

1966-85

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Tales of

Two

Kennedys

QUOTE

As one black person said to me when I commented that Azapo's enmity toward whites was a form of racism in reverse: 'But you have to understand, Senator, when it comes to racism, we've had the best teachers in the world — the whites of South Africa.'



TUTU — absurd assaults



NICKEL — reassurances



REAGAN — complicity



NAUDE — opponent



BOTHA — retaliation



BOESAK — smear

COMMENT

Changes are only of style

OVER a period of some 18 years one would suppose major changes to have taken place in any reasonably developed Western country. And many South Africans console themselves — and seek to ameliorate international criticism — with the proposition that politically, this country has changed substantially since the mid-Sixties.

Elsewhere on these pages two men, Robert and Edward Kennedy, look at our strange society from perspectives almost two decades apart. Their writings reflect some of the changes that have taken place, changes of style rather than substance. The most depressing thing is not the problems faced by a country which — as Government apologists never tire telling us — is faced with unique circumstances, but the insubstantiality of the progress made toward reform.

The Sixties were the granite years of apartheid. Those years are decidedly over, for no longer does the Government hold with righteous fervour the belief that an equitable solution to race differences is the policy of separation.

The apartheid creed, however, has merely been eroded, not replaced. The talk of reform is all flim-flam: it is the grudging make-do solution of the sorely pressed, rather than a clear vision based on the philosophical rejection of racial domination. Because it is based on the exigencies of the hour, it is always too little, too late.

Robert Kennedy identified seven broad areas where blacks were discriminated against. It is true to this day, that if your skin is black you still:

- Cannot participate in the political process or exercise a meaningful vote.

- Are restricted to jobs for which no whites are available.
- Earn wages lower than those of the white, for the same work.
- May live only where the Government decrees.
- May live with your family only if the Government approves.
- Are by law and practice, an inferior from birth to death.

It is salutary to note that only in the area of total physical segregation has the situation eased since Robert Kennedy's visit.

Only lightly camouflaged by the ethereal clouds of reform, we remain a society riven with uncertainties, filled with alienation and mistrust.

When Senator Robert Kennedy visited South Africa just over 18 years ago, he wrote an article for the Sunday Tribune on his impressions of this country and its strange politics. We reprint an edited version of that article today along with the story of his brother, Senator Edward Kennedy, who visited the country this month.

EXCLUSIVE

By **ROBERT KENNEDY**
(who visited South Africa in 1966)



AT THE southern tip of Africa, the mountains rise up and then fall sharply to the sea. The beaches are washed in turn by the harsh Atlantic and the warm, slow waters of the Indian Ocean. There, perched on the rocky slopes of the Cape of Good Hope, stands the proud city of Cape Town, a monument to the remarkable fortitude and vigour of the Dutch, British, French, Africans and others who have built one of the richest and most energetic societies in the world.

As our plane banked over the city, strikingly beautiful in the bright sunlight, all of us smiled and talked, warmed by the shared pleasure of beauty and of pride in human accomplishment.

Then a voice said: "There is Robben Island," and the plane went silent and cold. For Robben Island is home to more than 2 000 political prisoners in South Africa — black and white, professors and simple farmers, advocates of non-violence and organisers of revolution, all now bound in the same bleak brotherhood because of one thing: because they believe in freedom, they dared to lead the struggle against the Government's official policy of apartheid.

Apartheid, the Afrikaans word for "apartness", rigidly separates the races of South Africa — three million whites, 12 million blacks, and two million Indian and "coloured" people. It permits the white minority to dominate and exploit the non-white majority completely. If your skin is black in South Africa:

- You cannot participate in the political process, and you cannot vote.
- You are restricted to jobs for which no whites are available.
- Your wages are from 10 to 40 percent of those paid a white man for equivalent work.
- You are forbidden to own land except in one small area.
- You live with your family only if the Government approves.
- The Government will spend one-tenth as much to educate your child as it spends to educate a white child.
- You are, by law, an inferior from birth to death.
- You are totally segregated, even at most church services.

During five days this summer, my wife Ethel and I visited South Africa, talking to all kinds of people representing all viewpoints. Wherever we went — Pretoria, Cape Town, Durban, Stellenbosch, Johannesburg — apartheid was at the heart of the discussion and debate.

Our aim was not simply to criticise but to engage in a dialogue to see if, together, we could elevate reason above prejudice and myth.

At the University of Natal in Durban I was told the church to which most of the white population belongs teaches apartheid as a moral necessity. A questioner declared that few churches allow black Africans to pray with whites because the Bible says that is the way it should be, because God created Negroes to serve.

"But suppose God is black," I replied. "What if we go to Heaven and we, all our lives, have treated the Negro as an inferior, and God is there, and we look up and he is not white? What then is our response?"

There was no answer. Only silence.

In Rome, a week later, when Ethel and I met Pope Paul VI, we discussed South Africa — the loss of individual rights, the supremacy of the State, the growing rejection of Christianity by black Africans because, as one of them said, "The Christian God hates the Negroes." Distress and anguish showed in the Pope's face, the tone of his voice, the gestures of his hands.

I told the Pope about our visit to the Roman Catholic church he had dedicated a few years ago in Soweto, the section of Johannesburg set aside for black Africans. He remembered it well. The church is not permitted to own the property on which it is built, and the priests there are under constant government pressure.

As with all black Africans, the lives of the people of Soweto depend upon the symbols written in their individual passbooks. These must be carried at all times, like an automobile registration — but for human beings. To be caught without one, or with one lacking the proper endorsement by an employer, could mean six months in prison or exile to arid, forbidding places designated "Native homelands".

Except in one small area, a black African's wife must have a special pass to live with him — unless both happen to find work in the same town. She can visit him for up to 72 hours, but for a stated written purpose, and then she must stand in line to request her pass.

Arrests abound under the passbook law — more than 1 000 every day. To date, there have been five million convictions among the non-white population of 14 million.

Occasionally, the tortured cry out eloquently, as one did when convicted of inciting a strike (illegal for blacks).

That man was now below, on Robben Island, sentenced to life imprisonment. And as we turned back to the bright bustle of Cape Town, I pondered the dilemma of South Africa, a land of enormous promise and potential, aspiration and achievement — yet a land also of repression and sadness, darkness and cruelty.

It had produced great writers, but the greatest, Alan Paton, who wrote *Too Late the Phalarope* and *Cry, the Beloved Country*, can travel abroad only if he is prepared never to return. It has a Nobel Peace Prize winner, Chief Albert Luthuli of the Zulus, but he is restricted to a small, remote farm, his countrymen forbidden under pain of prison to quote his words.

It has some of the finest students I have seen anywhere in the world — intelligent, aware, committed to democracy and human dignity — but many are constantly harassed and persecuted by the Government.

Some of these young people, members of the 20 000-strong National Union of South African Students, crowded Cape Town's DF Malan Airport as we landed. The Nusas — through its president, a courageous senior at the University of Cape Town named Ian Robertson — had invited me to make the 1966 Day of Affirmation address.

The annual day, June 6 this year, formally affirms the 42-year-old organisation's commitment to democracy and freedom, regardless of language, race or religion.

Robertson was not at the airport. Nor would he be at the university that night. At the moment of our arrival, he sat in his apartment in Cape Town, forbidden to be in a room with more than one person at a time, to be quoted in the Press in any way, to take part in political or social life — prohibited, although he is studying to be a lawyer, to enter any court except as a witness under subpoena.

He was thus "banned" for five years by the Minister of Justice, who alleged that, in some unspecified way, he was furthering the aims of communism. But it was generally accepted that young Robertson's only offence was to invite me to speak.

That afternoon, I visited my host at his apartment. I presented him with a copy of President Kennedy's book, *Profiles in Courage*, inscribed to him "with admiration" by Mrs Jacqueline Kennedy.

I recalled my dinner, shortly after arrival the day before, in Pretoria with politicians, editors and businessmen, all genuinely puzzled that the Western world found fault with South Africa when South Africa was so staunchly anti-communist.

"But what does it mean to be against communism, I asked, "if one's own system denies the value of the individual and gives all power to the government — just as the communists do?"

They said South Africa's "unique problems" were internal.

"Cruelty and hatred anywhere can affect men everywhere," I said. "And South Africa could too easily throw a continent, even the world, into turmoil."

"But you don't understand," they said. "We are beleaguered."

I could understand that feeling. The Afrikaners — people of Dutch stock who make up 60 percent of the white population, struggled against foreign rule from 1806 until 1961. The Voortrekkers (literally, fore-pullers) opened up vast new areas in ox-drawn caravans during the last century, and their descendants fought the Boer War.

Yet, who was actually beleaguered? My dinner companions, talking easily over cigars and brandy and baked Alaska? Or Robertson and Paton and Luthuli? And the coloured population being evicted from District 6, an area of Cape Town, after living there for decades — its leadership "banned" for five years for protesting?

For the Minister of Justice can deprive a person of his job, his income, his freedom and — if he is black — his family.

The Minister's word alone can jail any person for up to six months as a "material witness", unspecified as to what. The prisoner has no right to consult a lawyer or his family. Without government permission, it is a criminal offence even to tell anyone he is being detained.

He simply disappears, and he may be in solitary confinement for the entire six months. No court can hear his case or order his release. And — a final touch — he may be taken into custody again immediately after release. Many people held under this law and its predecessor committed suicide.

The capstone to this structure of repressive power is the "ban". On his own authority, the Minister of Justice can ban people from public life, from leaving their villages or even their homes. His victims are prohibited from contesting the order in court. Once a person is banned, it is illegal to publish anything he says.

A factory worker may be prohibited from entering any factory, or a union official from entering any building where there is a union office. A political party can be destroyed by banning its leaders — which is exactly what happened to Alan Paton's Liberal Party. They cannot legally communicate with each other, and the police watch them constantly.

And all this power is in the hands of Balthazar J Voster, the Minister of Justice, who, incidentally, was interned in South Africa during World War 2 because of his activities in a force that harassed the British allies.

These things were on my mind as I walked through 18 000 students at the University of Cape Town that evening. In the speech, I acknowledged the United States, like other countries, still had far to go to keep the promises of our Constitution. What was important, I said, was that we were trying. And I asked if South Africa, especially its young people, would join in the struggle:

"There is discrimination in New York, the racial inequality of apartheid in South Africa and serfdom in the mountains of Peru. People starve in the streets of India, a former Prime Minister is summarily executed in the Congo, intellectuals go to jail in Russia, thousands are slaughtered in Indonesia, wealth is lavished on armaments everywhere."

"These are differing evils — but they are the common works of man. They reflect the imperfections of human justice, the inadequacy of human compassion, the defectiveness of our sensibility toward the sufferings of our fellows ... And therefore they call upon common qualities of conscience and of indignation, a shared determination to wipe away the unnecessary sufferings of our fellow beings ..."

In a response afterwards, John Daniel, vice-president of Nusas, was eloquent and courageous: "You have given us a hope for the future. You have renewed our determination not to relax until liberty is restored, not only to our universities but to our land."

The next day I spoke at the University of Stellenbosch, which has produced all but one of South Africa's Prime Ministers. Nestled in a green and pleasant valley, the first centre of Afrikaner independence, it is the fountainhead of Afrikaner intellectualism today.

Everyone expected a cool, if not hostile, reception. But we were greeted in the dining hall by the rolling sound of thunder — the pounding of soup spoons on tables, the students' customary applause. It was clear that, although many differed with me, they were ready to exchange views.

At the question session, they defended apartheid, saying it eventually would produce two nations, one black and one white. Had not India been divided into Hindus and Moslems?

But, I asked, did the black people have a choice? Why weren't they or the "coloured" people consulted? The black Africans are 70 percent of the population, but they would receive only 12 percent of the land, with no seaport or major city. How would they live in areas whose soil was already exhausted and which had no industry?

And they are not being prepared educationally. Black children are not taught in English or Afrikaans, but in tribal tongues, thus cutting them off from modern knowledge. Education is compulsory for whites but not for non-whites; thus, one of every 14 white students reaches the university, while only one in every 762 blacks makes it. Indeed, one in three gets no schooling at all, and of those who do, only one in 26 enter secondary school.

The following day we spent three hours in the black ghetto of Soweto. We walked through great masses of people and I found myself making speeches from the steps of a church, from the roof of a car and standing on a chair in the middle of a school playground.

For five years, until our visit, the half-million people of Soweto had had no direct word from their leader, the banned Albert Luthuli. My wife and I had flown by helicopter down the Valley of a Thousand Hills at dawn to see him at Groutville, about 44 miles inland from Durban.

He is a most impressive man, with a marvelously lined face, strong yet kind. My eyes first went to the white goatee, so familiar in his pictures, but then, quickly, the smile took over illuminating his whole presence, eyes dancing and sparkling. At mention of apartheid, however, his eyes went hurt and hard. To talk privately, we walked out under the trees and through the fields.

I gave him a portable record player and some records of excerpts of President Kennedy's speeches. He played President Kennedy's civil-rights speech of June 11, 1963, and we all listened in silence — Chief Luthuli, his daughter, two government agents accompanying us, my wife and I. At the end, Chief Luthuli, deeply moved, shook his head. The government men stared fixedly at the floor.

In my judgment, the spirit of decency and courage in South Africa will not surrender. With all of the difficulties and the suffering I had seen, still I felt tremendously moved by the intelligence, the determination, the cool courage of the young people and their allies scattered through the land.

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Luthuli — restricted



Paton — restricted

The sudden altruistic fears about sanctions fool no one



By EDWARD KENNEDY
(who visited South Africa this month)

In many ways, South Africa has changed very little in the 18 years between my brother's visit and my own.

Anyone who travels to your country still encounters an awesome natural beauty, made more striking

and ironic by the ugly and unnatural works of apartheid — the hostels, the relocation camps, the bannings, the political prisons, the rigid segregation of neighbourhoods.

It is hard to believe that the same country can contain both the soaring splendour of Table Mountain, looming joyously over Cape Town, and the sad graveyards filled with black children at Onverwacht, where the Government official in charge did not even know the rate of infant mortality.

I knew I would encounter a difficult situation, yet I also thought it might be more hopeful than it was in 1966. After all, the passage of time should heal some wounds — and provide some chance for people to move closer together.

Instead, I found a South Africa of increasing polarisation and alienation, of suspicion and mistrust on every side.

As one black person said to me when I commented that Azapo's enmity toward whites was a form of racism in reverse: "But you have to understand, Senator, when it comes to racism, we've had the best teachers in the world — the whites of South Africa."

The Star, for example, still publishes separate editions for blacks and whites, as though even the truth has a colour line. And even the so-called moderate or liberal Press seems, in large part, to reflect a prevailing and narrow view.

Bishop Desmond Tutu becomes an object, in the newspapers of his own country, of absurd assaults on his integrity, and mindless charges that he proposes to "ruin" South Africa.

The Rev Allan Boesak, one of the bravest and most decent men I have ever met, becomes the target of a smear campaign.

Yet these are the very leaders to whom not only black, but also white South Africans, ought to look as the best chance for peaceful change.

Rather than deriding, dismissing, or even hating the Tutus and the Boesaks, South Africa's dominant powers ought to be talking and negotiating with them — and certainly with Nelson Mandela.

Isn't it far better to plan a non-violent transition to the future than to have the future come, as it otherwise will, in chaos and destruction?

Yet I sensed a resistance in the white community far deeper than that which prevailed 20 years ago, perhaps because the question now is less petty apartheid than the more fundamental one of equal political rights.

What good does it do a black worker in Soweto to have the "right" to go to a restaurant in Johannesburg — if he has to travel an hour and a half on a bus to get there, show his pass on demand, spend half a week's wages on a meal, and take another hour and a half returning, assuming he can even find a bus which is still running?

In South Africa today, arguments about issues

like this are seldom met on their own terms; rather, the tendency is to dismiss anyone who raises questions on other grounds, no matter how irrelevant or untrue.

I was told, for instance, before I came, that the *Financial Mail* was an influential, moderate, respected voice of the business community. What, then, is one supposed to make of an article which, among the forest of basic factual errors, "reports" that I ran for President in 1968 and 1976 — a blatant falsehood which even the most elementary fact-checking could have prevented?

Or how is one supposed to respond when, after a visit to Onverwacht and its cemeteries, the reaction in most of South Africa's Press is — Kennedy must be running for President?

If that had been my purpose, I would have been better off visiting

Keokuk, Iowa, than Durban or Johannesburg.

As I said while I was in Cape Town, the real question is not whether I will run for President at some future date, but whether, and when, a black person will be able to run for and win the State Presidency of South Africa.

The most irrelevant argument of all is that somewhere else blacks are badly off, and therefore their plight in South Africa is either bearable, or even a comparatively positive achievement.

I was astounded that Foreign Minister Pik Botha sought to discredit my visit by citing statistics about the conditions of black people in America — conditions which are far different, and far better than those in South Africa; conditions which I have fought long and hard to improve — and which have been aggravated in recent years primarily by the domestic policies of President Ronald Reagan.

Perhaps the Foreign Minister should address his complaints about the injustice of the Reagan Budget cuts to the Administration's Ambassador in Pretoria, Herman Nickel.

In my own country, in the 1960s, I rejected the spurious contention that we did not need civil rights legislation because, as some said, black Americans were better off than the black people in other countries, including South Africa.

In the 1980s, I am not prepared to accept the same spurious excuse for apartheid inside South Africa. Nor am I prepared to accept criticism about intervening in internal affairs from a South African Government which has illegally invaded Angola and which illegally occupies Namibia.

I have spoken against violations of human rights in the Soviet Union; I can do no less in South Korea or South Africa.

The challenge for South Africa is to put aside the arguments of convenience, a pawn in a debater's game, and face the inescapable realities. But there is very little evidence that the challenge is being met.

Instead, during my visit, I found almost an obsession with the question of where I would stand on economic sanctions. The very intensity of the response belied the notion that sanctions would be ineffective. And the record of continuing, callous disregard for the rights of the black majority belies the insistence that whites oppose sanctions because of their sudden concern for the welfare of black South Africans.

On my trip, I was talking not about sanctions, but about conditions in South Africa. Now that I am home, I will do what I believe I should and must; and despite Mr Nickel's reassurances, I believe the South African Government will be hearing increasingly unpleasant news from Washington.

If things do not change, tough action will be taken — for the vast majority of Americans reject both apartheid and any complicity in it, even if that complicity, in the spirit of Orwell's *1984*, is misnamed "constructive engagement".

In the end, however, the issue is not what I will do, or even what America will do — but what South Africans, white and black alike, will do to change the course of a history heading for disaster.

In your country, the extremes seem to me at certain ominous points — the provocations of Azapo and the brutality and the overreaction of the secret police; the old

The blacks' lot is inferiority, permits, restrictions Whites are puzzled by Western antipathy for SA

and dominant racism that degrades blacks; and the new racism, a minority view but a potentially powerful one in the black community, which would denigrate the motives and commitment of all whites.

If this continues, it will only strengthen the very communism which your Government claims to oppose. In any event, the totalitarian grip will tighten, no one will feel secure from surveillance or censorship; not only will race be pitted against race, but groups within races will be turned against one another.

Reason, in resistance, is the only way to save South Africa.

The Government should end forced relocation. It should recognise the right of free labour unions to bargain and to strike. All political prisoners should be released — and released now, and released unconditionally.

With Nelson Mandela, Bishop Tutu, Walter Sisulu, Allan Boesak, Beyers Naude, Oliver Tambo, and other brave South Africans who have stood against apartheid, the Government should plan a transition to equal political rights — not in a space of decades, but in a span of years.

I say this not as an enemy, but as a friend of South Africa.

The choice is clear — break the shackles of apartheid, the coils of minority rule, the illusion of a master race. And when you do, I hope to return again to your wondrous land, to a free South Africa worthy of the potential greatness of your nation.

NOTE: A short paragraph has been deleted from this article as it quotes Winnie Mandela, who is banned in South Africa. South African newspapers are, by law, not permitted to quote these people. — Editor

The Natal Mercury

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 21, 1984

SHOCKING STORY

THERE have been many disturbing disclosures down the years about conditions in South Africa's overcrowded prisons. But those contained in the University of Cape Town's latest survey, 'Children in Prison in South Africa', are undoubtedly among the most shocking.

In parts the report becomes a dossier of horror, with stories of juvenile inmates — 97 percent of whom are black — being raped by adult prisoners and terrorised by gangs. Overall it presents an appalling indictment of a system that would seem to be losing touch with its obligations to children in custody. And if society is not stirred into demanding drastic reforms, it too could have much to answer for.

Easily the most devastating finding in the survey is the conclusion that there is 'little real protection for children in the criminal justice system'. For it is a system in which children can be arrested, detained, tried, convicted and sentenced without their parents' knowledge. And in the words of the report 'one can only speculate at the chances of a fair trial', since the State does not provide free legal counsel to indigent accused except for capital offences.

The terrible conclusion is that the law does not encourage the police or the courts to find alter-

natives to detaining children in prison. Even innocent infants find their way behind bars with mothers who have done no more than offend the country's influx laws.

Let it be said that were it not for what the study group has termed the 'greater openness' of the South African Prison Services, the whole shocking state of affairs might still be hidden from view. At least with the facts now before the general gaze, the way is open for public opinion to exert its pressures. The tragedy, of course, is that things might never have reached such a sorry pass if officialdom had shown the same 'openness' years ago.

As things stand the Prisons Service itself emerges as an institution seemingly trying to maintain professional standards towards children in its care, but hobbled by inadequate facilities and overwhelmed by the scale of the problem.

So what is to be done about it? Some far-reaching reforms have been suggested by the director of UCT's Department of Criminology, including raising the age of criminal responsibility and creating special facilities for children in detention. These would seem to be minimum requirements. There needs to be a full investigation aimed at wiping the slate clean.

Unstinted (almost) enthusiasm for visit

THE senior senator from Massachusetts was received as a news subject by South Africa's black Press nearly as enthusiastically as Mary Jo Kopecne would have greeted a lifejacket at Chappaquiddick.

And almost all was vehemently positive: *City Press* came out with a souvenir supplement "Kennedy in SA", veteran journalist Percy Qoboza exhorted the American to "ride on, brother, ride on", Natal's *Ilanga* suggested that his strong criticism of the South Africa situation would bring about real and meaningful change, and the *Sowetan* devoted two leaders to the visitor, attacking those who shouted "go home Yank".

Qoboza, writing in his *City Press* column "Percy's Itch", has perhaps over-estimated Senator Edward Kennedy's power and popularity back home: "Our fate may hinge on what Kennedy tells US", he heads his comment, stating his belief that in 1988 the United States will elect this man President.

The Black Press . . . by JANE STRACHAN

However, he also comments on the sharp political divisions within the black community which have been highlighted by Teddy's trip.

Azapo supporters may find that their demonstrations were the biggest error of judgment the organisation has ever made, he writes.

"Indeed, for the first time, Azapo got maximum favourable publicity on SABC radio and television — even getting guarded accolades from Current Affairs and the Citizen." Which surely says more about the double standards and hypocrisy of some sections of the media than about Azapo's politics.

Care has been taken to distance Kennedy's hosts Bishop Desmond Tutu and Rev Allan Boesak from the controversial aspects of the tour.

Abuse directed at Kennedy and his party is abused directed at them, warns Qoboza.

A *City Press* leader describes the carpet-

bagging Kennedy as "an impeccable opponent of the system" and believes that his experience of its horrors would further enhance his determination to see change in this country expedited.

"It was this, more than anything else, which prompted Bishop Desmond Tutu to invite the senator to South Africa. For this we are eternally grateful.

"The majority of black South Africans welcome the senator today. Soweto will roll out the same red carpet his brother, the later Bobby Kennedy, trampled on."

The *Sowetan's* leaders are tempered with a little more restraint, choosing rather to use the opportunity to call for more unity in the struggle and re-iterate some of the many reasons for discontent.

"We do respect Bishop Tutu's right to invite whomsoever he wishes to visit him in this country. This is what democracy is all about, and the anti-

Kennedy protests only further highlight the need for black unity that is so lacking in this country."

However, it also says that it would be naive to expect that Senator Kennedy's visit is going to make any difference to the situation.

"Indeed, even if he did win the next presidential election, he would have far more important (for America) issues to worry about than South Africa.

In another leader the newspaper takes a long look at Foreign Minister Pik Botha's handling of the affair, and notes that "we will, unfortunately, have to learn to live with his counter-productive illogical over-reaction."

It reminds Mr Botha that discrimination as a state policy has

made it the polecat of the world, and that it is therefore undiplomatic to "rave about the situation of blacks in America".

And last word from a *City Press* reader who "greatly welcomes" the senator, but at the same time hedges his bets somewhat. He describes himself as being neither a Black Consciousness supporter nor anti-Kennedy but . . . "I do feel that Azapo has a point when it calls on Kennedy to go home. Must we look across the sea — or even across the borders of our beloved land for our blessed liberators?

"The American senate will not free us, the British Parliament will not free us. Even the Cubans or the Soviets cannot free us.

"We must do it ourselves. For once in its life Azapo is (just a little bit) right."

'But, Bishop, I thought that was one of *your* dogs!' says Senator Edward Kennedy in this cartoon by Orin Scott of Beeld.

The 'rotten spots' must be eradicated

SELDOM has the Afrikaans Press mounted such a campaign of orchestrated bitterness and vituperation as it turned on Senator Edward Kennedy during his visit to South Africa. At one end of the spectrum Dr Willem de Klerk, editor of *Rapport*, accused Senator Kennedy of playing a role in South Africa that would have befitted a prostitute; at the other the Transvaler thought it a good idea to exhume all the nastinesses of Chappaquiddick.

In an editorial after Senator Kennedy's departure the Burger said that 'this personification of the extremes of arrogance, hypocritical moral standpoints and self-righteous self-satisfaction' had practically had to slink out of the country because of the bitter polarisation that his visit had helped to exacerbate among those in whose name he had ostensibly come to speak.

One or two commentators, however, stressed that there were lessons to be learned from the visit. In Beeld Piet Muller said one ought to acknowledge frankly that all the 'rotten spots' the visitor had conveniently used as the background for his television pronouncements had been handed to him on a platter.

Senator Kennedy's effrontery and his oversimplification of complex problems did not take away from our own responsibility to find the rotten spots and inequities and to get rid of them in the name of fairness and justice.

Harald Pakendorf, editor of the *Vaderland*,

pointed out that the Kennedy visit had confirmed the fact that the business sector, and in particular its Afrikaans component, had become an influential political voice that was, on certain points, far ahead of the Government.

SENATOR KENNEDY'S visit to the Nancefield hostel has turned the attention of more than one newspaper to the evils of migratory labour.

Rapport, in a special article, said there were much deeper and more tragic aspects of migratory labour than eight men living cooped up in a filthy hovel.

In an editorial Beeld said it could not be disguised that such conditions called for immediate rectification. Another look should also be taken at the whole system of migratory labour.

WHERE other Afrikaans newspapers have hinted — and in some cases more than hinted — that contact between the Government and the outlawed ANC is on some

hidden agenda the Transvaler has given a firm thumbs-down to any such idea.

It welcomed the State President's assurance that no secret meetings were taking place with the ANC. However much South Africa would like to see a settlement that included the blacks it

The institute consists of 50 people of all population groups who 'seek to think in obedience to the Bible'. It is probably further to the Left than any other organisation within the pale of respectable Afrikanerdom.

HAVING excoriated the Star for using alleged ac-

The Afrikaans Press

by James McClurg



was unthinkable that it would sit at the conference table with an organisation that had up to now committed itself to violence, terror and intimidation in order to achieve its communist-inspired aims.

AN inter-faculty institute of the University of Potchefstroom, the Institute of Reformatie Study, has called for a five-year plan to draw all South Africans into the mainstream of politics.

According to Beeld, a document submitted by the Institute to the rector of the university, Professor Tjaart van der Walt, also urges the university to take its courage in both hands and open its doors unconditionally to all students.

It rejects Christian National Education, a concept that has always been closely associated with the University of Potchefstroom.

tions by the security police as an excuse for publishing scandalous rumours involving Dr Allan Boesak, Beeld turned later to the Boesak affair itself.

If the allegation against Dr Boesak of an extramarital love affair was true, said Beeld, it would be the height of Pharisaism for him to be allowed to continue in his high ecclesiastical posts.

However, if it ever appeared that any State organisation was setting out to scabble around in the private lives of 'political opponents' in order to discredit them, Beeld would fight it with all the power at its command until it was totally eradicated.

Such methods were not to be found in decent societies — only in third-rate dictatorships.

It should not be difficult, Beeld said, to find out who was responsible for the pamphlet that lay behind the incident.

Senator's attitude generates some candid thinking

The Afrikaans Press... by TERRY McELIGOTT

THERE's little love lost between Senator Edward Kennedy and the Afrikaans Press — but his visit has nevertheless generated some candid thinking regarding the South African situation.

Not only is Senator Kennedy's criticism of conditions in Soweto's Nancefield hostel for migrant labourers echoed by newspaper commentators, but there is also a call for the whole migrant labour system to be reconsidered.

In addition, a *Rapport* political commentator says a campaign must be launched to improve the attitude of whites to blacks.

The paper gives the senator saturation coverage. This includes the front page lead, three inside pages, a Cable page article, a large slab of the leader page and a cartoon.

Commentator Louis Oosthuysen says in *Rapport* that it must be remembered the senator represents a viewpoint — regarding conditions in South Africa — with which very few people overseas disagree.

The writer expresses concern at the widening communication gap between whites and blacks in South Africa, and says the situation could be improved by promoting a complete change of attitude and thinking by whites towards blacks.

While taking into consideration

existing differences, a campaign needs to be launched to improve these attitudes, to prevent the voice of reason among blacks being smothered by restrictions and lack of communication, and to enable their needs and wishes to be spelled out to reasonable whites.

New frameworks can be developed in which people can consider the needs of the country. This is a prerequisite for meaningful change even though it will mean a period of painful adaptation for whites. Basic beliefs on what blacks need and what can be offered to them will be changed.

This could lead to a unified South Africa, which could then tell "knowalls" like Senator Kennedy to restrict himself to his own country's problems.

THERE is much speculation about what the senator will finally decide on disinvestment.

Die Burger says he recently called for stronger trade and economic sanctions against South Africa. The paper described him as arrogant and says it will be surprising if he heads the American Ambassador Herman Nickel's warning about the devastating effects which disinvestment would have.



"But, Bishop, I thought that was one of YOUR dogs!" — Orin Scott in Beeld

Ted Kennedy's brother, Robert, who visited South Africa 18 years ago, was against sanctions and disinvestment because of the repercussions on the black people, says *Die Burger*.

Rapport comments: "Senator Kennedy will serve South Africa's black people if he appeals for investments and intercedes for development aid in the form of grants for education and training and for help in building up economic momentum which can offer a better life and better opportunities for all."

"Political rights will also not fail to come then."

NOT surprisingly, Senator Kennedy's past comes under the microscope in most newspapers, but not excessively so.

"In this light there must also be another look at the whole policy of migrant labour."

Rapport's Los Angeles correspondent claims that as a result of his lifestyle, he was recently admitted to hospital with a bleeding ulcer, anaemia, hepatitis and other ailments. Doctors warned him to be careful or he would land in an early grave.

Beeld political commentator Piet Muller comes up with a surprising explanation for Senator Kennedy's visit. He is aiming to win the negro vote back home for his 1988 Presidential campaign, which he is already fighting.

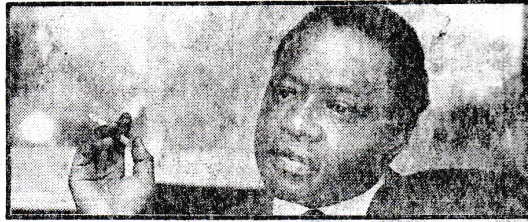
Beeld says of the Nancefield Hostel: No arguments can disguise the need to put right such conditions immediately — not so as to appease the Kennedys of this world but because humanity and civilised norms demand it.

In the hearts of our children, and our children's children, the sense of bitterness grows

By

PERCY QOBOZA

one of South Africa's most distinguished black journalist



SUNDAY TIMES, January 6 1985

GEORGE ORWELL'S year is mercifully behind us. South Africans, however, are far from able to heave a sigh of relief. If anything, 1985 may yet turn out to be our most painful and tragic experience.

The mood of the people in the townships is very ugly.

I am by nature an optimist. Nothing has happened to temper my faith that some day we will come to terms with our national political problems.

Yet, spending the festive season in the Vaal complex seriously challenged that faith. The cost of reaching that accommodation is accumulating at a frightening rate.

I have had a close relationship with the Vaal for 21 years. I know those people well. I have been part of their daily experiences.

They are, basically, a simple and hard-working community. They do not want trouble.

Since the events of Sharpeville 24 years ago, when defenceless men and women were cruelly gunned down, the older generation have been praying that they never go through the same experience again.

But they had children. And their children now have children.

The bitterness of 24 years ago is rearing its ugly face. Rarely have I seen them so angry, so frustrated.

And, once again, it is insensitive officialdom that has provoked the crisis, which has left people dead and injured, seen property destroyed and communities filled with rage.

I am not writing this piece to intimidate anybody, but do so as a duty to my country and my own conscience.

Unless white South Africans wake up and soon, the Vaal complex is a threat to peace and stability in 1985. All of us, wherever you may be in the corners of South Africa, are endangered.

Throwing in the might of the police and the army, as we have recently witnessed, only escalates the anger.

Pretoria's bureaucrats, in the main, show no understanding for the feelings of those people. But it does not have to be that way.

It is significant that the crisis arose after the departure of the former Administration Board chairman, John Knoetze, who moved to Soweto in the wake of the 1976 unrest.

John Knoetze's style is different from most bureaucrats you meet.

One of his first actions when he came to Soweto was to meet with the leaders of the community. I mean the real leaders of the community.

He asked me to arrange meetings with a wide spectrum of them: Dr Nthatho Motlana, Bishop Desmond Tutu, and the rest.

It is a measure of the personal warmth he developed that when Bishop Tutu's daughter recently married John was an invited guest.

From what the various people in the Vaal told me over the past days, that style of personal contact evaporated when John left. His successor has ignored the real voices of the people.

The authorities have depended on the voices of discredited town councillors who bore the brunt of the community's anger. It all started with rent increases.

When members of my staff gave me an analysis of the situation in the area, I was alarmed.

I phoned the director of the board to appeal to him to suspend the increases and make a statement to that effect.

His attitude was depressing. I was not surprised. It simply followed the pattern of 1976.

At that time, after personal appeals to Dr Andries Treurnicht (then Deputy Minister of Education and Training) and the then Prime Minister, Mr John Vorster, to stop enforcing Afrikaans medium education, I got a similar response.

Law and order would be maintained at all costs. And everyone knows what those costs were.

The present Administration in the Vaal Complex believes in the power of rubber bullets, teargas and *kragdagtheid*. And that will not work.

From a moderate black of the older generation, a grave warning

The kids there have a spine-chilling message to all of this: "Better be dead a free man than alive as an oppressed person."

What is happening in the Vaal is a microcosm of what I fear is going to happen all over the country. And the crisis could start in a few days when schools reopen.

It is utterly naive to believe, as so many do, that rent increases have nothing to do with education, or that "outside forces" are using school-children to advance their aims.

The black kid in the township classroom bears very little resemblance to the kids at white classrooms in the northern suburbs of Johannesburg.

Black kids are politicised — not by dark-hearted people in the dingy alleys of Soweto and Sharpeville — but by the inherent injustices that have bedevilled their fathers.

Their fathers had the patience to take it. They do not.

If, indeed, we have this situation, what is the solution?

For the Vaal, I suggest the rent increases be immediately revoked. In fact, the entire rental system should be reviewed.

What we should be paying is rates for essential services like water, electricity, garbage removal and environmental improvements.

Rents on properties that in reality have been paid off many times over should not be used as instruments to pay needless bureaucracies.

The Government must get away from the idea that our communities can only be made viable by continuously raising rents.

We are part and parcel of an economic system and it is ridiculous to even think — as Pretoria does — that we must be treated differently.

The fact that I am paying the same tax as anybody else infuriates me when I do not have the same right as anybody else to influence how my own money is used by the State.

Taxation without representation, as the British found generations ago, is tyranny.

I, as a citizen of South Africa — and I insist that that is what I am — resent the idea that my citizenship only goes as far as fattening the coffers of the State.

The way out — and the only way out — is for the Government to give a statement of intent.

And that statement does not lie in Mr Chris Heunis's safaris to Um-tata, BophuthaTswana, Venda, to hold discussions about the political future of blacks they perceive to be "outside the national states".

Talk to Nelson Mandela instead of trying to throw him to the Trans-kei.

Lift the bans on the African National Congress, the Pan-Africanist Congress, the South African Students' Organisation, the Black Peoples' Convention.

Negotiate with them. Let us go forward to a situation where we can talk together, using our brains and mouths instead of bombs, teargas and rubber bullets.

Violence is endemic in our country because the Government has given it a credibility it does not deserve.

John Vorster Square's ninth and tenth floors are not going to solve our political problems; they must be solved in the political arena.

I would seriously offer the following schedule to lead up to a normalisation of our situation:

- Release all political prisoners and allow the unconditional return of political exiles;

- Abolish differential educational systems and place education under one department;

- Abolish rentals in the case of houses older than 20 years and grant freehold rights whereby normal rates will provide the infrastructure for local authorities;

- Establish a joint security commission to monitor the activities of the security forces which are largely responsible for the polarisation among our people;

- Abolish the pass laws and influx control and grant the right of all people to sell their labour at the market of their choice; and

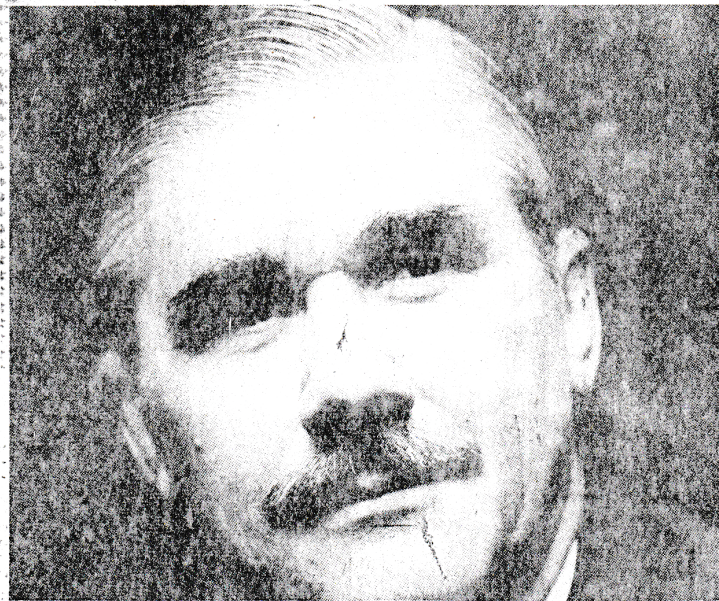
- Establish merit — and not colour — as the criterion by which human value must be judged.

It may have become cliched, but the words of the late civil rights leader, Dr Martin Luther King, remain as valid today as they ever were:

"Unless we learn to live together as brothers, we will all perish together as fools."



YOU SURE KNOW HOW TO MESS THINGS UP . . .



THE massive detention of community leaders and trade unionists this week is one of the most stupid and reckless acts we have seen in recent times.

Coming as it did after the crippling two-day workers' stayaway, it is fanning tempers and causing outrage at a time when everybody should be doing something to turn the wave of violence and discontent.

Even major business organisations — among them the powerful Afrikaans body, the Handelsinstituut — have come out in the strongest terms against the raids.

They rightly pointed out that they can only further polarise people and destroy whatever gains have been made in maintaining healthy relations.

We urgently ask Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange to intervene and restrain the Security Police in what we consider to be an obstructive role.

To detain legitimate union leaders without trial is a provocative act, in which this country's economy suffers in the short term, and race relations suffer in the long term.

The people they have detained represent tens of thousands of workers, and their followers are clearly not taking kindly to what has happened.

Mr Le Grange has a special responsibility to the people of this country. And if he gave the specific instructions for these raids and imprisonments, he owes all of us an explanation.

But even more important, he must see to it that all those incarcerated are brought to trial immediately — or released.

Rumours are rife in the PWV townships of another stayaway from work, and the security police's behaviour can only help make these rumours a reality.

Can't they learn?



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By R L SELVAN, member of the Johannesburg Bar, and committee member of the Johannesburg branch of Lawyers for Human Rights

DETENTION How it works against the State

TOMORROW is International Human Rights Day.

It has been commemorated all over the world since December 10, 1948, when the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations.

A case may be made for detention without trial as a method of combatting terrorism. By threatening the safety of the State, terrorism threatens also the rights and freedoms which the State promises to provide for its citizens.

One of the objects of terrorism is to achieve political ends by violence. This cannot be tolerated in a democratic State.

Some may challenge the proposition that South Africa is a democratic state. Most blacks certainly would. It is not the purpose of this article to discuss that question.

Let us assume therefore that detention without trial

QUOTE

□ Unless a balance is struck, the rights and liberties of individuals threatened by terrorism will instead be surrendered in the cause of defending them. There are also practical considerations. One of the main objects of a terrorist movement is to elicit from the State a repressive response. Then, the resentment of those oppressed is increased, resulting in yet greater dedication of its members to violent actions and an increase in the number of its adherents.

is morally justified. Even so, its most enthusiastic proponents must concede the need for some moderation in its implementation.

For unless a balance is struck, the rights and liberties of individuals threatened by terrorism will instead be surrendered in the cause of defending them.

There are also practical considerations. One of the main objects of a terrorist movement is to elicit from the State a repressive response. Then, the resentment of those oppressed is increased, resulting in yet greater dedication of its

members to violent actions and an increase in its adherents.

If the predictable reaction of the authorities to this is yet more repressive responses, in the end the most doleful prognostications of the most pessimistic among us will be fulfilled.

These ideas are not novel. A similar point of view was put forward by Advocate DP De Villiers in the course of an address to the Stellenbosch Branch of Lawyers for Human Rights on September 20, 1982, which was

later published in Bulletin 1 of Lawyers for Human Rights in February 1983.

He also mentioned the danger that in the eyes of a great part of the South African population and of the outside world the respect in which our proud system of justice is held will be undermined.

Sadly, we have to record that the authorities seem impervious to these ideas. Undoubtedly, detention under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act and its successor, Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, has resulted in subversion

being uncovered and convictions being obtained. But at what cost?

And what will the cost be to the State of the latest detentions in the wake of the unrest in the townships and the massive stayaway? Can it be doubted that many thousands of trade unionists resenting the detention of their leaders will become radicals?

And at what cost to the people most concerned and their families? In all Western democracies, liberty and security of the person is regarded as a basic human right.

Must we be resigned to that right being indefinitely suspended in our country?

As Human Rights Day approaches it behoves us all to think about these matters. For it is not only the lawyers whose holy temple is in danger of being profaned.

PETER MANN reports from LONDON

'We notice a pattern in countries which abuse human rights. South Africa fits into that pattern'

AMNESTY International, respected watchdog of human rights throughout the world, is deeply concerned about abuses in South Africa.

Press attache Dave Laulich, in an interview at Amnesty's international secretariat in London, said: "Human rights abuses are going on in a very serious fashion in South Africa. People have been killed and are being tortured for their beliefs.

"We notice a pattern in countries which abuse human rights. South Africa fits into that pattern."

Of particular concern to Amnesty in South Africa are:

- Deaths in detention;
- The continued use of detention without trial, bannings, imprisonment of those who refuse military service;
- Imprisonment of people for pass, law offences and the "substantial" use of the death penalty.

In 1983, the latest year for which Amnesty has figures, it intervened on behalf of more than 200 detainees.

Amnesty is most concerned about detention without trial, particularly under Section 29 of the Internal Security

Act.

"Our studies throughout the world have shown that torture is most common in the period between the person being detained by the authorities and their appearing in court.

"During that period they are at the mercy of the police. In South Africa they need never be charged.

"This dramatically heightens the chances of torture."

Amnesty's 1984 international report makes it obvious that South Africa has a worse human rights record than all the major Western countries and is as bad, or worse than, many of the African states she so roundly criticises.

South Africa's penchant for detention without trial was shared by most African states.

Amnesty reported fears among South African refugees in Swaziland that South African agents were responsible for killings of members of the ANC.

Zimbabwe had a human rights record as bad as South Africa's with the Government being criticised for harsh action against dissidents.

The Daily News

US commitment

THE American Government's decision to give Mozambique limited military assistance illustrates how dramatically relationships have shifted in Southern Africa. Ten years ago an independent Mozambique was widely regarded as a communist beachhead; today a conservative American government that maintains cordial relations with South Africa can also wish to prop up Mozambique militarily. To distort somewhat the old Chinese expression: Can my friend's friend be my enemy?

South Africa should welcome the development, not just as a further indication of waning Soviet influence in the region but as an American commitment in support of the Nkomati Accord, which

shows signs of faltering in the face of renewed activity by Mozambique rebels. The Accord gives substance to the new and constructive regional relationship and it would be disastrous if it were allowed to disintegrate.

South Africa should redouble attempts to secure a compromise between President Machel's government and the rebels. It should ensure that South African territory or facilities are in no way used by private individuals to further the rebel cause. And if government circles should still contain people who take comfort from disorder in Mozambique and are disinclined to prevent it, the new American commitment should be enough to prove how shortsightedly foolish they are.

Peculiar affair

WHETHER or not Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, is involved in an extra-marital relationship is a matter for his family and his colleagues in religion, and maybe for the public as well, in view of his public position. Most people will bear in mind, however, that there, but for the grace of God, go a very large number of citizens whose private lives have not been forced into the public forum by the publication of anonymous pamphlets.

What should, however, concern every citizen is the suggestion that the police or

some other Government agency are responsible for using dirty tricks to create a deliberate smear against a political opponent. If this is condoned, then nobody, blameworthy or otherwise, will be able to consider himself or his reputation safe from such onslaughts.

So far the police have denied responsibility for the smear. They say they are investigating the possibility of bringing charges under the Police Act. What is needed is a full inquiry to establish the truth about this peculiar affair.

Amazing forgetfulness

HAVING come to this country ostensibly to gauge feelings on disinvestment, Senator Edward Kennedy could hardly have missed the central point made at the Durban prayer breakfast by Chief Buthelezi, leader of the country's largest national group, that not only the Zulus but most ordinary working blacks oppose disinvestment. Having returned home the

senator reports that the only people who oppose disinvestment are white businessmen. Forgotten, it seems, are Chief Buthelezi, black business leaders and the findings of at least one respected survey to the contrary. It appears that when it comes to getting his facts straight Teddy Kennedy has not improved much with age.

Dominee says SA writers and singers are Satan's henchmen



□ Brink



□ Kramer



□ Breytenbach

'Devil's work'

SATAN is still weaving his plots and top South African writers are helping him, according to Dr M T S Zeeman, an NGK minister in Pretoria.

He makes this claim in his latest book, *The Anti-Christ; the Devil and his Henchmen*.

Several top writers, including Andre Brink, Etienne Leroux and Breyten Breytenbach, get a lashing from the minister's pen.

But racists, exploiters and Marxists are not overlooked as the busy devil's schemes are uncovered.

The writers — and painters, including Pablo Picasso — are accused of using their outstanding talent in the wrong direction.

"Skills are used to propagate thoughts which are un-Christian and even anti-Christian.

"Etienne Leroux is a typical example. He is without doubt an artist with words and the liter-

By Luke Zeeman

ary structure of his work is outstanding. At the same time each book is a sermon with the text: Life is absurd, a tragic comedy, pointless and without real meaning.

"He uses vulgar words and sexual scenes repeatedly. Satanism is projected as something natural.

"Here we are dealing with a literary neo-barbarism — a new barbarism which exceeds all the rules of decency with a challenging daring."

Dr Zeeman regards pop music, with its "stamping rhythms and screaming voices", as a furious assault on Western civilisation.

"The music sweeps up emotions so that many don't feel themselves anymore and are exposed to the demonic influences conveyed by the singer, the music or the words of the song."

David Kramer's *Bakgat* is also mentioned for its use of God's name in vain: "Here se nog 'n dop AVO Here my kop is so deurme-kaar. Ag, God man, life is so hard and you know I just want to be a rock and roll star. Ag God they just got me pissed out of their heads."

The minister claims that the Soviet Union's ban on pop music led to a 34 per cent drop in the juvenile crime rate.

"Also, in an American city where this music is often played on TV and radio the crime rate is 50 percent higher than in another town where only good, light music is broadcast."

He says these are only a few of the examples.

"Enough to illustrate that we are being flooded by a mighty stream of anti-Christian propaganda to pave the way for the false prophet."

PERCY'S ITCH



Bishop Tutu

BISHOP Desmond Tutu is really driving white South Africans around the bend.

No amount of superlatives can do justice to the level of hatred his style and leadership have evoked.

They were still reeling under the shock when he won the Nobel Peace Prize, when, like a bolt of lightning, he became the first black churchman to be elected Bishop of the Diocese of Johannesburg — one of the most important posts in the Anglican Church.

The first indication of the deliberate program of vilification against the internationally respected church leader came in the form of a lead story in a national Sunday newspaper, which reported that there was a "revolt"



against Bishop Tutu's nomination for the position of Bishop of Johannesburg.

What is more, the report gloated about the fact that the divisions in the alleged revolt were clearly along racial lines.

Reading between the lines, it was suggested that most of the bishops were sick and tired of Bishop Tutu's political antics and would, therefore, like the position to be

taken by a less controversial figure within the church leadership.

In what seemed to be a blatant electioneering stunt, the newspaper report even went as far as nominating its own candidate.

Nix — the clerics bounced back. They flayed the newspaper report — casting aside their ecclesiastical dignity, they dug into the report with unusual gusto.

is a reality

And just to prove that there was nothing in it, they then retreated to the Orange Free State, a province sweltering in the heat of racism, and gave their overwhelming judgment — Tutu was the new Bishop of Johannesburg.

The choice was, so to speak, the voice of the people.

Given the history of this country's reaction to its noble sons and daughters, there is a great need for the Government to take stock of its own attitude towards Bishop Tutu.

The Government must accept the fact that he is a fact of their lives.

To continue treating him like a leper only contributes to raising his stature to incre-

dible proportions.

To think that this Nobel Prize winner and now Bishop of Johannesburg, is storming the global community with a passport that says his nationality is undetermined, must rank as history's most bizarre acts.

It only goes to highlight the shortsightedness and insensitive nature of this country's government.

His nationality undetermined? Just what are they talking about? Of course his nationality is known.

He is as South African as the nagmaal in Pretoria and the braaivleis in the Free State.

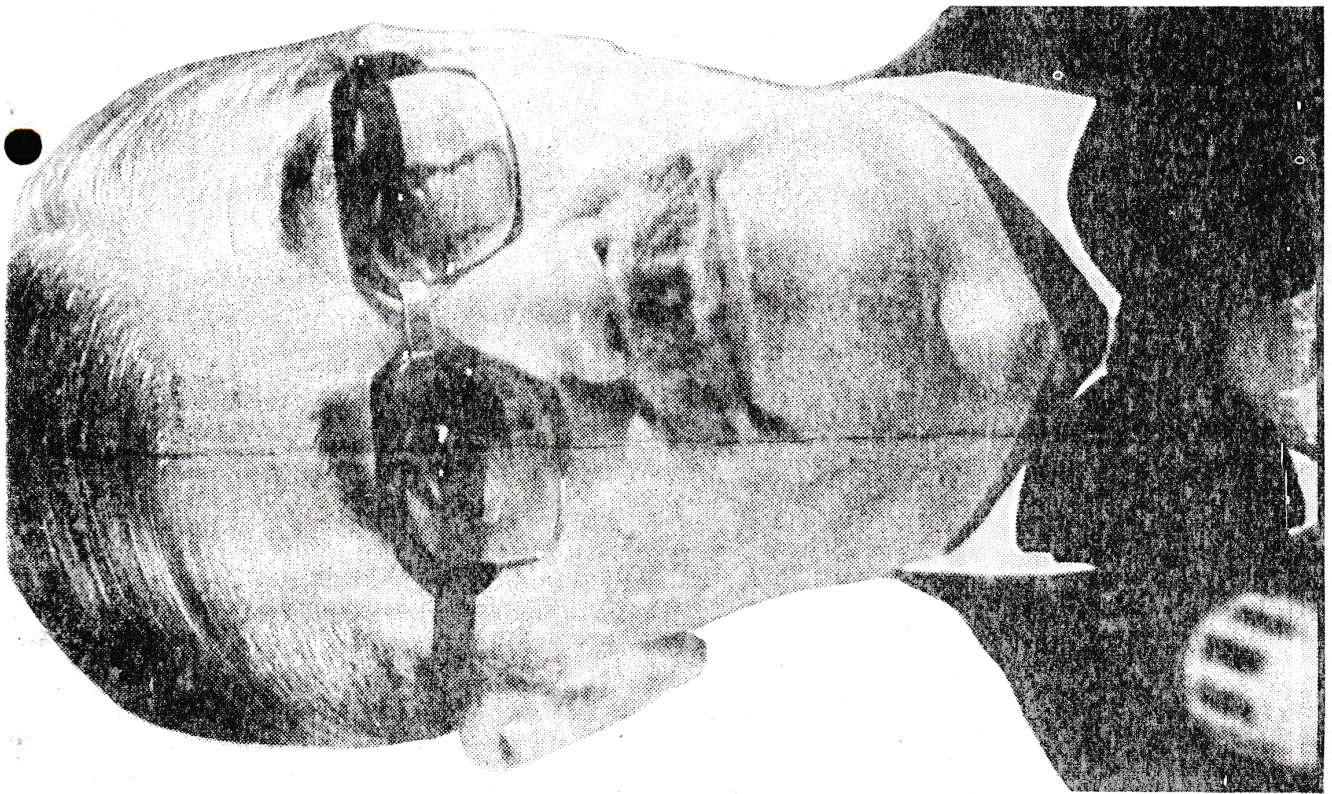
Unfortunately, the right to that nationality does not come through the generosity

of the Nationalist Party, but directly from the hand of God — the God that Tutu has served and continues to serve with humility and distinction.

I am not in the process of canonising Bishop Tutu — I do not have the worth to do that. And neither am I about to sit in judgment of his actions and utterances — his Creator has the sole right over that.

I am merely appalled that white South Africans refuse to accept Bishop Tutu for what he is — the darling of his people and the voice of moderation and sanity in an insane world.

Or is this asking for something that borders on a miracle? I sincerely hope not.



□ Law and Order Minister Le Grange ... iron fist behind detentions



□ ABOVE: UDF leader Archie Gumede ... freed by the Supreme Court; but sheltering in Durban's British Consulate

□ RIGHT: Student leader Kate Philip ... held without trial; released without charge

'Detention without trial is unacceptable in the international community, but here it has become the norm. The public is becoming numbed to this whole idea ... and it hardly arouses comment anymore'

On the eve of International Human Rights Day, a look at the grim situation in South Africa

1093 The score for people held without trial during 1984

AND THAT'S THE YARDSTICK BY WHICH OUR HUMAN RIGHTS ARE MEASURED

By Carolyn McGibbon

ONE of the clearest indications of South Africa's disregard for human rights is its widespread use of detention without trial.

So far this year, security police have picked up about 1 093 people in South Africa (including the homelands) — more than double the number held under security legislation last year.

Of these, 330 have been released without charge; a further 213 are still in cells, according to the latest figures released by the Detainees' Parents Support Committee.

Only 12 detainees this year have been charged and found guilty.

The State's widespread use of its draconian security legislation effectively silenced the leadership of a significant number of organisations which were expressing grievances and dissent over Government policies.

Hardest hit have been student and youth groups — more than 530 young people have been detained. The largest single swoop

was on students in Transkei, where security police pulled in 247 people, only to drop charges against them later.

The Congress of South African Students saw 15 of its office bearers detained, and the former president of the National Union of South African Students, Kate Philip, was held — again, no charges were pressed.

Political activists also felt the bite of security legislation. The United Democratic Front, formed to oppose the tricameral system, was dealt a heavy blow, losing to detention 14 people in leadership positions.

The Natal president of the UDF, Archie Gumede, and five others who opposed the elections, contested their detention orders in the courts, and after a judge ordered that they be released, the iron-fisted man behind the detentions, Minister of Law and Order, Louis Le Grange, issued fresh detention orders.

This led to the British consulate affair, which helped throw this country's draconian detention laws into the international spotlight.

While the ageing Mr

Gumede and two other men are still sheltering in the consulate (with police on duty outside), the three who left the building, Natal Indian Congress leaders Mewa Ramgobin, George Sewpershad and M J Naidoo, are being held.

A feature of the clampdown on opposition to the elections was the wide use of the clause which allows for preventive detention — Section 28. It grants the Minister of Law and Order the power to detain a person for up to six months, merely on suspicion that the person may commit an offence.

This section was used during the Soweto riots in 1976, the school boycotts in 1980 and the anti-Republic Day celebrations in 1981.

Two other events which led to a spate of detentions this year were the rent

protest in rural townships and a two-day stayaway in November.

Despite a strongly worded call by big business (which, by and large, backed the Government in the referendum), many trade union leaders were not released.

However, a police spokesman confirmed yesterday that 11 detainees were set free on Friday.

They include Chris Dlamini, president of the powerful Federation of South African Trade Unions and the general secretary of the Council of Unions of South Africa, Piroshaw Camay.

Five other detainees picked up after the stayaway are facing charges of subversion.

A spokesman for the Detainees' Parents Support Committee in Johannesburg said the high number of detentions was a "reflection of the appalling

lack of human rights in South Africa".

Detention without trial involved a wide deprivation of basic rights, he said. Among the rights of which a person was deprived were freedom and contact with the outside world, and legal rights (access to lawyers as in the case of Section 29 detainees).

The spokesman said: "Detention without trial is unacceptable in the international community, but here it has become the norm. The public is becoming numb to this whole idea of detention. It hardly arouses comment anymore."

Detentions aside, another alarming indication of the Government's disregard for human rights is its use of "banishment".

The president of the UDF's Border branch, Steve Tshwete, has been effectively banished to the

Ciskei and declared an alien in the land of his birth.

Born in Springs, he is now not allowed to cross into South Africa from Ciskei without a visa.

This has also befallen another "banished" UDF leader — Charles Ngakulodock and has been stripped of his citizenship by being banished to a Government-created independent homeland.

Jailed for daggga con

Sunday Times Reporter

A NATAL CID man set a trap for Thomas Mhlokoane, who claimed to be selling daggga.

The detective paid R30 for a parcel, but the consignment turned out to be harmless multi herbs.

The Maritzburg Supreme Court quashed a sentence for dealing in daggga, but Mhlokoane was jailed for 10 months for fraud.

Look at this woman...

and understand
my nightmare

IN the aftermath of Bishop Tutu's Nobel Peace Prize, ALAN PATON, in an article in the Sunday Times, questioned the black leader's political mo-

rality for supporting disinvestment. His piece has opened a debate on the issue. Here he replies to one of his critics.

By **ALAN PATON**



I READ that Dr Villavencio, who has in the past often thought I was right, thinks now that I am wrong in passing moral judgment on those who advocate disinvestment.

He thinks I take a simplistic view of the whole issue.

It seems that I have also misunderstood the parable of the sheep and the goats. I understood Jesus to mean that if you denied a hungry man food and thirsty man drink you were doing something very wrong.

I deduced from that parable, which I take very seriously, that it would be wrong to advocate any course that would put a man out of a job.

To be simplistic is bad though, but to fall off one's pedestal makes it worse. One is hurt, not only in one's body, but also in one's pride. There is only one sensible thing to do

in these circumstances, and that is to go to bed. So I went to bed, to sleep, perchance to dream ...

I DREAM

They came to see me, these Americans, full of righteousness. They flattered me too.

They told me my name was well known in America, almost as well known as Gary Player and Chris Barnard, and now of course Zola Budd and Bishop Tutu.

They told me the Americans had great respect for my moral judgments, and that if I came out for disinvestment, it would be a certain winner.

They asked me to become the president of the World Disinvestment Campaign. They also told me that if anyone was put out of a job, it wouldn't be me. I told them I had certain moral doubts, but they ex-

plained that I was being simplistic.

One should bear in mind that Jesus was talking about meat and drink, not about jobs. After much moral wrestling I accepted the argument. No-one can be more convincing than an American.

Also I must admit that I have some moral weaknesses — one is vanity and the other is money.

When it was announced, with a great blowing of trumpets, that I had become president of the World Disinvestment Campaign, my life changed overnight.

Mr Archimedes, who hadn't spoken to me for years, came up to Botha's Hill to tell me that I was now the hero of Africa. Professor F sent me a telegram saying that I had at last atoned for praising the Israelis for rescuing their hostages from the clutches of Idi Amin.

Mr R who had venerated me when he was young and had ceased to venerate me when I said that P W was astute, telephoned to say that he now venerated me again.

Chief B rang up in a fury and said that I had destroyed a friendship of nearly 40 years and that he would never speak to me again.

Cables of congratulations poured in from America, Canada, Britain, Sweden and other countries. Alas, I lost most of my capitalist friends, but one must pay a price for taking a stand.

I travelled all over the world. I was welcomed on campuses which would have shouted me down a year before. It was nice to come in out of the cold.

Then came the great day. Representatives of America, Canada, Britain, France, West Germany, Holland and Scandinavian countries met in London and declared for total disinvestment (except perhaps for a strategic mineral or two). Mrs Archimedes came up to tell me I was the hero of the whole black world.

Disinvestment began to bite. Port Elizabeth and East London became dead cities. Even in a quiet place like Botha's Hill there were daily black queues for food and jobs.

I must confess I didn't like passing them. Many of the people of the Valley of a Thousand Hills were my friends, but some grew very cold to me.

It was a great shock to me to hear over the radio that a mob had burned the buildings of the Valley Foundation and the Church of the Paraclete to the ground.

I telephoned the Rev John Ndlovu, and told him that he had my prayers. He said to me, we don't want your prayers, we want jobs.

Mr Archimedes, who knows I often go to the Church of the Paraclete, came up to condole with

me. He told me one must pay a price for making a stand.

There is unrest in the Valley, in Botha's Hill and Hillcrest and Kloof and Westville. I find that I spend more and more time in my study. I pull down the blinds. I find that I feel better when the blinds are down.

But Julia comes to tell me that there are black women wanting to see me. She brings their leader into my study, a tall woman for these parts, a tall woman carrying a child and dressed in black.

She looks like a sculpture of the Sorrow of the World. She gives me the child and I see that it is dead.

— Why do you give this to me?

— Because it is yours.

— How can it be mine? I have never seen you before.

— You took its life, therefore it is yours.

She goes out of the study and calls to me. She points to the waiting women.

— They will bring you their children too.

When the police have

taken away the body of the child I come to a decision. I get into my car, my new bullet-proof car, and I drive to Pinetown and I buy something I have never bought before. It is a gun.

I go home and go into my study with the drawn blinds. There, surrounded by all the hundreds of books and papers that I wrote for the World Disinvestment Campaign, I shoot myself to death.

How could I do such a thing? How could I bring such a noble life to such an ignoble end? How could I commit such a deadly sin? I

am filled with an agony of remorse. The burden of it is intolerable. I wish only to die.

I WAKE

But ... what am I talking about? Am I not dead already? No I am not! The whole thing is an unspeakable dream. I am full of joy to realise that I never had anything to do with any campaign for disinvestment.

I ring up the Rev John Ndlovu of the Church of

the Paraclete. Why did you not ring before, he asks, I began to fear that you were dead.

I hereby solemnly declare that I will never, by any word or act of mine, give any support to any campaign that will put men out of jobs — not even if they promised me that it would bring Chernenko down. Or Reagan. Or P W Botha.

I rush to the post office and send a telegram to Dr Villavencio: three cheers for simplicity.