afrikaners. He made me feel that Johnny Makhathini [*sic*] had not died in vain because there is hope that South Africans will come together one day in love and fellowship.⁵³