SOUTH AFRICAN LABOUR BULLETIN*

Address:
P.O. Box 31073, Braamfontein 2017

or
4 Melle House, 31 Melle Street, Braamfontein 2001

Phone:
(011) 339 8133

Chairman:
Johann Maree

Editor:
Jon Lewis

Membership and Constituency:
Editorial board comprising mainly academics with a practical involvement in the independent workers' movement.

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CHURCH & STATE - 1988

APRIL — MAY

CHURCH AND STATE

PW's turbulent priests

Led by clergymen like Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the Church has committed itself to seeking political redress from apartheid. Where will its crusade end now that P W Botha has personally entered the fray?

The issues are grave, but the spectacle tantalising. Could there be two more worthy combatants than President P W Botha and Archbishop Desmond Tutu? Two more misguided Christians it would be hard to find.

Yet both, no doubt, will believe the Almighty standing at his right hand as each shapes up for the deformation trial of the century — The Church *vs* The State.

True, the Church has almost from its foundation been involved in politics, often as the ally of the State, less so as the hero of the oppressed. In its long history, humanitarianism and conscience were seldom the Church's real motivation.

In 1163, Henry II's legendary cry: "Who will free me from this turbulent priest?" — uttered over Thomas à Becket's refusal to acquiesce in a temporal matter — today no doubt expresses partly Botha's own impatience with the temporal meddling of the Anglican Metropolitan Desmond Tutu and others.

Yet for all the dire speculation of government acting to muzzle these turbulent liberation theologians, specifically Tutu and the World Alliance of Reformed Churches' Allan Boesak, Botha last week said he saw no reason to act "unless they take part in subversive and revolutionary activities." But he is prodding them and is clearly irked by their stance.

So it was not surprising that at the same time that he displayed *savoir-faire* over Tutu, the president delivered a blistering attack on all churches associated with opposition to government. In reply to a letter from SA Council of Churches general secretary Frank Chikane last week, wherein the SACC took issue with the State President's "singling out" of Tutu for attack, Botha said it was alarming that individual members of the clergy who claimed to be messengers of God were in fact messengers of enmity and hatred while parading in the cloth and hiding behind the structures of the Church.

"Instead of pursuing reformation, they are engaged in the deformation of religion, through the false proclamation of the so-called liberation theology," he said. The SACC promptly announced it was taking legal advice with the view to possibly instituting defamation charges against the Head of State (which would be the first time this has happened). Botha at the weekend almost tauntingly welcomed the move: "I like it," he said, threatening to reveal certain damaging information about the suspect associations.

In the light of that, it is interesting to recall the nature of the dispute between Henry and Becket. It was over the corruption and licentiousness of the clergy in England. They believed themselves to be above the common law and Becket refused to punish them in what Henry believed was an adequate manner.

Becket argued: "The clergy, by reason of their orders . . . have Christ alone as King . . . And since they are not under secular kings but their own king, the King of Heaven, they should be ruled by their own law . . ."

In the heat of the dispute, he went on: "Christian princes should be obedient to the dictates of the Church, rather than prefer their own authority and princes should bow their heads to bishops . . ."

We know now that Becket enjoyed little support from other English bishops and did nothing to avoid his own death. As a dead man he was an instant success. Immediate canonisation followed and bits of him, in the form of relics, commanded what were, for the age, enormous prices.

The fact is that if Tutu wins or loses against P W, he could still become the most celebrated martyr of our age, as Becket was of his.

For in the US today and in many parts of Europe and Australasia, merely to venture that there might be a humanitarian case against sanctions is to court condemnation as a heretic or, in modern language, a racist.

That is Tutu's trump card. He will use any court action to nourish his call for economic and diplomatic sanctions against this country. He would be guaranteed more than his day in court — such an appearance would be an international *cause célèbre* that would focus the attention of the world media once again on SA and precipitate the little archbishop back into his familiar limelight, where he has been known to bask.

Botha, for his part, keeps his cards closer to his chest, as we know from the Chris Ball affair. Nor does he give a damn about world opinion. Yet, by dismantling *some* apartheid, he has brought infinitely more good (however reluctantly or slowly) to this land than has Tutu by instigating sanctions. What irony.

Like Becket, Tutu is obstinate and flamboyant with a passion for drama. And men with those characteristics are seldom logical. He supports liberation theology, which is supposed to be a clerical concern with the material uplifting of the poor. Yet he supports a socialist ideology in pursuing these ends, which, everywhere that it has been tried, has led to greater deprivation and loss of personal freedoms.

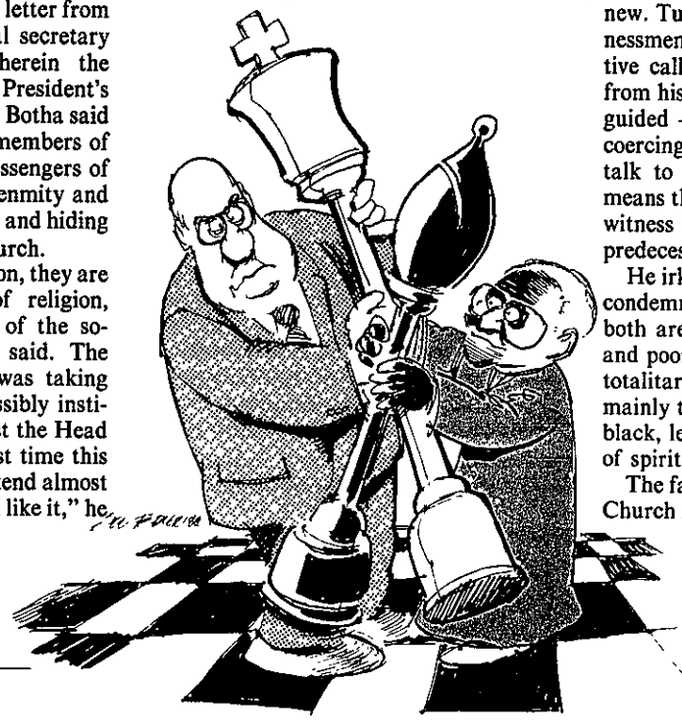
Emotion is a strong factor in black politics. We suspect that one of the reasons that some educated blacks support sanctions is that they believe whites should be made to suffer some of their own perceived hardships.

Since government's latest foolhardy decision to ban 17 more organisations and two black newspapers, emotion is even more likely to replace logic in the psyche of impatient blacks.

Conflict between the Anglican Church and State over apartheid in SA is nothing new. Tutu has alienated many whites, businessmen among them, with his all too effective call for international sanctions. Apart from his personal — and demonstrably misguided — faith in sanctions as a means of coercing government to end apartheid and talk to "legitimate" black leaders (which means the ANC), Tutu's brand of Christian witness seems qualitatively different to his predecessors'.

He irks many white Christians because he condemns apartheid but not socialism. Yet both are coercive systems that despoil rich and poor alike and have tendencies towards totalitarianism. His tendency to minister mainly to the majority of his flock, which is black, leaves white Anglicans at best bereft of spiritual nourishment.

The fact of the matter is that the Anglican Church *is* 80% black and it represents Tutu's only constituency. Without it, he has no clout abroad. It is also an area of substantial weakness. His ministry is more emotional than logical. The Anglican



Church has not transplanted well.

Rebel NGK cleric Beyers Naudé has said: "The church leaders have committed themselves to the struggle for justice, knowing that the *credibility* of the Church is at stake in the Christian community."

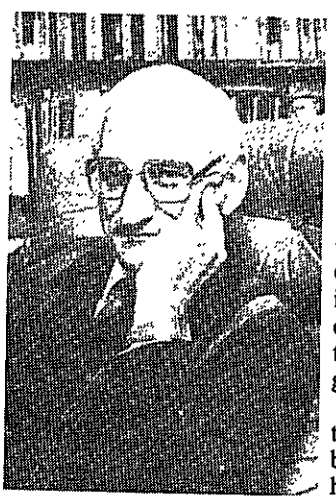
Similarly, former head of the SA Catholic Bishops' Conference, Smangaliso Mkhatshwa, wrote recently: "Granted not everyone will agree with the leadership styles of the Tutus and the Boesaks. But they have, over the years, promoted the credibility and relevance of the church in SA."

The problem is that credibility must have substance if it is to lead to a more virtuous and prosperous society — assuming this to be the aim of both Church and State. They do not and cannot have separate constituencies; they should have a common purpose. Johannesburg Anglican Bishop Duncan Buchanan maintains: "Sin does not stop at the gates of parliament." Separating Church and State is a false dichotomy, he says. "To ban people, to deny them freedom is a theological action. It presupposes a theology which allows the government to be inviolate."

Quoting from Amos in the Old Testament, Buchanan says that if the king is doing wrong, the prophet has got to say so whether he likes it or not.

Buchanan emphasises that the Church is not spoiling for a fight with government. In response to Botha's injunction that the Church stick to spiritual matters, he replies: "We would say we are." The Church is impatient.

The Afrikaans NGK, now at loggerheads with Tutu, Boesak and the SACC, cannot accept this theology and style of doing things, even though it too condemns racism. It, like Henry II, places greater emphasis on *realpolitik*. Moderator Johan Heyns explains: "We had discussions with the minister of law and order. By doing so, to my mind, we achieved much more than they did (by marching on parliament). We have mechanisms to deal with the problem of detention without trial; we've had discussions with police generals about this, which is not like the mere tokenism of that march. What do we really achieve by demonstrating and drawing the attention of the world to the problem? We need creative thinking and creative action," Heyns advises. He would prefer to see the churches adopting a more conciliatory approach.



Heyns

Quite aside from its role (now recanted), in having theologically justified apartheid, Heyns's contact with government clearly also upholds the principle of Church involvement in political matters. The difference compared to Tutu is that there is less emotive dogma and a relatively firmer grasp on reality, both political and economic.

Tutu and friends ... international leverage

Heyns points out that 80% of the Cabinet and 70% of MPs, belong to the NGK, which is "at least a token of their Christianity." Does he think blacks regard government ministers as Christians? "If they had the facts, that is the only deduction they can make," he says. Government is "at least trying to act according to Biblical norms; after all, what is the aim of its reforms if not greater justice?"

Buchanan reckons that the perception among many blacks is that, if Botha and his Cabinet were true Christians, then they would prefer Marxism. That may well be true.

The task of the Anglican Church should then be to lead its flock away from such heresy and not capitulate for the sake of credibility. To a Christian, heresy, by its very nature, cannot be credible.

Asked whether he regards Tutu and Boesak as Marxists, Heyns said: "I personally wouldn't link them with those organisations (the ANC and Communist Party), but they have a certain affinity with the theology of liberation, which tends to make them activists and so less inclined towards dialogue."

With the Anglican, Catholic and Methodist churches having gradually become more integrated and admitting more black clergy to their hierarchies, this radical path seems inevitable.

For its pitfalls in SA are increasingly obscured both by apartheid's too slow demise and the ANC's desire for power rather than reconciliation.

That this path leads inevitably to further schism between Church and State, with international pressures for further sanctions and economic erosion, matters little. The decision — however it has been invalidated by experience — to confront government has its own logic, which is not a wholly rational one.

Emotions are the issue and P W Botha's responses are as emotional in turn. It is in the end a battle which no one can win. ■

Star 2/4/88

Church-State battle lines etched in history

28

Patrick Laurence analyses the relationship between the clergy and government and concludes the conflict has reached a new pitch.

BITTER complaints against men who hide behind the "cloak of religion" while advancing political objectives are a recurring theme in South Africa's history, linking Piet Retief with Pieter Botha across more than 150 years.

On the eve of the Great Trek in 1836, Retief and his niece Anna Steenkamp charged clergymen with casting slurs on frontiersmen, accusing them of placing emancipated slaves on an "equal footing with Christians, contrary to the laws of God and the natural distinctions of race and religion".

Barely 10 days ago, President Botha rebuked the Rev Frank Chikane, general secretary of the SA Council of Churches, and his clerical brethen, for spreading "malicious untruths" about South Africa.

"You love and praise the ANC-SACP, with its Marxist and atheistic ideology," Mr Botha said in a letter to Mr Chikane. "You embrace and participate in their call for violence, hatred, sanctions, insurrection and revolution."

Mr Chikane had earlier written to Mr Botha to protest against his "personal attack" on Archbishop Desmond Tutu, head of the Anglican Church in South Africa and the man who spearheaded clerical protests against the restrictions placed on 18 extra-parliamentary opposition organisations on February 24.

"Our protest was against the evils of apartheid," Mr Chikane said in his letter. "It is the apartheid government that interrupts church services and seeks to control funeral services, all of which are part of the duties and life of the church."

The quarrel between Mr Botha and many church leaders has been widely, but wrongly, interpreted as a State-versus-Church conflict. That is too simple. It implies that Mr Botha does not have clerical backers.

The largest of the white Dutch Reformed Churches, the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk, or NGK, is generally, but not slavishly, supportive of Mr Botha. There are, of course, close ties between the NGK and the governing National Party. So much so that the NGK is sometimes referred to as the NP at prayer.

Mr Botha can rely on the backing of the second largest white DRC, the Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk, when it comes to actions aimed at containing "revolution" and preserving "law and order".

The conservative outlook of the Hervormde Kerk was highlighted by the Conservative Party leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, in his TV debate last month with the Transvaal NP leader, Mr F W de Klerk. A Hervormde Kerk investigation into the programme and principles of the militant Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging found "nothing, nothing ... against which it wanted to express itself", Dr Treurnicht said.

The conflict between Mr Botha and leaders of most, but not all, established churches is more properly seen as a manifestation in a modern setting of an old quarrel between Afrikaner leaders and their clerical critics. The quarrel dates back to the Voortrekker leader Piet Retief and Dr John Philip of the London Missionary Society.

At its core, the dispute is over the position and future of the black majority in South Africa and whether the policies pursued by the Afrikaners are scripturally justifiable. The conflict has surfaced regularly in recent decades.

One thinks of the clash between Father Trevor Huddleston and the Afrikaner-controlled State in the 1950s over the removal of blacks from Sophiatown; of the deportation of the Bishop Ambrose Reeves at the time of the Sharpeville shootings; of the trial and conviction of terrorism, and acquittal on appeal, of the Dean of Johannesburg, the Very Rev Gonville ffrench-Beytagh in the 1970s, and of the present collision between President Botha and a new generation of clergymen.

In recent decades the conflict has acquired a new dimension. The expatriate clerics from Britain and Europe have been replaced by South Africans, first by dissident Afrikaners and then increasingly by blacks.

The names come to mind easily: Dr C F Beyers Naude, the Rev Theo Kotze, Dr Nico Smith, Archbishop Tutu, Dr Allan Boesak, Mr Chikane, Bishop Stephen Naidoo, Father Mangaliso Mkhatshwa, Dr Manas Buthelezi, Father Sebalo Ntwasa and the Rev Khoza Mgojo ... a roll call of honour or a catalogue of interfering clerics, depending on your point of view.

The clergymen at the forefront of the tussle with Mr Botha and his key lieutenants have one central element in common: all are leaders of churches with a preponderance of black members. The Anglican Church illustrates the point: 80 percent of its members are black.

These established churches have to take account of the aspirations of their black members. Most of their members desire fundamental revision of the political status quo. Their wishes are manifest in the men they have elected to lead them: Archbishop Tutu (Anglican), Bishop Buthelezi (Lutheran), Mr Mgojo (Methodist), Bishop Naidoo (Catholic), Dr Boesak (NG Sendingskerk), and Mr Chikane (SA Council of Churches).

Between the conflicting interests of the white churches and the black-dominated churches lie the independent black churches. They constitute the largest single group of Christians, accounting for a fifth of Christendom in South Africa.

According to Dr John de Gruchy, there are about 3 000 independent churches, ranging in size from 20 to a million members. They are generally apolitical, offering the faithful an alternative life where the white man has no place. But they could assume an important political role.

Mr Botha achieved a major propaganda coup when he was invited to the 75th anniversary of the Zionist Christian Church in 1985. His image as a man with black supporters was boosted when his speech was greeted with tumultuous applause and when the ZCC leader, Bishop Barnabas Lekganyane, assured him of the church's political obedience.

But a new alignment might have started since then. The 25 church leaders who tried to march on Parliament in protest against restrictions placed on 18 opposition organisations included leaders of the independent churches.

Among those arrested with the better known "political priests" were Bishop N G Ngada, of the Council of African Independent Churches, and the Rev O T Xulu, the council's general secretary. They were signatories to the petition sent to Mr Botha protesting against the de facto banning of 18 organisations.

The petition described the restricted organisations as "organisations of and for our people". The message could hardly be clearer.

Clergymen lead protest march

Star 2/4/88 (256)

DURBAN — Nearly 1 000 people, led by clergymen carrying crosses, marched silently through downtown Durban at dawn yesterday to protest against the Government's crackdown on anti-apartheid groups.

In a separate development, police headquarters reported that a white constable was fatally stabbed overnight by a group of blacks, while on a foot patrol in Pinetown West, on the outskirts of Durban. No details about the attack were released.

Accompanying the ministers at the head of the protest march were 19 people wearing gags to symbolise the recent bans, which have shut down the newspaper *New Nation* and barred 17 major anti-apartheid groups from functioning.

"Many voices which stand for justice are being silenced in our country and we commit ourselves to ensure that those voices may be heard once again," said Ms Miriam Cele, of the Dependents' Conference, which assists the families of detainees.

Among those addressing the protesters at church services before and after the march was Mr Archie Gumede, co-president of the United Democratic Front.

Restriction order

The UDF, South Africa's largest anti-apartheid coalition, was one of the groups banned from all activity in February, and Mr Gumede was issued an individual restriction order limiting his political activities.

Other speakers at the services included Roman Catholic Archbishop Denis Hurley and the Rev Stanley Mogoba, general secretary of the Methodist Church.

State and Church in futile opposition

Harald Pakendorf

ON Easter Sunday it is a humbling thought that we South Africans are a violent people, violent in action and in words.

There is violence in the streets of the townships, an incredibly high rate of family members killing off their beloved ones, and there are bombings and landmine blasts.

The State, too, is violent — there is the violence done to people by moving them around, by refusing to allow them to take their own decisions, by dictating from the top.

But there is another kind of State violence too, of which Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok supplied the statistics.

Replying to a question in Parliament, he said that last year the police shot and killed 355 adults and 45 youths, wounding another 462 adults and 161 youths. The figures include unrest-related incidents.

More than 1 000 people killed or wounded in one year by our own policemen! And this despite the fact that last year the nationwide unrest had already come to an end!

In such an atmosphere one is almost inclined to say it is hardly surprising that our politics is violent too. Not only are people intimidated into following a particular line in the townships, not only are white meetings broken up, but our whole attitude is confrontational, not conciliatory.

Probably one of the worst examples of this is the present clash between Church and State. No, not clash — slanging match is a better description.

The words which Head of State and church leaders have been slinging at each other don't sound at all what one would expect from Christians.

There is no sign of conciliation, of attempts to understand each other, and no indication of a desire to search for a compromise.

It is a face-to-face confrontation, like two boxers in a ring waiting for the bell.

The church leaders are likened to those who support communism, terrorism and violence, and are almost verbally coerced into taking a particular position.

And the church leaders hit back, refusing understanding and leaving the impression that they, too, welcome the confrontation.

Yet it surely must be possible to seek a compromise if the will to do so exists on both sides.

The issue is clear: The President is demanding that the churches reject the South African Communist Party, the African National Congress, the use of violence and give him their support in what he genuinely believes is a massive effort to reform South Africa into a more just society.

The churches are saying — that is those churches which have a mainly black following — that it is not the SACP and the ANC who are supressing them, it is apartheid.

There is, of course, no reason why the churches cannot condemn the SACP and the ANC and still attack apartheid, confronting the Government with the injustices the system brings with it.

Why, after ANC attacks such as the Krugersdorp bomb, can't church leaders say: 'We condemn the attack on innocent people and the lack of respect for human lives.'?

Which is what the SACC said officially about the South African raid into Botswana.

Yet therein lies the rub.

One suspects that the churches are, in fact, sympathetic to the politics of the ANC while not approving of or even condoning its methods.

And that is the real reason why they do not condemn the ANC.

The State President, therefore, pushes them, suspecting that if they had a free choice they would openly be on the other side.

Both are sinning because both are saying: 'I do not understand what you are about because my way is the right way. Only I know the way forward.'

The churches need to accept that the State President seriously believes he is looking for a more just society and the State President needs to understand why the churches find it so difficult to accept this.

If neither does, the confrontation will continue, and it will remain part of the violent scene which is South Africa. Neither will then assist in achieving what they both claim they are seeking.

3/4/88 S/Times (28)

(28) STAR - 8/4/88

Reject violence, Boesak tells opponents of apartheid

Injustice and oppression cannot prevail — Tutu

CAPE TOWN — Church leaders Archbishop Desmond Tutu and the Rev Allan Boesak preached messages of hope to South Africa's Christians yesterday, saying God would triumph over injustice and oppression.

Archbishop Tutu told 2 000 people in Cape Town's St George's Cathedral that Christians had to be "prisoners of hope".

"As we look at the despair, chaos, death and destruction in all the world, but especially in our land ... where over 2 000 people can be killed as if they were just flies, where children are killed with rubber bullets and no one held responsible ... we know that God means to bring forth new life.

"There's no way injustice, oppression and evil can prevail in the universe of a God who brings out life from death. We know that joy and peace and laughter and compassion ... are stronger than their counterparts," he said.

ASSASSINATED

Mr Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, appealed to young people to reject violence in the struggle against apartheid.

Mr Edward Perkins, the US Ambassador to South Africa, was among several hundred people who packed Mr Boesak's church in Bellville for a service dedicated to American civil rights leader Martin Luther King, who was assassinated on April 4 1968.

Many South Africans were saying love and non-violence were no longer possible, Mr Boesak said.

"For many young people the point has come where they will say: 'What does it matter any more. The way of Jesus is the way of a coward. The true courageous person is he who will kill another for the sake of the cause.'

"I'm absolutely convinced that this is a form of reasoning that will lead us to death, not physical death so much as spiritual death.

CONFRONTATION

"If that is the way we will go we shall have no foundation on which to build a new world."

Mr Boesak said Christians celebrated Easter "at the peak of a confrontation between Church and State which is quite unprecedented in our country's history".

The last few weeks had seen an escalating war of words between Church and State, with the Government attacking priests who "preach revolution" and warning it might take action against them.

The message of Easter was that darkness was overcome by the light of God's love in Jesus, Mr Boesak said. — Sapa-Reuter.

S/Times 3/4/88

CROSSES TO BEAR . . . Bishop Phillip Russell leads the early morning procession on Good Friday

Silent protest march

(28)

A SILENT procession of nearly 1 000, led by clergymen carrying symbolic wooden crosses, filed through the early morning streets of Durban on Good Friday.

The march symbolised Christ's crucifixion and resurrection and the recent banning of 18 organisations and a newspaper.

In a second symbolic protest, members of the Black Sash dug four graves and planted crosses on the beach opposite the Natal Command army headquarters to protest against Monday's SADF raid into Botswana.

Archbishop Denis Hurley, the Rev Stanley Magoba, and Bishops Philip Russell and Michael Nuttall led the procession.

Nineteen gagged people carried crosses to protest restictions on 18 against organisations and the banning of the newspaper New Nation.

Archbishop Tutu, Dr Boesak preach messages of hope

D/D 4/4/88

28

CAPE TOWN — Archbishop Desmond Tutu and the Reverend Allan Boesak preached messages of hope to South Africa's Christians yesterday, saying that God would triumph over injustice and oppression.

The two are at the centre of a clash between the church and the state concerning their outspoken criticism of the government's apartheid policies and its crackdown on peaceful opposition under the 22-month-old state of emergency.

Archbishop Tutu, the head of the Anglican church in southern Africa, told a non-racial congregation of 2 000 in Cape Town's St George's Cathedral that Christians had to be "prisoners of hope".

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In a service dedicated to the United States' black civil rights leader, Martin Luther King, who was assassinated on April 4, 1968, Dr Boesak said that many South Africans were saying love and non-violence were no longer possible.

"For many young people the point has come where they will say: "What does it matter any more. The way of Jesus is the way of a coward. The true courageous person is he who will kill another for the sake of the cause"."

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THE BLESSING . . . Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu delivering a blessing before 2 000 people in St George's Cathedral yesterday. To the right is Dean E L King, who retires as dean of the cathedral in August.

Cape Times 4/4/88

Tutu, Boesak preach of hope for SA's future

28

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Catholic leader warns of new confrontation

Argus 5/4/88 (28)

By DICK USHER, Staff Reporter

THE quiet offices of the Most Rev Stephen Naidoo, Archbishop of Cape Town and spiritual leader of 220 000 Roman Catholics, are only metres away from the Tuynhuys, official residence of President Botha, ruler of 30 million South Africans.

Outside the one there are no sentries, no policemen, and access to His Grace is guarded only by his secretary. The other lies behind high fences with police and the State President's guard continually on patrol.

Archbishop Naidoo was one of the religious leaders who last month, after the restriction of 17 organisations and a major trade union federation, were held after trying to deliver a petition to President Botha in Parliament protesting at the restrictions.

He made it clear that, as the confrontation between Church and State in South Africa grew, he would do it again if he had to.

"South Africa today is a country where there are a number of laws which are geared to preserving privilege for some and which uphold an ideology which is contrary to the Gospel.

"The Church cannot accept this and has got to point it out. If the State uses means to restrict rights of people even further, the Church has no option but to point this out and, if necessary, confront the State.

"Otherwise the Church would not be true to its mission," he said.

This mission was "not merely in helping to provide certain services or preaching the Gospel in a void, but helping to transform the society in which we live in such a way that it conforms with the God-given dignity of people.

"The Church does not see its role primarily in political terms," said Archbishop Naidoo.

"After all, the Church's specific mission is to preach the Gospel in a specific situation and to try and work so that the situation is transformed into a place where people can live as befits them."

This he sees as the basis of the conflict between Church and State, one which is not new, but is becoming "clearer and clearer".

In fact, until 150 years ago the Catholic Church was officially proscribed in South Africa, the practise of Catholicism was forbidden until 1838 and it was not until 1950 that a hierarchy was established.

In the years since then, and in common with other churches and influenced by the same forces in society, it has changed in the composition of its hierarchy.

In the Catholic Church there were now four black archbishops who had all been subject to the same deprivations as most of their flocks and "the leadership would naturally bring their experiences to bear on the way they exercise their leadership

"You cannot stop that; it is quite a natural thing," he said.

But it has also meant that as the black majority had become increasingly restive under white rule, the Church had also become more pointed in its criticisms. This was one factor which led to the attempt to petition President Botha.

"The situation is becoming more clearly defined with actions such as the restriction of the 17 organisations.

"At the same time that ordinary people become more and more aware of the effects of deprivation of human rights, in recent years it has become more difficult to protest against this.

"We find ourselves in the position today where the Church is one of the few voices left which can mount a protest like that and point out the consequences of actions such as banning organisations of the people.

"One of the tragedies of our country is that the question of dialogue between Church and State has become almost impossible, mainly because the attempts the Church made at dialogue have turned out to be very sad experiences.

"You cannot talk to people who do not want to hear," he said.

"You are left with your moral power because you cannot ban the truth, you cannot imprison the idea of freedom and you cannot make the desire for human rights disappear.

"These aspirations continue to live in people and continue to have moral power which will find practical forms of expression whenever and wherever possible."

When asked about another spiritual leader, Mohandas Gandhi, who experienced discrimination in South Africa from where he took concepts of moral power to the struggle for Indian independence from Britain, Archbishop Naidoo said he could see similar actions as were undertaken by the Indians occurring in South Africa.

"This was something that happened in the Philippines to President Marcos," he said. "I certainly would not ignore the possibility of this becoming a reality in South Africa.

"Many South Africans are not making outrageous demands: they are asking for ordinary and very basic human rights, for the small freedoms that constitute a just society.

"Too many other people have mental paralysis, they have been forced into a situation where they are to afraid to think and to look at a diversity of options, that it is not simply a choice between the Government and the ANC, as President Botha would have us believe, but that given the freedom to choose many people might choose quite a different option.

"The Church will never be silenced in these matters."

PW unChristian in attacks on leaders say churchmen

DD 7/4/88

(28)

Daily Dispatch Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Theologians from throughout the country have accused the state president, Mr P. W. Botha of being "unChristian" in his attacks on church leaders Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Dr Allan Boesak and the Reverend Frank Chikane.

This new development in the growing church-state conflict in South Africa, comes in the form of a statement in support of the three churchmen by 45 academic theologians teaching at eight theological faculties and departments of religious studies.

The signatories to the statement include Professors C. Villa-Vicencio and John de Gruchy of the University of Cape Town; Jaap Durand, J. C.Adonis and P. J.Robinson of the University of the Western Cape; G. H.Wittenberg of Natal University, and J.Suggit of Rhodes.

A large number of Unisa academics also signed, including Professors W. Saayman, D. J. Bosch, B. Gaybba, A. Könnig, S. Maimela and K. Nürnberger.

In the statement the theologians say Mr Botha claimed that no theologian he had consulted could provide Biblical support for the recent protest actions of church leaders in South Africa.

On the contrary the church has a clear Biblical basis for its protest and is in accord with the mainstream of Christian tradition in resisting injustice, the statement says.

The theologians say that church leaders who fail in their duty to oppose what is evil are false prophets.

"The present conflict between church and state reflects the growing conflict between oppressors and oppressed in South Africa.

"The basic problem is that the policy of apartheid is racist and unjust.

"Such a policy clearly contradicts the gospel of the Kingdom of God revealed in Jesus Christ.

"To proclaim the gospel in word as well as action, for both are required of the church, must inevitably mean confronting what is unjust, dehumanising and destructive of human community and Christian values."

The statement says the true prophets of Israel, and Jesus himself, often found it necessary to engage in symbolic actions in public when their cries on behalf of the poor were disregarded.

"In the same way, over the years many church leaders have pleaded, both in private and in public, with those in authority to heed the cries of the victims of our society.

"The church, after all, has a biblical obligation to identify with the poor and the oppressed and to resist unjust government.

"Such public actions against the misuse of power and the disregard of human rights have occurred throughout church history, and have been supported by major Christian theologians of the past and present, and, significantly within our context, by John Calvin himself."

Church leaders who failed in their duty to oppose injustice denied their calling.

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PW attacks 'unchristian'

Staff Reporter

TOP theologians from throughout the country have accused the State President, Mr P W Botha, of being "unchristian" in his attacks on church leaders Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Dr Allan Boesak and the Rev Frank Chikane.

This new development in the growing church-state conflict comes in the form of a statement in support of the three churchmen by 45 academic theologians teaching at eight theological faculties and departments of religious studies.

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In the statement the theologians say Mr Botha claimed that no theologian he had consulted could provide biblical support for the recent protest actions of church leaders in South Africa.

On the contrary, says the statement, the church has a clear biblical basis for its protest and is in accord with the mainstream of Christian tradition in resisting injustice.

The theologians say that church leaders who fail in their duty to oppose what is evil are false prophets.

"The present conflict between church and state reflects the growing conflict between oppressors and oppressed in South Africa, and has been in the making for a long time.

"The basic problem is that the policy of apartheid, however disguised, is racist and unjust, and can only be implemented by force and coercion."

To proclaim the gospel in word as well as action must inevitably mean "confronting what is unjust, dehumanizing and destructive of human community and Christian values".

Over the years many church leaders had pleaded, both in private and in public, with those in authority "to heed the cries of the victims of our society".

This has brought little response and, sometimes, only rebuke and rejection.

Public actions against the misuse of power and the disregard of human rights have occurred throughout church history.

THE signatories are: Prof J C Adonis (UWC), the Rev L Bhengu (Fedsem), the Rev A Bhiman (ICT), Mr L Blom (Unisa), Prof D J Bosch (Unisa), Dr W Boesak (UWC), Dr D Chidester (UCT), Prof D Cloete (UWC), Dr J R Cochrane (Natal), the Rev B S Connor OP (St Joseph's Scholasticate), the Rev T C Cunningham (Rhodes), Prof J W de Gruchy (UCT), Dr J A Draper (Natal), Prof J J F Durand (UWC), Dr F Edwards (Rhodes), Prof B Gaybba (Unisa), Dr T S N Gqubule (Fedsem), the Rev G Hawkes (Rhodes), Dr J H Hofmeyr (UCT), Dr L Hulley (Unisa), Dr L D Jafta (Fedsem), Dr J N J Kritzinger (Unisa), Prof A Konnig (Unisa), the Rev C F Langefeld (St Joseph's Scholasticate), Dr H Lederle (Unisa), Prof S Maimela (Unisa), the Rev D C Marco (UWC), Dr W Mazamisa (UCT), Dr B Mazibuko (Unisa), the Rev B Mngonezulu (Fedsem), Dr I J Mosala (UCT), Dr A Nolan OP (ICT), Prof K Nurnberger (Unisa), Prof P J Robinson (UWC), Prof W Saayman (Unisa), Dr W Sebothoma (Unisa), Prof G M Setiloane (UCT), Dr N Smith (Unisa), Prof D J Smit (UWC), Prof J Suggit (Rhodes), Prof C Villa-Vicencio (UCT), Dr C Wanamaker (UCT), the Rev J Wing (Fedsem), Prof G H Wittenberg (Natal) and the Rev M E Worsnip (Fedsem). (ICT is the Institute for Contextual Theology in Johannesburg).

FOCUS ON PULPIT POLITICS

The church right and apartheid

South Africa — whips, teargas canisters, rubber bullets — were placed on the altar, Balsinger declined to change his caption when the magazine was reprinted: "This point is going to stand," he said.

Another photograph shows Naudé and Boesak in front of the banner of the SA Communist Party at the funeral of murdered Eastern Cape community leader Matthew Goniwe in 1985. other the killing of a Ciskei soldier. The scenes are interspersed with lengthy interviews with former South African spy Craig Williamson, until recently a major in the South African security police.

Just as the incidents are not identified, neither is Williamson's former position. Culpability for the violence is placed unequivocally at the door of the ANC.

The booklet accompanying the video urges readers to write to their senators and representatives "insisting that (they) watch *ANC — A Time for Candour* ... and express ... outrage over Oliver Tambo's meeting with George Shultz".

Pat Robertson, one of the first to broadcast an anti-ANC video

Form letters to newspaper editors and members of congress are included in an "action kit" for those who lack the time or imagination to write their own responses.

The video has been screened on several of the more than 1 000 Christian television networks, says Larry Jones, a New York academic who monitors the religious right in the US and South Africa.

At least one organisation, the Council on Foreign Affairs, received the video unsolicited — compliments of the South African embassy.

BNS also distributes the video. And although Balsiger says the South African embassy cancelled an early order for 20 000 issues of his magazine, Satour placed a full-colour dou- The caption says the clerics were the main speakers at a "South African Communist Party-sponsored Cradock funeral". It does not say that afterwards Boesak accused *agents provocateurs* of unfurling the banner.

Equally strident pro-apartheid propaganda has emanated from an organisation called About My Father's Business, Inc. By June this year, the Kentucky-based group had distributed 10 000 free copies of a videotape entitled *The ANC — A Time for Candour* to people who ordered it through a toll-free number. It comes with several pieces of literature, including an issue of *Clarion Call*, published in Durban by Inkatha.

The video centres on two gruesome scenes filmed by television networks shortly before the South African government banned visual coverage of the escalating conflict in November 1985. One scene shows the burning of a young woman in Duduza, the ble-page advert in *Scoreboard*.

All the same, there appears to be no formal relationship between the South African government and the US religious rightwing.

Still, relations are certainly friendly. Balsiger has made three trips in three years to South Africa, Namibia, and the portion of Angola under Unita control. One of these, he says, one was financed by the South African Department of Foreign Affairs.

The convention of the National Religious Broadcasters (NRB), the association of evangelical broadcasters and networks, has sported official South African government booths for the past two years. The NRB, with the Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International, which provides funding to some religious networks, has also organized tours to South Africa.

Pat Robertson's Christian Broadcasting Network (CBN) was one the first stations to screen *Who is the ANC*, a video which also features the Duduza and Ciskei killings.

Ronn Haus, president of the California-based Family Christian Broadcasting Network (FCBN) said in interview in *Covert Action* that the South African government was arranging tours for "supportive US media people". He had declined a trip because "it was at the invitation and underwritten by the South African government, and I finally decided that I didn't want to be wrongly interpreted as a pawn".

There is a history of connections between rightwing evangelists in South Africa and America, paralleling the anti-apartheid relationships forged between the mainstream churches in both countries. Last year the US anti-apartheid movement which draws much of its support from mainline churches, played a crucial role in the passage of the first sanctions legislation against South Africa. At the same time, efforts by the religious rightwing to shape US policy on South Africa are reinforced by other organisations, including the Heritage Foundation.

"There is fairly big traffic of evangelicals back and forth between the US and South Africa," says Jones. "American evangelism has had an enormous influence in South Africa and often the patterns of funding are similar — money is 'funneled' through anonymous businessmen making an exact source difficult to trace."

Not all evangelical churches in South Africa welcome their American counterparts. In a document to the World Council of Churches, entitled *Evangelical Witness in South Africa*, 132 black evangelical ministers unequivocally distanced themselves from their rightwing church bretheren: "The most striking element of these churches," says the document "... is that they are silent about the evils of the South African apartheid regime and its necessary violence to maintain it. They are quiet about the oppression and exploitation of millions of South African blacks and are not moved by the pain, misery and suffering blacks are subjected to ..."

They were, they added, outraged by the sermon given by a "North American evangelist" (Jerry Falwell) and screened on SABC-TV shortly after the national State of Emergency was declared in 1986. The ministers condemned "the arrogance of a foreigner who comes to tell us apartheid is dead when we know that it is alive and well and that it kills".

Some mainstream church leaders in the US think the propaganda war being waged by the religious rightwing may backfire. "At best," says David Mesenbring of Trinity Church on Wall Street, the propaganda will "cause confusion".

"By and large," says Willis Logan, director of the Africa office of the National Council of Churches, "our feedback has been from people who think the material is distorted, so they want to learn more."

and jobs, Bishop Isaac Mokoena and Tamsanqa Linda promise Zionist ministers

Pictures: EDYTH BULBRING

The majority of Zionist ministers in Port Elizabeth do not have churches and many work during the day to earn a salary. Matyana is a driver during the day and an archbishop over the weekends.

Matyana said he had attended the meeting at the council offices. He had also attended a braai hosted by Linda where food and drink were provided for a number of Zionist ministers, councillors and their families. Linda had asked them to inform people of the elections and to encourage people to attend pre-election meetings.

In Matyana's case, at least, the request would be honoured; he said he would encourage his congregation to vote in the election as people should obey the law of the government.

Comprising about 20 members, the UAUAC seems to have strong links with Bishop Isaac Mokoena, life president of the Reformed Independent Churches Association and rector of the Southern Africa Theological College for Independent Churches. He is also co-president, with Linda, of the United Christian Conciliation Party (UCCP), the only black party which has stated its willingness to take part in the government's proposed national statutory council.

Matyana said members of the new association had met Mokoena, who had promised them theological training.

They were also told that a 21-day course for Zionist ministers was to be held in Port Elizabeth, run by Mokoena or a member from the college, after which the ministers would get degrees and diplomas.

Matyana said he hoped to obtain, through the course, further knowledge of an archbishop's duties, become qualified to hold meeting ceremonies and receive training in how to assist people with their everyday problems.

Matyana, who has a Std 7 education, said Zionist ministers were poorly qualified, and implied there was a fair amount of self-promotion through the ranks. "A minister can present an ox to the people and become an archbishop," he said. With Mokoena's help, he hoped their qualifications would be improved.

Matyana said he used to be a member of the Interdenominational African Ministers Association of South Africa (Idamasa), an association of ministers of African congregations and known locally for its efforts at reconciliation and mediation in conflict.

He had become disillusioned with Idamasa as it had done little to provide assistance to his church and congregation of about 1 000 people, most of them poor and unemployed.

Idamasa fieldworker, Rev M Sambu, said 21 Zionist ministers had approached Idamasa for guidance and advice, following the approaches made to them by Linda and Nako.

He said a monitoring committee comprising three Idamasa members and three Zionist ministers had been formed to advise and monitor the situation.

Sambu said it was a pity that Linda saw it necessary to divide the church and lead people away from the body of Christ. He said the allegations that Idamasa was distributing funds improperly was false as there were a number of ministers without jobs and churches.

He said it was clear those campaigning in the October elections were attempting to gain support among the poor and unemployed by making them certain promises.

They were also exploiting the needy situation of many of the Zionist ministers and members of the congregation who might be fooled by promises of assistance.

A Zionist minister on the monitoring committee, who did not want to be named, added that he and the other ministers had decided to contact Idamasa as they did not want to be seen by their congregations to associate with Linda, a man he said had been responsible for a number of detentions in their communities.

"It is a trap because it aims to divide the ministers of God in Port Elizabeth," he said. — PEN

How much support for anti-Tutu groups? Not muc

By KAREN EVANS

Two Christian groups which have slammed such outspoken church leaders as Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Dr Allan Boesak and the Reverend Frank Chikane cannot boast large memberships.

But representatives of the two groups say their organisations are growing as the church/state conflict hots up.

The Gospel Defence League, which claims a membership of close on 10 000, is an interdenominational organisation "dedicated to the defence of biblical Christianity and against humanistic influences undermining Christ", says the League's director, Dorothy Scarborough.

She says the Gospel Defence League is "growing fast in the present political climate".

The Tradition, Family and Property Bureau is "one of 15 autonomous kindred organisations" whose aim is to "oppose the threat of socialism and communism and to foster the values of tradition, family and property", according to a pamphlet entitled "What is the TFP?"

A representative of the group, A Torres, says since their organisation published a critique of the *New Nation* newspaper in May last year, the TFP has received about 500 new members, bringing its total close to 3 000.

These organisations have come out strongly against mainline church leaders and the stand they have taken against intervention by the state in the churches.

A statement issued by the South African Council of Catholic Laity said, "Many of the church leaders in South Africa have chosen to follow Jesus' example of compassion for the poor and oppressed. This has placed them squarely on the side of all those South Africans who are struggling to bring about justice, democracy and peace in our country."

Reacting to this statement, Scarborough said, "The Bible tells us we must love our neighbour and have compassion. If this is misinterpreted and you start throwing bombs, you are using the Bible as a textbook for revolution. There is deceit in that."

In the League's latest newsletter, she says that "all their (church leaders') indignation had nothing to do with the keeping or breaking of God's moral law".

Although membership of these organisations may be growing in the light of the situation in South Africa, full support for leaders of the Catholic, Anglican and Methodist churches has been expressed by their bishops, clergy and members.

Some ecclesiastical statistics

How big is a 'large' church group? As a guide, here are some memberships figures of the major churches affiliated to the South African Council of Churches — the body the right-wingers most love to hate.

Church of the Province of SA *(Tutu)*	2 000 000
Methodist Church	2 231 000
NG Kerk in Afrika *(Buti)*	1 000 000
NG Sendingkerk in Afrika *(Boesak)*	750 000
Presbyterian Church of Africa	231 000
United Congregational	241 231

Dr Allan Boesak

THE WORLD THIS WEEK

Does India exist? Has it ever?

Perhaps the aptest description of India was that of economist JK Galbraith, who called this land of numberless languages, sects and cultures, many engaged in centuries-old blood feuds, a 'functioning anarchy'. Anarchy, indeed. But functioning? India's best-known novelist dissects the empire which never was

By SALMAN RUSHDIE

The novelist who coined the phrase 'Midnight's Children', to describe the generation born after India gained independence, returns to the land of his birth

FORTY years ago, the independent nation of India and I were born within eight weeks of each other. I came first. This gave rise to a family joke — that the departure of the British was occasioned by my arrival on the scene and the joke, in turn, became the germ of a novel, *Midnight's Children* in which not just one child, but one thousand and one children born in the midnight hour of freedom, the first hour of August 15 1947, were comically and tragically connected to the birth of a nation.

(I worked out, by the way, that the Indian birth-rate in August 1947 was about two babies a second, so my fictional figure of 1 001 an hour was, if anything, a little on the low side.)

The chain rection continued. The novel's title became, for many Indians, a catch-phrase defining that generation which was too young to remember the Empire of the liberation struggle; and when Rajiv Gandhi became prime minister in 1984, I found his administration being welcomed in the newspapers by such headlines as "Enter midnight's children".

So when 40 came around, it occurred to me to take a look at the state of the Indian nation, which was, like me, entering its fifth decade, and to look, in particular, through the eyes of the class of '47, the country's citizen-twins, my generation. I flew to the sub-continent to make a film about the real-life counterparts of the imaginary beings I once made up. Midnight's real children: to meet them would be like closing a circle.

There was a question I wanted to answer, with their help: does India exist? If it doesn't, what's keeping Pakistan and Bangladesh apart?

It's when you start thinking about the political entity, the nation of India, the thing whose 40th anniversary occasioned my journey, that the question starts making sense. After all, in the four thousand years of Indian history, there never was such a creature as a united India. Nobody ever managed to rule the whole place, not the Mughals, not the British. And then, that midnight, the thing that had never existed was suddenly "free".

But what on earth was it? On what common ground (if any) did it, does it, stand?

Some countries are united by a common language; India has around 15 major languages and numberless minor ones. Nor are its people united by race, religion or culture. These days, you can hear some voices suggesting that the preservation of the union is not in the common interest.

JK Galbraith's description of India as "functioning anarchy" still fits, but the stresses on the the country have never been been so great. Does India exist? If it doesn't, the explanation is to be found in a single word: communalism. The politics of religious hatred. There is a medium-sized town called Ayodhya in the state of Uttar Pradesh, and in this town there is a fairly commonplace mosque named Babri Masjid.

According to the Ramayana, however, Ayodhya was the home town of the Hindu god, Rama, and according to a local legend the spot where he was born — the Ramjanmabhoomi — is the one on which the Muslim place of worship stands today. The site has been disputed territory ever since independence, but for most of the 40 years the lid has been kept on the problem by the very Indian method of shelving the case, locking the mosque's gates, and allowing neither Hindus nor Moslems to enter.

Last year, however, the case finally came to court and the judgement seemed to favour the Hindus. Babri Masjid was opened, and fell into the hands of the extremist Hindu fundamentalist organisation, the Vishwa Hindu Parishad. After that, Hindus and Moslems clashed all over north India, and in most outbreaks of communal violence the Babri Masjid affair was cited as a primary cause.

When I arrived in Delhi the old Walled City was under heavy curfew because of just such an outbreak of violence. In the little alleys of Chandni Chowk I met a Hindu tailor, Harbans Lal, who worked in a sari shop and as mild and gentle a man as you could wish to find. The violence terrified him.

"When it started," he said, "I shut up the shop and ran away." But in spite of all his mildness, Harbans Lal was a firm supporter of the Hindu nationalist party that used to be called the Jan Sangh and is now the BJP.

"I voted for Rajiv Gandhi in the election after Mrs Gandhi died," he said. "It was a big mistake. I won't do it again."

I asked him what should be done about Babri Masjid. Should it be locked up again as it had been for so many years? Should it be a place where both Hindus and Moslems could go to worship? "It's a Hindu shrine," he said. "It should be for the Hindus." There was no possibility, in his mind, of a compromise.

A couple of days later, the Walled City was still bubbling with tension. Th curfew was lifted for an hour or two every day to enable people to go out and buy food. The rest of the time, security was very tight. It was Eid, the great Muslim festival celebrating the end of the month of fasting, but the city's leading Imams had said that Eid should not be celebrated. In Meerut, the mutilated corpses of Moslems in the river. The city's predominantly Hindu police force had run amok. Once again, Babri Masjid was one of the bones of contention.

I met Abdul Ghani, a Delhi Moslem tailor, and who, like Harbans Lal, India and me, was 1947-born. I was struck by how much like Harbans Lal he was. They were both slightly-built, mild-mannered men with courteous voices and attractive smiles.

They each earned about a thousand rupees (R240) a month, and dreamed of owning their own shops, knowing they never would. And when it came to the Hindu-Moslem communal division, Ghani was just as unyielding as Harbans Lal had been. "What belongs to the Moslems," he said when asked about Babri Masjid, "should be given back to the Moslems."

The gentleness of Harbans Lal and Abdul Ghani made their religious divisions especially telling. Nor was Babri Masjid the only issue between the faiths.

In Ahmedabad, in the state of Gujarat, Hindu-Moslem violence was once again centred in the old walled city area of Manek Chowk, and had long ago acquired its own internal logic: so many families had lost members in the fighting that the cycle of revenge seemed unstoppable.

Political forces were at work too. At Ahmedabad hospital, the doctors found that many of the knife wounds they treated were professionally inflicted. Somebody was sending trained killers into town.

All over India — Meerut, Delhi, Ahmedabad, Bombay — tension between Hindus and Moslems was rising. In Bombay, a journalist told me that many communal incidents took place in areas where Moslems had begun to prosper. Behind the flash points like Ayodhya, she suggested was Hindu resentment of Moslem prosperity.

Many members of Indian minority groups started out as devotees of the old, secular definition of India, and there were no Indians as patriotic as the Sikhs. Until 1984, you could say that the Sikhs were the Indian nationalists. Then came the storming of the Golden Temple and the assassination of Mrs Gandhi and things changed.

The group of Sikh radicals led by Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, the religious leader who died in the Golden Temple storming, could not be said to represent more that a small minority of all Sikhs.

The campaign for a Sikh separate, Khalistan, had similarly found few takers among India's Sikhs. Until November 1984, when Indira Gandhi died, and it became known that her assassins were Sikhs.

In Delhi, angry Hindu mobs — among whom party workers of Mrs Gandhi's Congress-I were everywhere — decided to hold all Sikhs responsible for the deeds of the assassins. Thus an entirely new form of communal violence — Hindu-Sikh riots — came into being, and in the next 10 days the Sikh community suffered a series of traumatising attacks from which it has not, maybe never will, recover.

In Block 32 of the Delhi suburb called Trilokpuri, perhaps 350 Sikhs were burned alive. I walked past streets of scarred, gutted houses in some of which you could still see the bones of the dead.

It was the worst place I have ever seen, not least because, in the surrounding street children played normally, the neighbours went on with their lives. Yet some of these people who perpetrated the crime of 32 Trilokpuri, which was only one of the many massacres of the Sikhs that took place that November. Many Sikh "midnight children" never reached 40 at all.

A taxi driver, Pal Singh (born November 1947) told me that he had never had time for the Khalistan movement, but after 1984, he had changed his mind.

"Now it will come," he said, "maybe within 10 years." Sikhs were selling up their property in Delhi and buying land in the Punjab, so that if the time came when they had to flee to the Sikh heartland they wouldn't have to leave their assets behind. "I'm doing it too," Pal Singh said.

The new element in Indian communalism is the emergence of a collective Hindu consciousness that transcends caste, and that believes Hinduism to be under threat from other Indian minorities.

Unfortunately for India, the linkage between Hindu fundamentalism and the idea of the nation shows no signs of weakening. India is increasingly defined as Hindu India and Sikh and Moslem fundamentalism grow fiercer and more entrenched in response.

"These days," a young Hindu woman said to me, "one's religion is worn on one's sleeve." She was corrected by a Sikh friend. "It is worn," he said, "in a scabbard at the hip".

I remember that when *Midnight's Children* was first published in 1981, the most common Indian criticism of it was that it was too pessimistic about the future.

It's a sad truth that nobody finds the novel's ending pessimistic any more, because what has happened in India since 1981 is so much darker than anything I had imagined. If anything, the book's conclusion, with its suggestion of a new, more pragmatic generation rising up to take over from the midnight children, now seems absurdly, romantically optimistic.

But India regularly confounds its critics by its resilience, its survival in spite of everything.

It's my guess that the old functioning anarchy will, somehow, keep on functioning for another 40 years and no doubt, another 40 after that.

But don't ask me how. — The Guardian, London

Holy matrimon

Linking hands across the oceans, America's religious far-right and their local counterparts fight a holy war against a common foe, 'Marxist violence' and on behalf of a common ally, Pretoria. PIPPA GREEN reports from New York

WITH a media blitz encompassing free video offers, programmes on religious television networks and articles in church-run magazines, the American religious far-rightwing is mounting a campaign in support of the South African government.

The campaign is a manifestation of the belief that the role of United States policy is to counter a "global communist threat" wherever it appears.

David Balsiger, editor and publisher of Biblical News Service (BNS) as well as founder of the group Restore a More Benevolent Order Coalition (Ramboc), believes the US "frequently has a tendency to support liberation movements without asking what type of government we are going to get after the revolution ... We should concentrate a little more on reforming governments rather than supporting liberation movements."

The California-based BNS, created in 1984 by the rightwing national lobby Christian Voice, last year distributed free and unsolicited copies of a special South Africa issue of its magazine *Family Protection Scoreboard* to half-a-million American "opinion-makers".

The federal officials, newspaper editors, religious leaders and local pastors who received the magazine free could read its claims that the United Democratic Front was both anti-Christian and violent and that along with the African National Congress, it posed a far greater to stability and democracy than the present-day regime — which, the magazine said, was on the road to reform. The magazine promoted what it called reasonable anti-apartheid alternatives: Inkatha, moderate black town council leaders and Bishop Isaac Mokoena of the Zionist Christian Church.

Scoreboard is a compendium of statistics on South African living standards, the economic position of blacks, the strategic importance of South Africa, and the number of victims on "black-on-black" violence.

It contains articles on the detrimental effects of sanctions, the dismantling of apartheid, Soviet interests in South Africa, the positive effect of the Sullivan Principles, and "Marxist violence in black townships".

One piece is devoted to an attack on "celebrity leaders": Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the Rev Allan Boesak; Archbishop Denis Hurley and Dr Beyers Naude.

A picture shows Hurley conducting a mass in honour of detainees while a priest holds up two petrol bombs. The caption reads: "Two petrol bombs are held aloft by a black priest at a 'mass for peace' that was 'intended to strengthen the people's fight for liberation'."

Although the mass was indeed dedicated to peace, and petrol bombs as well as other symbols of violence in

Pray for elections ... and we'll look after you

Zionist ministers have been promised jobs in return for their help in the October municipal elections, reports EDYTH BÜLBRING

Vote and pray for councillors and we'll give you churche

ZIONIST church ministers have been promised aid, jobs and church sites in the build-up to the October municipal elections.

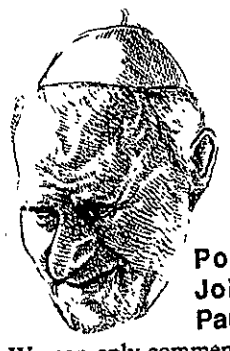
In exchange, they have been asked to encourage their congregations to vote — and to pray for present and future councillors.

The pressure has created a split in the church. A splinter group, the United African Unity Association of Churches (UAUAC), broke away from the main Zionist ministers' association, Zwelonka, in February.

The offers were made to about 60 Zionist ministers by mayor Jimmy Nako and former mayor Tamsanqa Linda at a meeting at Ibhayi City Council offices, according to the UAUAC president, Archbishop Enoch Matyana of the Holy Healer Zionist Apostolic Church.

Pope won't visit SA, but he'll talk to clerics

While the church controversy rages, the Vatican is keeping the pontiff well away from South Africa, report KAREN EVANS and THANDEKA GQUBULE



Pope John Paul

POPE John Paul II's exclusion of South Africa from his Southern African tour in September has raised questions about his interest in the country — especially as the theme of his visit will be "the dignity of man and the role of the Catholic Church in promoting justice and peace".

But although the pope will not be visiting South Africa, he will be holding talks with local clerics, according to Bishop Smangaliso Mkhatshwa, immediate past general secretary of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference.

South African bishops will be meeting the pope to look at the programme of evangelisation in the context of the totality of people's lives, he said; this will include examining how the church in South Africa can aid refugees as well as the conflict and violence in the country.

All the same, he said, it would not be wise for the pope to visit South Africa. "His visit could be misconstrued as giving credibility to the South African government," he said.

According to Sydney Duval, press officer for Cape Town Catholic Archbishop Stephen Naidoo, the Vatican took the decision not to come to South Africa without consultation with the bishops. "The SACBC did not advise the pope not to visit this country; the decision was taken in Rome."

Bishop Wilfred Napier, SACBC president, said in a statement: "If we want a visit, we must do something to rid ourselves of apartheid.

"Political and social unrest which broke out in August 1984 led us into a situation of endemic oppression and violence. We are still in such a situation despite two States of Emergency. When the proposed 1988 visit was planned, South Africa was not included in the list of countries to be visited as it was considered too controversial."

Adds Duval: "If the pope came to South Africa, it would, in a negative way, lend support to those in power. Rome will not compromise its principles."

Duval was asked why the pope considered it all right to kiss the ground of South American countries but not the soil of South Africa.

"It does not help to look at other countries. We can only comment on our own situation," he said.

"In South Africa, racism is entrenched in the law, whereas in other countries this is not so. The official policy is to have separate development."

Commenting on the brevity of the visit and the exclusion of South Africa from the tour, a Catholic father involved in organising the tour, who does not want to be named, said the pope "does not like to be away from the Vatican for more than 10 days. He is reluctant to miss more than a Wednesday mass."

When South African Catholic bishops paid a visit to the pope in November last year, he advised them "raise your voices on human rights and fundamental equality of all persons oppressed, and concrete emergencies of justice throughout the region", Duval said.

The pope's address was unanimous in his support for the bishops and their stand on peace and justice in South Africa, he added; and he was also "painfully conscious" of the criticism he receives in this regard.

The God of the oppressed

John W de Gruchy is Professor of Christian Studies at the University of Cape Town and Deputy Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities.

Liberation theology has become a matter of public debate in SA, but a great deal of the popular discussion shows little grasp of what it is and little knowledge of its major sources.

Christian theology is not faith, nor is it revelation; it is the human and, therefore, fallible attempt to express what Christians believe God has revealed in Jesus Christ "according to the Scriptures."

Liberation theology is one such attempt. It claims that the God revealed in Jesus Christ, according to the Bible, is the God who liberated slaves from their Egyptian bondage, the God who is portrayed again and again as taking sides with the oppressed.

But, as He well knew, such an understanding of God's redemption does not find favour among those for whom such news is a threat to their own, often selfish, interests.

There are varieties of liberation theology, even though they all share a similar approach to Christian faith. The reason for the variety is chiefly the fact that, by their nature, they are contextual. That is, they seek to express Christian faith specifically.

South Africans, for example, initially became aware of liberation theology through the advent of black theology in the late Sixties. Wedded to the awakening of black consciousness, it provided a way of expressing the Christian faith in relation to black experience and suffering especially as a result of racism and apartheid.

Historically, liberation theology — though its antecedents may be traced much further back in the history of the church — originated in Latin America, particularly within the Catholic Church, the church with the deepest historical roots among both the powerful and the poor.

During the Fifties and Sixties, the extent of Latin America's poverty and oppression demanded the attention of the church in a new way, forcing priests and theologians to re-work their theology so that it related to the realities of their situation. This was encouraged by Vatican II and the Papal Encyclicals on social justice (*Mater et Magistra*, 1961, and *Pacem in Terris*, 1963).

At the same time, Latin America's social plight also gained the attention of the more affluent world community, resulting in an increase in development aid from the capitalist countries of the northern hemisphere. This awakened hope for a new start in solving the continent's chronic economic distress, gained the support of the Catholic Church and resulted in theologies of development which tried to discern the church's role.

At the Second Conference of Latin American Roman Catholic bishops at Medellin, Colombia, in 1968, attended by Pope Paul VI, there was trenchant criticism of development aid as reinforcing the status quo and making the Latin American masses even more poor and dependent. Medellin called for a more radical analysis of the situation, a decisive commitment to serve the poor and their liberation from oppression.

Even the theology of Vatican II was inadequate because it failed to get to grips sufficiently with the realities of the situation. Thus Medellin gave episcopal recognition and support for those Christians who were already involved in the liberation process and for the theology that was emerging from their struggles and reflections.

During the same period, theologies emerged in other contexts which shared similar concerns and ways of doing theology with Latin American liberation theology. Black theology in the US, though its prehistory may be traced to the religion of the slaves, developed in relation to the civil rights struggle and the awakening of black consciousness and power in the Sixties. This, in turn, contributed to the development of black theology in SA.

Although there are varieties of liberation theology, they have certain things in common. Indeed, they share a common way of doing theology, a particular way of approaching the Bible, and of relating faith to ethics and worship to political action. Firstly, liberation theologies seek to recover central elements within the Bible which have been overlooked through the centuries.

Secondly, liberation theologians insist that the Christian gospel, and also the Bible, can only be understood properly when Christians are engaged in mission, a task which includes both evangelism and the struggle for justice. Genuine Christian theology is born out of critical reflection on Christian witness and action in the world in the light of Scripture. tians and the Church cannot be neutral, they tians and the church cannot be neutral, they have to take sides in the struggle for what is right and just.

Thirdly, because liberation theologies are rooted in socio-historical contexts and relate to social action, it is of vital importance that the context within which people live, the context within which the Church witnesses, be understood and analysed correctly. In doing this, many liberation theologians, especially in Latin America, have found that Marxist social analysis, as distinct from Marxist ideology, helps to illuminate.

So, without accepting Marxist ideology, and without aligning themselves with Marxist-Leninism or Soviet Communism, they employ Marxian social analysis to understand better the social dynamics of their situation. The Vatican criticism of liberation theology has centred on this espousal of Marxist analysis, but much else in liberation theology has gained the pope's support.

Fourthly, liberation theologies have become less those of "professional" theologians expressing their solidarity with the poor, and more "peoples' theologies" in which the poor and the oppressed express what the Christian faith means in their situation, in their struggle for justice and freedom. The phrase "peoples' theology" means theology which arises out of the response of the poor and the oppressed to the gospel of Jesus Christ.

Hence the importance of what are called "base communities" in Latin America: that is, local groups of Christians who share together in worship, Bible study, and social action. Social action ranges from the formation of co-operatives and trade unions to participation in revolutionary struggles. On such aspects one cannot generalise.

Fifthly, liberation theology has a holistic view of both sin and salvation. Sin and salvation are regarded as both personal and social realities. The Christian gospel and the biblical prophetic tradition thus do not only address private sins, but also public ones that have to do with our social, economic and political life. In the same way, though liberation theology affirms the traditional understanding of salvation through God's grace and the response of faith, it also insists that in the Bible, not least in the teaching and actions of Jesus, salvation also has to do with the transformation of the social situation in which we live.

Finally, liberation theologies result in a new vision of the Church and a fresh understanding of Christian spirituality and worship. The Church is more closely aligned with the struggles of the poor and oppressed than before; it is the Church of the people, not just in its service but also in its very constitution. This need not be regarded as a rejection of the hierarchy or the institution; indeed, many bishops are supportive and some are involved in liberation theology, but rather as a way of renewing the Church from below for the sake of the world. In similar ways, prayer and worship are profoundly related to contextual situations and needs. Prayer and social action are not seen as alternatives, but as complementary elements of Christianity.

Many of the insights of liberation theology are not new, nor are they its sole property. Moreover, like all living theologies, liberation theology is in a constant state of self-critique and development. As Christians struggle for justice in our own country and throughout the world, they will continually find new insight and direction in the Scriptures, and new ways of expressing their faith in word and action.

No link between Church 'peace plan' and the ANC

By Carina le Grange,
Religion Reporter

Police have asked for copies of the Methodist Church study document proposing that it become a "peace church", but an official of the church has said there is no link between the proposal and the African National Congress.

A past-president of the church, the Rev Peter Storey, said in a statement yesterday that the proposal to become a "peace church" was not linked to any political movement.

An interview on television on Sunday night created the impression that there could be a link between the Church's proposal and the African National Congress, he said.

"I was quoted in a way that could easily be misconstrued to imply a supportive link between the Methodist Church and the ANC.

"Replying to a question on why the Methodist study document on the proposal referred to non-co-operation with the State and not with the ANC, I said this was so because it is the National Party and not the ANC that is in power. I also said if at any time a body such as the ANC were in power, the Church would be obliged to oppose any injustices in the same way."

29/3/88 SMC

Tutu tackles PW

ARGUS 12/4/88 28

By KAREN STANDER, Religion Reporter

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu has lashed out at President Botha, describing Government apartheid policies as "not only unjust and oppressive, but unbiblical, unchristian, immoral and evil".

Archbishop Tutu's eight-page letter was in reply to Mr Botha's recent attack on clergymen. It was delivered to the President in Cape Town yesterday.

In a reference to President Botha's challenge to state whether he worked for the "kingdom of God or the kingdom promised by the African National Congress", Archbishop Tutu said: "My theological position derives from the Bible and from the teaching of the church.

"The Bible and the church predate Marxism and the African National Congress by several centuries."

He said the mandate of church leaders was provided by the Bible and the teaching of the church and not by any political group or ideology, Marxist or otherwise.

He denied Mr Botha's accusation that he had preached under the hammer and sickle flag.

Essence of apartheid

"You claimed you had photographs to prove your charge. I challenged you to produce this photograpic evidence, which I knew was non-existent because I had never been so photographed."

He ssaid he stood by all he had done and said about the application of the Bible to the injustice, oppression and exploitation which were of the essence of apartheid.

He said the Bible taught that each person was created in the image of God, while apartheid claimed that skin colour and antecedents were what what made a person qualify for privilege and political power.

The experience of the United States and the finding of its highest court were that it was impossible to carry out the policy of "separate but equal".

"The policies of apartheid do not even pretend to seek to embody 'separate but equal'.

"Quite unabashedly they are intended to be separate and unequal. Just note the grossly unfair distribution of land between black and white, all the unequal Government expenditure on black and white education ...

Unjust, oppressive

"It is for these and other reasons that our church and other churches have declared apartheid a heresy. I am quite ready to debate this issue with a theologian from your church whom you might care to nominate."

He said the Government's apartheid policies were not only unjust and oppressive but "positively unbiblical, unchristian, immoral and evil".

Although good laws made human society possible, when laws were unjust Christian tradition taught that Christians were not obliged to obey them.

"We accept wholeheartedly St Paul's teaching in Romans 13 that we should submit ourselves to earthly rulers. Their authority, however, is not absolute ...

"The ruler rules for the benefit of the ruled. That comes not out of a political manifesto but from the Holy Scriptures. The corollary is that you must not submit yourself to a ruler who subverts your good. That is why we admire those who oppose unjust regimes, for example totalitarian communist governments."

Archbishop Tutu said he rejected atheistic Marxism as he rejected apartheid.

"Your apartheid policies are leading our beautiful land to disaster. But we love South Africa passionately. Our black fathers fought against the nazis for it. Many Afrikaners, pro-nazi at the time, refused to support the war effort and many who wore the uniform of the Union Defence Force used to be turned away from NGK church services.

"I want to state the obvious: that I am a Christian religious leader. By definition that surely means I reject communism and Marxism as atheistic and materialistic. I try to work for the extension of the Kingdom of God.

"For whose kingdom do you work with your apartheid policy? I pray for you, as I do for your ministerial colleagues, every day, by name," he said.

● See Page 17.

7-13/4/88

Church bars Cayco, WCCA

28

A FULL GOSPEL CHURCH in Guguletu which recently refused political organisations admission to the funeral of a Cape Youth Congress member, Mr Solwazi Dugmore Hangana, has been criticised by the dead man's family.

Hangana, 19, an active member of the church, was shot in the head by an armed robber a few weeks ago at a shop where he bought bread.

His family has now accused the church of playing into the hands of the Government.

The church, which has a total membership of 97 people, distances itself from politics.

Church official Mr Nkosinathi Caso told the family two days before the funeral members of Cayco, the United Democratic Front, Young Christian Students, Western Cape Students Congress, United Womens Organisation, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the Western Cape Civic Association would not be allowed at the funeral.

No police restrictions were placed on the funeral.

Members of the family and political organisations accused Caso of collaborating with the police.

Caso denied these allegations.

Police kept a close watch over about 200 mourners at the Full Gospel Church and the cemetery.

Mrs Nozipo Angelina Hangana, the mother of the deceased, said police asked family members whether members of political organisations would be present at the funeral.

She said her son became politically aware at Sizamile High School, where he served on the Students Representative Council.

He started reading political books and became a more responsible person.

Her son loved Cayco as well as the church.

The Full Gospel Church should accommodate politics and not tell the world it was not interested in it, Mrs Hangana said.

Tutu, Boesak, Chikane ahead of their churches

13/4/88 (28)

Church leaders like Boesak and Tutu are not representative of their churches. They are, in fact, ahead of the churches they represent. These are the frank opinions of Prof Charles Villa-Vicencio, head of the Department of Religious Studies at the University of Cape Town

STATE President P W Botha is correct in a sense when he claims that church leaders Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Dr Allan Boesak are not representative of their churches.

However, the State President is talking absolute nonsense when he accuses the church leaders of being Marxist and receiving instructions from the African National Congress (ANC).

Tutu, Boesak and Chikane are the authentic messengers of the gospel of Jesus Christ - in a way that the institutional church has never been.

They are ahead of the institutions they represent. That is where church leaders are supposed to be - calling their followers forward in obedience to the gospel of Jesus Christ.

At this critical stage in church history there existed a "yawning" gap between what the institutional church is and what it ought to be theologically. There is a gap between the theory and practice.

Theologically, the church is biblically required to identify itself with the poor and oppressed.

In practise, as an institution, it is located on the side of the ruling classes.

In other words, the Gospel which the institutional church affirms contradicts its social location.

The institutional church - be it Anglican, Catholic or Methodist - is constantly protesting against apartheid but has failed to engage meaningfully in the liberation struggle. The church has been quick to pass resolutions but has not translated these into any programme of action.

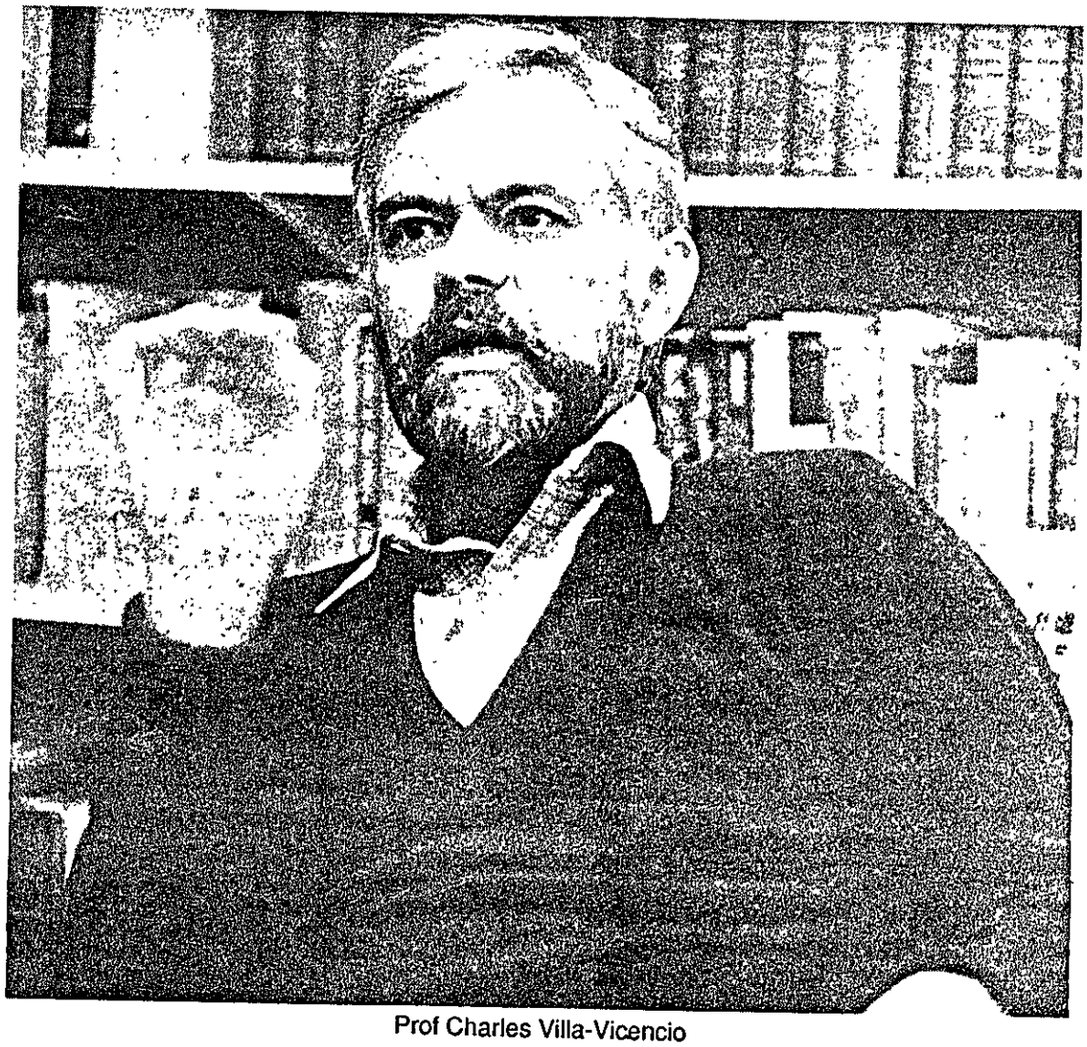
It has accepted the prescription of the rulers that theology and politics do not mix.

Men like Tutu, Boesak and Chikane are articulating a gospel which reminds the church of the dynamic role it is supposed to play on behalf of the poor and oppressed.

There are several reasons why the Government regards these church leaders as a threat and why Botha has good reason to lie awake at night worrying about them.

The first is that they are articulating a message which the oppressed masses in this country instinctively understand, and which Christians in their better moments know to be the Gospel.

The second reason is that the ministry constitute a determined effort to relocate the institutional churches with the state of the liberation struggle.



Prof Charles Villa-Vicencio

Thirdly, we are experiencing perhaps for the first time in our church history a new breed of church leaders who are willing and able to act ecumenically and corporately in opposing the State.

As such, there is an unprecedented move to incorporate the churches in the liberation struggle. Such action will not go unchallenged by the forces of the Government and this constitutes the battle for the "soul" of the church.

There is no guarantee that the institutional church will rise to the challenge presented by the present struggle or positively respond to the call of its most dynamic leaders.

Historically it is, in fact, given its location on the side of the status quo, not well equipped to do so.

On the other hand, the poor and the oppressed, who form the majority membership of the churches, are obviously - latently or explicitly - on the side of the struggle for liberation.

Oppressed Christians who occupy the margins of society hold the key to the renewal of the church.

They are the ones who respond to the message of Tutu, Boesak and Chikane' and it is their response to this message which constitutes the threat to the present oppressive and tyrannical state.

An Easter weekend march down city streets

Weekly Mail Reporter

THE silencing of the voices of justice in South Africa through recent restrictions was a silencing of God, the director of Durban's ecumenical church agency, Diakonia, said this weekend.

Paddy Kearney was speaking at a dawn service on Good Friday organised by Diakonia, which included a procession of hundreds of people through the streets of the city centre.

The service focussed on the 18 organisations recently restricted and on the effective closure of *New Nation*, a newspaper published by the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference.

Linking the suffering theme of Good Friday with the suffering of people in South Africa for justice and freedom, Kearney said that just as "God was silenced on Good Friday", so the silencing of the voice of justice through detentions and restrictions could be called "a silencing of God.

"This is because the clamour for truth, justice and freedom is an expression of a God-given desire."

Kearney added, "Because this desire for truth, justice and freedom comes from God we rejoice that it cannot be permanently silenced."

During the service, 19 people stood gagged at the front of the Central Methodist Church, representing the 18 organisations and *New Nation*.

The 19, still gagged and carrying crosses, then joined a number of church leaders in leading a solemn procession through town.

After the service, Black Sash members staged a beach-front protest against the South African Defence Force raid into Gaborone last week.

The women built four mock grave mounds at Battery Beach One, in front of the SADF headquarters.

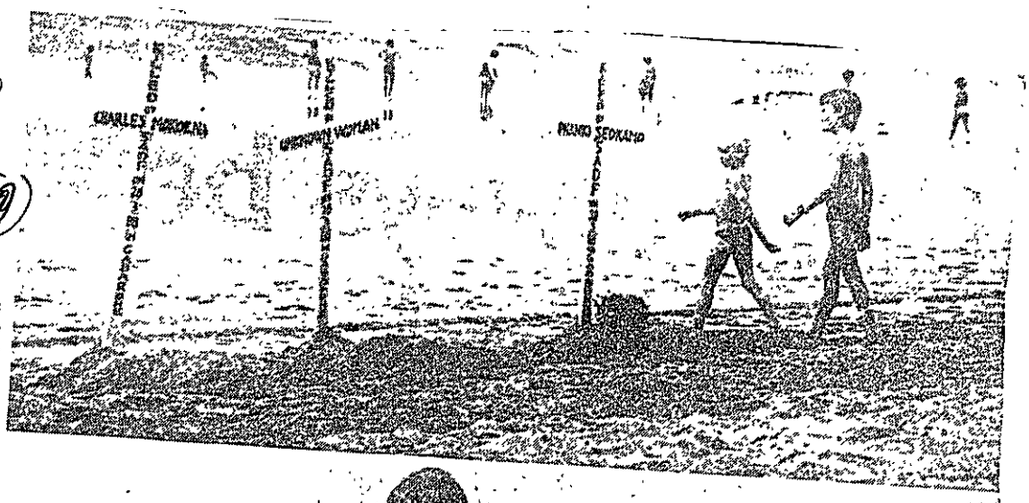
On each "grave" was a large cross inscribed with the name of one of the four, stating that he or she had been "killed by the SADF".

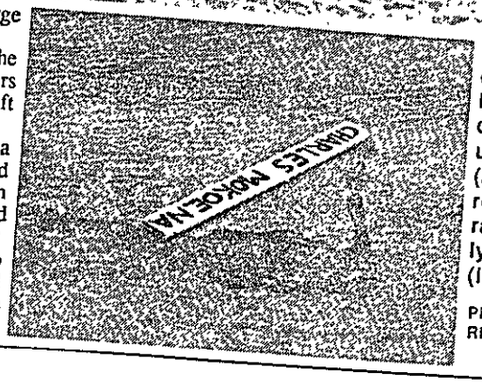
Members of the Black Sash said the protest was aimed at the raid which was "illegal under international law, ... would further isolate South Africa and (would) do nothing to encouarge peaceful change."

After placing a wreath on one of the "graves" the Black Sash protesters held a brief, silent stand and then left the beach.

Less than half a hour later, after a number of curious bathers had read the cross inscriptions, a white man pulled up all four crosses and hurled them into the sea.

When the sea washed them back to shore, a group of other people helped him to jump on them, breaking the crosses into little pieces.





Black Sash protest crosses on Durban beach (top) are destroyed by an unknown man (above). All that remained was one raid victim's name lying in the sand (left)

Pictures: CARMEL RICKARD

CHURCH'S PROTEST SUPPORTED AT VARSITIES

Theologians slam P W Botha

Sowetan 8/4/88 (28)

FORTY-FOUR theologians from South African universities and seminaries have supported the recent protest action by church leaders and condemned attacks on Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Dr Allan Boesak and the Rev Frank Chikane as "unchristian."

In a letter to the *Argus* in Cape Town, the churchmen said President Botha was reported as saying that no theologian he consulted could provide biblical support for the protest action by church leaders.

A procession of clerics was broken up by police and a number of clergymen were arrested when they tried to deliver a petition to Parliament.

"As theologians teaching in a variety of theological faculties and departments, we write to express our conviction that the State President is wrong in his attacks upon Archbishop Tutu, Dr Boesak and Mr Chikane (general secretary of the South African Council of Churches).

"The church has a clear biblical basis for its protest and is in accord with the mainstream of Christian tradition in resisting injustice."

They said the conflict between church and state reflected the growing conflict between "oppressors and oppressed" and had been in the making for a long time.

"The basic problem is that the policy of apartheid, however disguised, is racist and unjust and can only be implemented by force and coercion. Such a policy clearly contradicts the gospel.

"That is the overwhelming consensus of Christian opinion within virtually all major churches . . ."

The true prophets of Israel, including Jesus, often found it necessary to engage in symbolic actions in public when their words went unheeded and their cries on behalf of the poor were disregarded by those in authority, they said.

"In the same way, over the years many church leaders have pleaded, both in private and in public, with those in authority to heed the cries of the victims of our society.

"This has brought little response and sometimes only rebuke and rejection; hence the need to put words into action.

"The words of Peter that we should 'obey God rather than men' (Acts 4:12) when human laws contradict God's commandments, is fundamental to the Christian confession that Jesus is Lord.

Opposition

"Moreover, even Romans 13, the passage most quoted as teaching Christian obedience to political authority, does not exclude opposition to the State when it acts against the common good

"Church leaders who fail in their duty to oppose what is evil are false prophets Like those in the Old Testament, they deny their calling.

"False prophets are generally known by the fact that their words and actions find favour with those in power. They tell those in authority what they want to hear. They declare that there is 'peace, peace' when in fact there is no peace (Jeremiah 6 14)

"The exercise of true prophetic leadership is therefore always costly because the message proclaimed and acted out is a challenge to injustice and a word of judgment in the name of the sovereign God.

"But it is a word of judgment which, if heeded, can bring about that change of heart in our land without which there is little hope

Support

"We support the prophetic leadership of such church leaders both because they stand firmly within the Christian faith and because they have the interests of our country at heart.

"We reject the attacks that have been made upon them as unchristian and detrimental to the struggle for a just solution to our country's present plight."

The theologians are Professor J C Adonis (UWC), the Rev L Bhengu (Fedsem), the Rev A Bhiman (ICT), Mr L Blom (Unisa), Professor D J Bosch (Unisa), Dr D Chidester (UCT), Professor D Cloete (UWC), Dr J R Cochrane (Natal), the Rev B S Connor OP (St Joseph's), the Rev T C Cunningham (Rhodes), Professor J W de Gruchy (UCT), Dr J A Draper (Natal), Professor J J F Durand (UWC), Dr F Edwards (Rhodes), Professor B Gaybba (Unisa), Dr T S N Gqubule (Fedsem), the Rev G Hawkes (Rhodes), Dr J H Hofmeyr (UCT), Dr L Hulley (Unisa), Dr L D Jafta (Fedsem), Dr J N J Kritzinger (Unisa), Professor A Konig (Unisa), the Rev C F Langefeld (St Joseph's), Dr H Lederle (Unisa), Professor S Maimela (Unisa), Rev D C Marco (UWC), Dr W Mazamisa (UCT), Dr B Mazibuko (Unisa), the Rev B Mngomezulu (Fedsem), Dr I J Mosala (UCT), Dr A Nolan OP (ICT), Professor K Nurnberger (Unisa), Professor P J Robinson (UWC), Professor W Saayman (Unisa), Dr W Sebothoma (Unisa), Professor G M Setiloane (UCT), Dr N Smith (Unisa), Professor D J Smit (UWC), Professor J Suggit (Rhodes), Professor C Villa-Vicencio (UCT), Dr C Wanamaker (UCT), the Rev J Wing (Fedsem), Professor G H Wittenberg (Natal), the Rev M E Worsnip (Fedsem)

ARCHBISHOP Tutu

Rev ALLAN Boesak

Rev FRANK Chikane

Buses to Turfloop

TRANSPORT has been arranged for University of the North students who want to leave from Pretoria's black townships this Sunday.

A bus will leave from the following pick-up points and will cost R18,50 a person.

- Garankuwa OK Centre at 9am
- Walter's Garage, Mabopane, at 12 noon
- Soshanguve Mobil garage at 2 pm
- House No 15 Mabele Street, Atteridgeville, at 4 pm.

Those interested should make bookings by 6 pm tomorrow Contact persons are Calvin and George at (0146) 24589, Tempe Mahlangu at (01214) 5633 and Gwen Seriti at (012) 373-9827.

(28)

President and archbishop on separate visits

Namibia hosts top men of Church, State

WINDHOEK — The State President, Mr P W Botha, and Archbishop Desmond Tutu, arrived in Windhoek yesterday on separate visits.

Mr Botha is to hold talks today with Namibian political leaders.

And Archbishop Tutu is on a week-long visit which will include a pilgrimage to the country's war-torn northern province.

The State President was accompanied by the Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha; the Defence Minister General Magnus Malan; the Minister of National Education and Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen; the Ministrer of Finance Mr Barend du Plessis and top-ranking government officials, including the Secretary General to the State President's office, Mr Jannie le Roux.

Mr Botha and his entourage were met on the apron of Windhoek's suburban Eros Airport by the current chairman of the Namibian transitional Cabinet, Mr Moses Katjiuongua; the Administartor-General Mr Louies Pienaar; the Minister of Finance Mr Dirk Mudge; the Minister of Justice Mr Fanuel Kozonguizi and the office commanding the SWA Territory Force, Major-General Willie Meyer.

After a brief exchange of pleasantries, the South African delegation was whisked away in a motorcade to South West Africa House where Mr Pienaar was to host a welcoming function for the visitors last night.

A small group of demonstrators greeted the State President's procession outside the security compound of Eros Airport.

Placards lining the streets welcomed Mr Botha to the Territory and urged him to "Protect own rights" in Namibia.

Archbishop Tutu heads a delegation of Anglican bishops who travel today to remote northern Namibia, scene of a grinding bush war.

Services

The bishops will hold two services in the war zone before returning to the Namibian capital for a synod next week of Anglican bishops from throughout southern Africa.

The archbishop said the trip was intended to highlight the 10th anniversary of the adoption of United Nations Resolution 435, a blueprint for Namibian independence.

"It's our way in our church of expressing solidarity with the people of Namibia in their call for independence and the implementation of Resolution 435, with free elections sponsored by the UN," Archbishop Tutu told Reuters.

A service will be held tomorrow in the northern town of Oshakati where 27 people were killed in a bomb blast earlier this year. — Sapa-Reuter.

Senior NP men to visit Hillbrow flatland soon

By Esmaré van der Merwe

A major Government announcement on the Group Areas Act is expected following a visit to Johannesburg's Hillbrow flatland on April 27 by senior Government officials.

Mr Roelf Meyer, Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, and Mr Piet Badenhorst, Minister of Health Services and Welfare in the House of Assembly, will pay the first official Government visit to the multiracial suburb on April 27.

Mr Leon Wessels, Deputy Minister of Law and Order, is expected to accompany Mr Meyer and Mr Badenhorst to a meeting with residents and business groups. The delegation will also be conducted on an evening trip through Hillbrow, The Star was told.

Conservative Party and Progressive Federal Party spokesmen yesterday strongly criticised the visit, which has been organised by the National Party, as a meaningless publicity stunt prior to the October municipal elections.

Both the NP and the CP are to announce detailed strategies for their municipal election campaigns soon.

The NP's Johannesburg divisional council is expected to announce a manifesto for its campaign next week. The chairman of the Hillbrow council, Mr Daryl Swanepoel, yesterday declined to release details.

However The Star learnt that the manifesto contains suggestions on the implementation of health standards and methods of countering overcrowding in high-density flatland areas where the Group Areas Act is being contravened.

This comes amid predictions that the CP is set to have a major impact on the election results in the Hillbrow area due to residents' dissatisfaction with living conditions in the area.

The CP would announce its "plan of action", drawn up by a special Group Areas Act committee, within the next six weeks, said Mr Fred Rundle, chairman of the CP's Johannesburg regional committee. He was confident the CP could win widespread support in "grey" areas, because "many whites have become locked into the property they have bought there".

PFP Hillbrow councillor Mr Cecil Bass slated the NP's intended manifesto, saying residents were tired of NP promises that proved meaningless.

I've had several death threats, says Boesak

AMSTERDAM — South African church leader Dr Allan Boesak said yesterday he had recently received death threats.

"I just got into a room when the phone rang — few people knew the number — and I was told by the caller I would be finished off ...

"This has happened several times," he told journalists at a news conference here.

Dr Boesak, who heads the 675 000-strong Dutch Reformed Mission Church in South Africa, was in Amsterdam on a brief stop-over on his way to Geneva for talks at the World Alliance of Reformed Churches over which he also presides.

"I have to take these threats seriously, but I cannot defend myself," Dr Boesak said.

He also accused South-African authorities of silencing him in every way it could. He was being denied access to the media.

"I found it impossible even to buy advertising space," he said. — Sapa-Reuter.

(28) (280) (29)

Sanctions calls: Dutch media pays little heed

The Argus Foreign Service

ROTTERDAM. — Calls to intensify the economic boycott of South Africa, made in Holland by three leading South African church leaders, have received scant attention in the Dutch media.

Dr Beyers Naude was interviewed briefly on television, but his comments were given only a few paragraphs in the major newspapers.

He called on the Dutch Government to step up its economic sanctions, especially against coal and oil "to show solidarity with South African blacks". He said that little attention had been paid to the call by the rest of the world, and "we feel very helpless".

The Rev Nico Smit said he had hoped for an economic collapse in South Africa as this could provide the psychological shock needed to move the white electorate out of its pro-apartheid thinking.

"However, it looks as if the Western leaders do not want to change their financial position although if they were informed of the real situation they would have to take action."

DISRUPTED

The Rev Sam Buti said reform by the white Ned Geref Kerk and the South African Government were "merely attempts to give apartheid a more acceptable face".

● In Munich anti-apartheid protesters disrupted the Hanover Fair with a demonstration in front of the South African stand.

About 100 demonstrators sealed off the stand, handing out pamphlets and telling visitors to stay away. There was chaos for about three hours as demonstrators and visitors argued in front of the South African exhibit.

The demonstrators were led by Barbara Simons, spokesman on South Africa for the Socialist faction in the European Parliament, and Helmut Lippelt, a Green Party member of the West German Parliament.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu (left) meets Anglican Bishop George Kauluma, Bishop of Namibia, at Oshikati during a visit at the weekend. Picture: REUTER

Cape Times 11/4/88 (28)

Apartheid 'needs immoral methods'

From JEAN SUTHERLAND

WINDHOEK. — Apartheid could only survive by "immoral, evil, vicious and brutal" methods, said Anglican Archbishop the Most Rev Desmond Tutu at an ecumenical service in Katatura township's Roman Catholic Church yesterday.

Archbishop Tutu, who received a rousing welcome from more than 2 000 Namibians, cited as one such method the State President P W Botha's quashing of the murder trial here of six army officers 10 days after he had refused clemency for the "Sharpeville Six".

His plea to South Africa to get out of Namibia came a day after Mr Botha tightened SA's grip on the running of the territory.

Archbishop Tutu, who referred to the State President as "my neighbour from Cape Town", is in Namibia for the Southern Africa's Bishops Synod being held to coincide with the 10th anniversary of United Nations Security Council Resolution 435 which provides for free and fair independence elections.

Eighteen Bishops, including two from Lesotho and one from Swaziland, took part in yesterday's Eucharist of Solidarity.

"We call on the SA government and on the SADF: Please, please go home. Implement Resolution 435 and so end the misery of the people of Namibia," Archbishop Tutu urged.

"When Namibia is free then it will also mark the end of the suffering of Angolans who are suffering because apartheid does not want Namibia to be free."

He also described as "very touching, very, very touching" Mr Botha's concern with minority rights in Namibia.

"That comes from a minority leader who has not had two brass farthings for the majority in South Africa."

SWA rulers 'echoes' of Pretoria — Tutu

ARGUS 11/4/88

28

From KAREN STANDER
Religion Reporter

WINDHOEK. — Archbishop Desmond Tutu has attacked the SWA/Namibia interim government for being "echoes of his master's voice", saying President Botha has made it clear South Africa is running the territory.

In a passionate sermon to about 2 000 people yesterday, he called on the South African Government and Defence Force to "go home" and for United Nations Security Council Resolution 435 to be implemented now, on the 10th anniversary of its adoption.

He said May 4 was also the 10th anniversary of the SADF raid on the Angolan refugee camp at Cassinga.

The World Council of Churches had called for this day to be observed as an international day of prayer for Namibia.

Minorities

Archbishop Tutu sang and danced with the crowd, who were tightly packed into the church in Katatura township, many wearing the red, green and blue colours of Swapo.

"We are told that the South African Government is concerned for the rights of minorities. That is very touching.

"That comes from a minority leader who does not care two hoots for the rights of the majority of South Africa where he comes from."

When Namibia was freed it would also mean the end of suffering for the people of Angola, Archbishop Tutu said.

"We don't want communism in South Africa or Namibia, but the best defence against communism is a free, independent and contented people.

"Political, economic and social injustice and oppression are the most fertile soil for encouraging the growth of communism. Discontented people are easy prey for communism."

Calling on the SADF to leave Namibia, he said: "Look at all the money which has been wasted with protectors protecting those who don't want to be protected.

"So we say to them: Go home."

BLESSING: Archbishop Desmond Tutu greets one of the many children who turned out to greet him in Katatura, outside Windhoek.

(28) B/day 12/4/88 -

Tutu answers 'ANC' claim today

Political Staff

WINDHOEK — The simmering church-state conflict is likely to hot up today when Archbishop Desmond Tutu responds to the scathing attack on him by President P W Botha last month.

Botha asked the head of the Anglican Church in a March 16 letter whether he was "acting on behalf of the kingdom of God, or the kingdom promised by the ANC and SACP".

Botha told Tutu at the time: "You owe all Christians an explanation of your exact standpoint, for we are all adults, and the time for bluffing and games is long past."

In a March 24 letter to SA Council of Churches general-secretary the Rev Frank Chikane, Botha again clashed with the clergy, accusing Chikane, Tutu and other unnamed churchmen of loving and praising "the ANC/SACP with its Marxist and atheistic ideology, landmines, bombs and necklaces, perpetrating the most horrendous atrocities imaginable".

Botha went on to tell the churchmen: "... you embrace and participate in their (ANC/SACP) call for violence, hatred, sanctions, insurrection and revolution."

Tutu spokesman John Allen said from Windhoek yesterday that a lengthy response to Botha's March 16 remarks would be issued this morning.

However, there would be no immediate response to Botha's allegations as Tutu and other churchmen were still considering possible legal action against Botha, he said.

Boesak's colleagues censure his stand

ARGUS 12/4/88

28

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Staff Reporter

SHARP differences between the moderator of the Ned Geref Sendingkerk, Dr Allan Boesak, and three prominent members of the church have come out in the open.

Scribe Dr A J Botha, assessor the Rev I J Mentor, and the Rev J J F Mettler said in a statement in the Sendingkerk publication Ligdraer that Dr Boesak did not represent the church in his involvement in many activities and organisations. Neither was this involvement sanctioned by the church.

But in an open letter in the same edition of Ligdraer, Dr Boesak said he was confident that the majority of people in the Sendingkerk supported him.

Dr Boesak said he was afraid that no member of the Moderature, except Dr Nick Appolis, had seen fit to pray for his and his family's protection.

Mr Botha, Mr Mentor and Mr Mettler are members of the commission appointed by the Sendingkerk to discuss church unity within the Ned Geref family.

Personal capacity

Last month the commission cancelled talks with the white Ned Geref Kerk because the general synodical commission of the NGK criticised Dr Boesak and Archbishop Desmond Tutu for their attempt to march to Parliament with other clergy.

The three said Dr Boesak was criticised in his personal capacity and not as moderator of the Sendingkerk.

Mr Mentor said today he doubted if Dr Boesak's actions carried the full approval of the majority of people in the Sendingkerk at all times.

He said: "Dr Boesak took part in the march without any approval from the Sendingkerk. The general synodical commission of the NGK criticised his person and not the moderator of the Sendingkerk."

He said he did not have all the information on threats made against Dr Boesak and his family, neither had he discussed them with him.

"I cannot comment on matters of which I am ignorant," he said.

The synod of the Sendingkerk had instructed the commission to hold talks on unity and he wanted to carry out instructions, he said.

Differences

He would not say whether there were differences or tension on some issues witin the Sendingkerk moderature.

But Mr Mettler said today: "The crux of the matter is that the moderature is split down the middle with Dr Boesak and Dr Appolis on one side and Dr Botha and Mr Mentor on the other.

"This is a sensitive issue. I'm afraid I'll say too much and cause more problems in the church."

He agreed with Mr Mentor that the synodical commission of the NGK had criticised Dr Boesak and not the Sendingkerk.

Dr Boesak had not consulted the Sendingkerk on the march, he said.

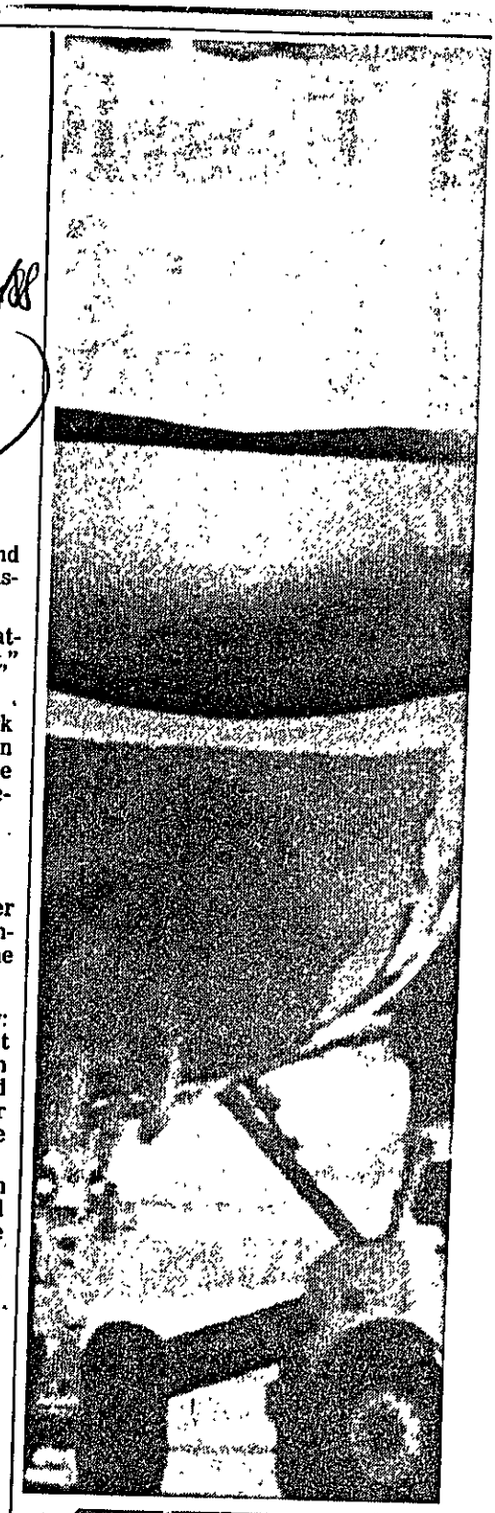
"The first we knew about it was when we opened our newspapers. No minister can act without first consulting his church."

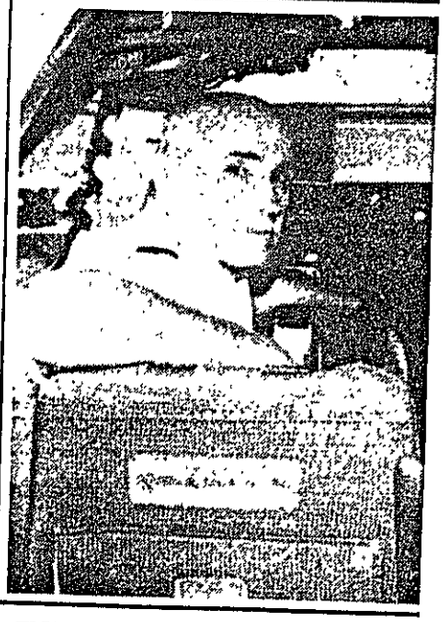
He was upset about threats against Dr Boesak and his family.

"Violence will not solve any conflict. I am upset, severely upset, about threats against Dr Boesak and his family."

Dr Botha refused to comment, except to confirm that the moderature had differed on some matters.

Dr Boesak, who is abroad, and Dr Appolis could not be reached for comment.





SACC leader accused by P W

Because of pressure on space, this is a shortened version of President P W Botha's letter to the general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, the Rev Frank Chikane:

DEAR Rev Chikane,

I hereby acknowledge receipt of your letter of 18 March 1988, which I read with a certain measure of alarm and concern.

I am suprised at your reaction concerning my letter to Archbishop Tutu, which was a reply to the petition as well as to a letter he sent to me when he forwarded the petition to me.

In your letter you referred to an attack I was supposed to have made "on Archbishop Tutu, with regard to the petition, his covering letter, and the march of the church leaders", while you also asserted that I "singled out the Archbishop".

I have seldom seen such a flagrant misrepresentation of a situation, and I seriously question your motives in this regard.

Personal

I grew up in an environment where the Lord was served, where the love of God, His Church and His Word was transferred to me, and which I cherish in my heart to this very day. That is why I strive to conduct my personal life, and my service as State President according to the principles of the Christian faith.

This Government has in the light of the message of the Bible gone out of its way to serve the people of this country, to broaden democracy, to remove hurtful and discriminatory legislation and social practices, and to provide for the needs of all on a scale that is found nowhere else on this continent.

I have gone out of my way to invite leaders of Black communities, and also religious leaders, to co-operate with me in pursuing a just, peaceful and prosperous future for all in South Africa and our region. Many of them already do so.

It is therefore disturbing that you and others, who claim to represent the Church of Christ and the Word of God, act in the

Tutu reply to President

President Botha

Archbishop Desmond Tutu has replied to President P W Botha's attacks on him and other church leaders in an eight-page letter delivered to Tuynhuys yesterday. This is the full text:

DEAR Mr State President,

Thank you for your letter dated 16 March 1988. I must confess I am surprised that a letter marked "Personal" should have been distributed to Members of Parliament and to the media without the concurrence of its recipient. I thought that there were conventions governing such things.

Since you are a fair-minded person, I am sure you will ensure that my reply will receive the same publicity accorded your letter to me. Certainly I am sure you will ask SABC-TV to give it equally prominent coverage.

I am distressed that during the interview with you, which I had requested for the sole purpose of appealing to you to exercise your prerogative to commute the death sentence of the so-called "Sharpeville Six" and which you then used as an occasion for haranguing me about the Church leaders and our petition, you appeared to sit loosely to facts.

You had already been reported in an interview with the Washington Times as alleging that our petition was drawn up after the march. I tried to correct this erroneous view. But you then proceeded to accuse me of having preached under a flag depicting the hammer and sickle.

I denied this accusation. You did not withdraw your extraordinary accusations, but claimed that you had photographs to prove your charge. I challenged you to produce this photographic evidence which I knew was non-existent because I have never been so photographed as you had alleged.

I refer to this matter because of the questions in your letter about atheistic Marxism.

I want to state quite categorically that I stand by all that I have done and said in the past concerning the application of the Gospel of Jesus Christ to the situation of injustice and oppression and exploitation which are of the very essence of apartheid, a policy which your government has carried out with ruthless efficiency.

My position in this matter is not one of which I am ashamed or for which I would ever want to apologise. I know that I stand in the mainline Christian tradition.

I want you to know that I have never listened to Radio Freedom nor do I have the

ried out policies enshrined in the Population Registration Act, the Group Areas Act, segregated education, health, etc.

The Bible teaches quite unequivocally that people are created for fellowship, for togetherness, not for alienation, apartness, enmity and divison (Gen 2:18; Gen 11:1-9; 1 Cor 12:12-13; Ro 12:3-5; Gal 3:28; Acts 17:26).

The experience of the United States and the findings of its highest court were that it is in fact impossible to carry out a policy of "separate but equal". The policies of apartheid do not even pretend to seek to embody "separate but equal". Quite unabashedly they are intended to be separate and unequal.

Just note the grossly unfair distribution of land between black and white or the unequal government expenditure on black and white education. I could multiply the examples.

Apartheid, the policy of your government, is thus shown yet again to be unbiblical, unchristian, immoral and evil in its very nature.

I could show that apartheid teaches the fundamental irreconcilability of people because they belong to different races. This is at variance with the central teaching of the Christian faith about the reconciling work of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

"God was in Christ reconciling the world to Himself" declares St Paul (2 Cor 5:9), summing up teaching contained in other parts of the New Testament, (John 12:32; Eph 1:10; Eph 2:14; etc).

I could show that in dealing with human beings as if they were less than those who are created in the image of God and by inflicting untold and unnecessary suffering on them, as through your vicious policies of forced population removals, you have contravened basic ethical tenets.

I could provide further evidence that your apartheid policies are unbiblical, unchristian, immoral and evil. It is for these and other reasons that our church and other churches have declared apartheid a heresy.

I am quite ready to debate this issue with a theologian from your church whom you might care to nominate.

I have not deviated from the teaching of our church on this matter at any point. I enclose copies of the statements issued by my fellow bishops and others showing that they believe I stand in the teaching and tradition of our church.

I want to submit respectfully that it is more likely that they would be better judges of the orthodoxy of my position than the State President and his advisers, theological and otherwise.

What we are doing is no innovation when we bring the Word of God as we understand it to bear on the situation in which we are involved.

The prophets of old when they declared

to untie the knots of the yoke,
to snap every yoke
and set free those who have been crushed?
Is it not sharing your food with the hungry,
taking the homeless poor into your house,
clothing the naked when you meet them
and never evading a duty to your kinsfolk?

(Isaiah 58:6-7)

Elijah confronted the king about his injustice to Naboth, a nonetity as far as the king was concerned but who was championed by God (1 Kings 21); Nathan was not afraid to convict David of his sinfulness (2 Sam 12).

This kind of involvement of religion with politics and the habit of religious leaders to speak into the socio-political and economic situation can be attested to as standard practice in the Bible which provides our mandate and paradigm.

Our marching orders come from Christ Himself and not from any human being. Our mandate is provided by the Bible and the teaching of the Church not by any political group or ideology, Marxist or otherwise.

Our Lord Himself adopted as a description of His programme that which was outlined by Isaiah:

The spirit of the Lord God is upon me
because the Lord has anointed me;
he has sent me to bring good news to the humble, to bind up
the broken-hearted,
to proclaim liberty to captives
and release to those in prison;
to proclaim a year of the Lord's favour
and a day of the vengeance of our God;

(Isaiah 61:1-2)

found in His fist sermon as recorded by St Luke (Luke 4:16-21).

He stood in the prophetic tradition when He taught what criteria would be used to judge the nations — it would be not through observance of narrowly defined religious duties but by whether they had fed the hungry, clothed the naked, visited the sick and imprisoned, etc (Matt 25:31-46).

It was impossible to love God whom one had not seen if one hated the brother that one had seen, testified another part of the New Testament (1 John 4:20-21).

The followers of Jesus are constrained by the imperatives of His Gospel to be concerned for those He has called the least of His brethren. The NGK recognised this when it was in the forefront of the struggle for justice for the poor whites as evidenced by the words of Dr C D Brink in a paper delivered at the Volkskongres in 1947.

"The aim of the church is to bring about social justice. Justice must be done to the

It is a hallowed tradition of direct non-violent action such as we engaged in when we tried to proceed to Parliament. We were mindful too of what the apostles said to the Jewish Sanhedrin, that obedience to God takes precedence over obedience to human beings (Acts 4:19,5:29).

We accept wholeheartedly St Paul's teaching in Romans 13 that we should submit ourselves to earthly rulers. Their authority however is not absolute. They themselves also stand under God's judgement as His servants.

They are meant to instil fear only in those who do wrong, holding no terror for those who do right (Rom 7:3-4). The ruler is God's servant to do the subjects good (Rom 7:4). The ruler rules for the benefit of the ruled.

That comes not out of a political manifesto but from the Holy Scriptures. The corollary is that you must not submit yourself to a ruler who subeverts your good.

That is why we admire those who oppose unjust regimes, eg totalitarian communist governments.

The Bible teaches that governments can become beasts in the symbolic language of the Book of Revelation (Rev 13). Not too many governments nor their apologists who use Romans 13 with glee are quite so enthusiatic about its full implications nor of Revelation 13.

I am sure you could not have been serious when you quoted a passage allegedly from Radio Freedom in which you underline certain words wuch as "church", "liberation struggle", "justice" and because our petition uses similar words you want to suggest that there must be a sinister connection between us and the ANC.

If a communist were to say, "Water makes you wet", would you say, "No, water does not make you wet", for fear that people would accuse you of being a communist? I would have thought our discussion was at a slightly higher level.

I told uyou in my interview that I support the ANC in its objectives to establish a non-racial, democratic South Africa; but I do not support its methods.

That is a statement I have made in the Supreme Court in Pretoria and on other occasions. My views have never been clandestine.

You appointed the Eloff Commission to investigate the SACC when I was still its General Secretary. Your Security Police investigated my personal life and looked into my bank accounts and tried to discredit me in their evidence before the Commission.

They wer unable to find anytyhing of which to accuse me. Not even Craig Williamson would produce evidence that I held different views to those I had expressed in public.

You know I went to Lusaka twice last year. I tried to persuade the ANC to suspened the armed struggle; that is a matter of public record.

You yourself can bear me out that when an SACC leaders' delegation met you and your Cabinet colleagues in 1980, I again said that if you did something dramatic I would be among the first to say to our people, "Hold it. Give them a chance, now they are talking real change."

Then I said, "Declare your commitment to a common citizenship for all South Africans in an undivided South Africa; abolish the pass laws; stop immediately all forced population removals and establish a uniform education policy."

That was eight years ago. How much time has been wasted and how many lives have been lost trying to beautify apartheid through cosmetic improvements when the pillars of a vicious system still remain firmly in place.

I would say if you were to lift the state of emergency, unban all our political organisations, release all detainees and political prisoners and permit exiles to return and then say you would be ready to sit down with the authentic representatives and leaders of every section of our society to negotiate the dismantling of apartheid and drawing up of a new Constitution, I would say to our people, "Please give him a chance. He is talking real change."

Your apartheid policies are leading our beautiful land to disaster. We love South Africa passionately. Our black fathers fought against the nazis for it, many Afrikaners being pro-nazi at the time refused to support the war effort, and many who wore the uniform of the Union Defence Force used to be turned away from NGK church services.

We long for the day when black and white will live amicably and harmoniously together in the new South Africa.

Kindly confirm whether you include me in the paragraph in your letter to the Reverend Frank Chikane which reads: "You love and praise the ANC/SACP with its Marxist and atheistic ideology, landmines, bombs and necklaces perpetrating the most horrendous atrocities imaginable; and you embrace and participate in their call for violence, hatred, sanctions, insurrection and revolution ..." because as supporting evidence you then quote what I said in St Paul's Cathedral, London.

I want to state the obvious — that I am a Christian religious leader. By definition that surely means I reject communism and Marxism as atheistic and materialistic.

I try to work for the extension of the Kingdom of God which will ultimately have rulers such as the ones described in Isaiah 11:1-9 and in Psalm 72:1-4 and 12-14:

O God, endow the king with they own justice,
and give thy righteousness to a king's son,
that he may judge thy people rightly
and deal out justice to the poor and

"Untruths"

You do not hesitate to spread malicious untruths about South Africa here and abroad. You should be fully aware of the numerous misleading statements concerning local support for sanctions and for the ANC, alleged atrocities by the security forces, the treatment of youths, and the fabrication of false testimony for especially the overseas media.

You love and praise the ANC/SACP with its Marxist and atheistic ideology, landmines, bombs and necklaces perpetrating the most horrendous atrocities imaginable; and you embrace and participate in their call for violence, hatred, sanctions, insurrection and revolution.

I have noted a frenzy of rumour and expectation regarding possible action by the Government against certain members of the clergy. I see no reason for this, unless they take part in subversive and revolutionary activities.

But judging on this reaction in certain circles, it does seem as if some people want it to happen, or have reason to believe that it should happen.

I request you urgently not to abuse the freedom of religion and worship, and the goodwill of the people and the Government of South Africa for the pursuance of secular and revolutionary objectives.

Freedom

Religious freedom is the cornerstone of proper human rights. It is a well known fact that South Africa is a country which cherishes and safeguards freedom of religion. Even in the armed forces more than one hundred different denominations are actively engaged in the preaching of the Gospel.

In this regard it is ironic that you yourself challenged churches in South Africa to provide ministry to the terrorist movements, while at the same time withdrawing chaplains from the SADF!

I am amazed that you as theologian can compare me and the Government with immoral and godless people referred to in Ephesians 5:11-13, while ignoring Ephesians 4:31.

Question

In conclusion I want to put a question to the SACC. We are both confessing that we are followers of Christ in spite of all our human weaknesses.

Christ, as far as we know, openly took part in the spreading of the Gospel during the last three years of his life on earth.

Can you quote one single instance from the Word of God in which it appears that Christ advocated violence against the State; or led a demonstration against the State; or broke a law of the State?

ca. pos ..on cer..ves ..rom ..e ..e anc. ..rom the teaching of the Church. The Bible and the Church predate Marxism and the ANC by several centuries.

May I give you a few illustrations? The Bible teaches that what invests each person with infinite value is not this or that arbitrarily chosen biological attribute, but the fact that each person is created in the image of God (Gen 1:26).

Apartheid, the policy of your Government, claims that what makes a person qualify for privilege and political power is that biological irrelevance, the colour of a person's skin and his ethnic antecedents. Apartheid says those are what make a person matter.

That is clearly at variance with the teaching of the Bible and the teaching of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Hence the Church's criticism that your apartheid policies are not only unjust and oppressive. They are positvely unbiblical, unchristian, immoral and evil.

Apartheid has said that ultimately people are intended for separation. You have carpowerful of their day were our forerunners. They spoke about the need for religion to show its authenticity by how it affected the everyday life of the people and especially by how the rich, the powerful, the privileged and the rulers dealt with the less privileged, the poor, the hungry, the oppressed, the widow, the orphan and the alien.

Isaiah said God rejected all religious observances however punctilious and elaborate. He urged worshippers to:

Put away the evil of your deeds, away out of my sight.
Cease to do evil and learn to do right,
pursue justice and champion the oppressed;
give the orphan his rights, plead the widow's cause.
(Isaiah 1:16-17)

Elsewhere he claimed that God was not pleased with their religious fasts. God declared through the prophet:

Is not this what I require of you as a fast:
to loose the fetters of injustice,

lic conscience must be roused to demand another.

"If the church does not exert itself for justice in society, and together with the help she can offer also be prepared to serve as champion for the cause of the poor, others will do it. The poor have their right today: I do not ask for your charity, but I ask to be given an opportunity to live a life of human dignity."

We are law-abiding. Good laws make human society possible. When laws are unjust then Christian tradition teaches that they do not oblige obedience.

Our Lord broke not just man's law but what was considered more serious, He broke God's law in order to meet human need — as when He broke the law of the Sabbath observance (John 5:8-14).

He paid due regard to the secular ruler in the person of Pontius Pilate but subsequently engaged in a defiance of that secular authority when He refused to answer his questions (Mark 15:3-5).

just and democratic South Africa. I reject atheistic Marxism as I reject apartheid which I find equally abhorrent and evil.

Transfer of power to the people of South Africa means exactly that.

The latest apartheid Constitition cannot by any stretch of imagination be described as democratic when it excludes 73 percent of the people of South Africa from any meaningful participation in the political decision making process.

I long for and have dedicated myself to work for a South Africa where all South Africans are South Africans, citizens in an undivided South Africa not one that is balkanised into unviable bantustan homelands.

When you are a citizen you share through the exercise of your vote in the political decision making process either directly or through duly elected representatives.

Since 1976 I have appealed to the government to heed our *cri de coeur*. I have said nobody in their right senses expected these real changes to happen overnight.

people
peace and prospertiy in righteousness.
He shall give judgment for the suffering
and help those of the people that are needy;
he shall crush the oppressor.
For he shall rescue the needy from their rich oppressors,
the distressed who have no protector.
May he have pity on the needy and the poor,
deliver the poor from death;
may he redeem them from oppression and violence
and may their blood be precious in his eyes.

I work for God's Kingdom. For whose kingdom with your apartheid policy do you work? I pray for you, as I do for your Ministerial colleagues, every day by name.

God bless you.

Yours sincerely,

Desmond† Cape Town.

Botha's challenge to Tutu over role of the church in S Africa

Archbishop Tutu

DEAR Archbishop Tutu,

I hereby wish to acknowledge receipt of your letter of 1 March, 1988 with the attached petition dated 29 February, 1988.

Before I comment on your petition, I wish to ask whether it is your considered opinion that the so-called march on Parliament was really necessary, and worthy of the cause and message of Christ and the churches represented by those who were involved, knowing that the actions were illegal?

You know that you and others who were with you on that day, have on more than one occasion been well received at Tuynhuys and the Union Buildings — sometimes in a blaze of publicity but sometimes also unknown to others in order to maintain a measure of confidentiality that is apparently necessary at times to protect some of those who have discussions with the Government.

The truth of the assertion in your petition that you have "virtually no other effective and peaceful means" of "witnessing effectively", therefore stands under serious doubt.

Furthermore, in your petition you referred to trade unions; and you are no doubt aware of the fact that only last week I extended an invitation to various important trade unions in our country to have talks with me and members of the Government in Tuynhuys. Some of the very people you referred to were among those who did not turn up for the meeting, some even without having the courtesy of replying to the invitation.

I am sure you will agree that the whole basis of your action is therefore seriously in question, and that it was to a large degree planned as a calculated public relations exercise.

But it goes much further than that, as you know so well. To illustrate the point, I wish to quote from a recent broadcast by the ANC's propaganda radio, Radio Freedom:

"The church must now be developed into a fierce battleground against the regime ... We must organise our forces for a physical confrontation with the forces of the apartheid regime."

The question inevitably arises whether it is possible to come to any other conclusion than that actions such as the march to Parliament may be seen as part of the campaign referred to in the ANC propaganda broadcast? But there is also a wider element involved, as illustrated by *Sechaba* of September 1985 where it was stated that:

"Members of the ANC fully understand why both the ANC and SACP are two hands in the same body, why they are two pillars of our revolution."

You are no doubt aware that the expressed intention of the planned revolution by the ANC/SACP alliance is to ultimately transform South Africa into an atheistic marxist state, where freedom of faith and worship will surely be among the first casualties.

If you disagree with this, you should state so clearly and publicly, because it also directly relates to your petition, and in particular the statement that: "victory against evil in this world is guaranteed by our Lord".

What is clearly at issue here is your understanding of evil: is atheistic marxism the evil, or does your view of evil include the struggle on behalf of Christianity, the Christian faith, and freedom of faith and worship, against the forces of godlessness and marxism?

In the petition you used phrases such as the following: "*people's* organisations", "*democratic* activity", the "*struggle* for *justice* and *peace*", and "the *real struggle* for *democracy*".

In this regard I wish to quote again from the already mentioned broadcast by Radio Freedom:

"In the name of *justice* we must take up the *fight*: we must participate in such means of *struggle*; the *democratic* movement must be given a voice in all churches; church services must be services that further the *democratic* call; the *church* must be for *liberation*."

You owe all Christians an explanation of your exact standpoint, for we are all adults, and the time for bluffing and games is long past.

The question must be posed whether you are acting on behalf of the kingdom of God, or the kingdom promised by the ANC and the SACP? If it is the latter, say so, but do not then hide behind the structures and the cloth of the Christian church, because Christianity and marxism are irreconcilable opposites.

In your petition you urged the Government to take a number of immediate steps. In reply to that, I urge those who support this petition to reply to the following questions:

● Does the phrase: "the transfer of power to all the people of our country" as used in your petition have the same meaning as the same phrase used by the ANC and the SACP, that is for the ultimate creation of a marxist regime in South Africa?

● Are you and those who co-signed the petition in favour of the establishment of a marxist dictatorship in South Africa under the rule of the ANC and the SACP, and to the detriment of the church?

● Do you believe it to be in line with your interpretation of the church's "prophetic mission" and so-called "liberation theology" to which you subscribe to further the cause of the ANC and the SACP, and thus marxism and atheism?

In conclusion I wish to ask you whether it is not true that the Christian church knows no other power than love and faith, and no other message than the true message of Christ; and if it brings its spiritual power into secular powerplay, and the message of Christ into disrepute, then it becomes a secular instead of a sacred spiritual subject, thereby relinquishing its claim to the church?

If you accept this statement as true, you should establish whether you were acting in the name of God and the church, or whether it was in your individual capacities as members of society embracing secularism, thereby doing a disservice to the very churches which you claim to have represented.

Yours sincerely
P W Botha
State President

Archbishop replies to President

Sowetan 13/7/88

(28)

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu has lashed out at President Botha in reply to his attacks on church leaders, describing Government policies as "not only unjust and oppressive, but unbiblical, unchristian, immoral and evil".

SOWETAN Correspondent

Archbishop Tutu's eight-page letter containing 29 biblical references was delivered to President Botha in Cape Town yesterday in the latest move in the growing church-state confrontation.

In an apparent reference to President Botha's challenge to state whether he worked for the "kingdom of God or the kingdom promised by the African National Congress" Archbishop Tutu said: "My theological position derives from the Bible and from the teaching of the church.

"The Bible and the Church predate Marxism and the African National Congress by several centuries."

Statements by fellow bishops and others showed they believed he stood for the teaching and tradition of the Anglican Church.

"I want to state respectfully that it is more likely that they would be better judges of the orthodoxy of my position than the State President and his advisers, theological and otherwise." He said the mandate of church leaders was provided by the Bible and the teaching of the Church and not by any political group or ideology, Marxist or otherwise.

He denied Mr Botha's accusation that he had preached under the hammer and sickle flag.

"You claimed you had photographs to prove your charge. I challenged you to produce this photographic evidence which I knew was non-existent because I had never been so photographed."

He said he wished to state categorically that he stood by all he had done and said about the application of the Bible to the injustice, oppression and exploitation which were of the essence of apartheid.

He said the Bible taught that what invested each person with infinite values was that each person was created in the image of God.

Apartheid claimed that what made a person qualify for privilege and political power were skin colour and antecedents.

The experience of the United States and the finding of its highest court were that it was impossible to carry out the policy of "separate but equal".

"The policies of apartheid do not even pretend to seek to embody 'separate but equal'.

"Quite unabashedly they are intended to be separate and unequal. Just note the grossly unfair distribution of land between black and white, all the unequal Government expenditure on black and white education . . .

"It is for these and other reasons that our church and other churches have declared apartheid a heresy. I am quite ready to debate this issue with a theologian from your church whom you might care to nominate."

He said the Government's apartheid policies were not only unjust and oppressive, but "positively unbiblical, unchristian, immoral and evil".

Although good laws made human society possible, when laws were unjust Christian tradition taught that they did not oblige obedience.

Rulers

"We accept wholeheartedly St Paul's teaching in Romans 13 that we should submit ourselves to earthly rulers. Their authority, however, is not absolute.

"The ruler rules for the benefit of the ruled. That comes not out of a political manifesto but from the holy scriptures. The corollary is that you must not submit yourself to a ruler who subverts your good. That is why we admire those who oppose unjust regimes, for example totalitarian communist governments."

Archbishop Tutu said he rejected atheistic marxism as he rejected apartheid.

"Your apartheid policies are leading our beautiful land to disaster. But we love South Africa passionately. Our black fathers fought against the Nazis for it. Many Afrikaners, pro-Nazi at the time, refused to support the war effort and many who wore the uniform of the union defence force used to be turned away from NGK church services.

"I want to state the obvious: that I am a Christian religious leader. By definition that surely means I reject communism and marxism as atheistic and materialistic. I try to work for the extension of the kingdom of God.

"For whose kingdom do you work with your apartheid policy? I pray for you, as I do for your ministerial colleagues, every day by name," he said.

Cape Times 13/4/88 (28)

Tutu: Apartheid is the evil

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

MR P W Botha yesterday declined to respond to charges by Archbishop Desmond Tutu that the President's apartheid policies were not only unjust and opressive but "positively unbiblical, unchristian, immoral and evil".

Archbishop Tutu's remarks came in response to an earlier attack by Mr Botha on various clergymen in which he challenged the head of the Anglican Church to say if he was "acting on behalf of the kingdom of God, or the kingdom of the ANC and the SACP".

In an eight-page letter delivered to Tuynhuys this week, Archbishop Tutu said it was apartheid — which claimed that "biological irrelevance, the colour of a person's skin and his ethnic antecedents" qualified a person for power — that was at variance with the teachings of the Bible.

Archbishop Tutu ended his letter by saying: "I work for God's kingdom. For whose kingdom with your apartheid policy do you work?

"I pray for you, as I do for your Ministerial colleagues, every day by name. God bless you."

Earlier, Archbishop Tutu said he stood by all he had done concerning the application of the Gospel to oppression.

He said Mr Botha had accused him at a meeting at Tuynhuys on March 16 of "having preached under a flag depicting the hammer and sickle".

Despite his denying the charge, Mr Botha did not withdraw his "extraordinary accusations" but claimed he had photographs to prove the charge.

"I challenged you to produce this photographic evidence which I knew was non-existent because I have never been so photographed as you had alleged.

"I refer to this matter because of the questions in your letter about atheistic Marxism.

"I want to state quite categorically that I stand by all that I have done and said in the past concerning the application of the Gospel of Jesus Christ to the situation of injustice and oppression and exploitation which are of the very essence of apartheid, a policy which your government has carried out with ruthless efficiency."

Archbishop Tutu said Mr Botha "could not have been serious" when he quoted a passage allegedly from Radio Freedom that used similar words to a petition by protesting churchmen and suggested there was a sinister connection to the ANC.

"I told you in my interview that I support the ANC in its objectives to establish a non-racial, democratic SA, but I do not support its methods.

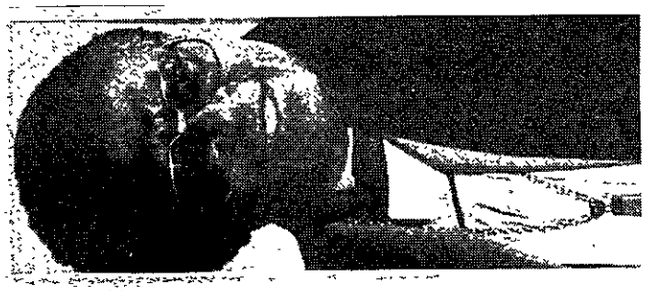
"That is a statement I have made in the Supreme Court in Pretoria and on other occasions. My views have never been clandestine."

Archbishop Tutu said he had gone to Lusaka twice last year and tried to persuade the ANC to suspend the armed struggle.

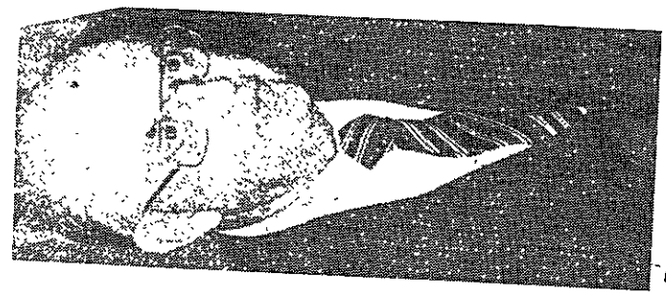
"I am committed to work for a non-racial, just and democratic SA.

"I reject atheistic Marxism as I reject apartheid which I find equally abhorrent and evil."

"Your apartheid policies are leading our beautiful land to disaster," he told Mr Botha.



Archbishop Tutu



President P W Botha

(28) B/day

THAT GIRL WAS FRIGHTENING

Own Correspondent

LONDON — Hollywood has voted pop star Madonna the Worst Actress of the Year — for the second year running.

She received the Golden Raspberry last night for her role in Who's That Girl. One critic called her performance "frightening".

Last year she bombed out with Shanghai Surprise, which also starred her husband, Sean Penn.

But the night's biggest slap went to comedian Bill Cosby, with an unprecedented triple crown: worst actor, writer and producer.

His R60m flop Leonard Part IV beat Jaws: The Revenge, Tough Guys Don't Dance and Ishtar for worst movie.

The awards ceremony also claimed Darryl Hannah as worst supporting actress for her role in Oscar-winning Wall Street.

Bruce, the shark in Jaws, was voted worst visual effect.

Get political, clergy are told

(28) B/day 13/4/88

Own Correspondent

LONDON — The Archbishop of Canterbury has called on senior church leaders to speak out on political issues.

Robert Runcie brushed aside criticism from Conservatives who say the Church of England should concentrate on saving souls.

Moreover, he backed the right to speak of those churchmen who have been condemning government's social security changes.

On Monday night Runcie told an Oxford conference of spiritual and political leaders: "We must reject a privatisation of religion which results in its reduction to being simply a matter of personal salvation."

Attacking the "self-interest" society, the Archbishop said that religious leaders must reject the possibility of becoming a "minority cult to give some kind of spiritualised group therapy for the select few".

His speech was a follow-up to a TV interview a fortnight ago in which Runcie said the church might have a moral duty to oppose the UK budget.

On Monday night he urged spiritual leaders to take up a political role and said: "Competition is nowadays so often seen as the mainspring of human activity. But I do not believe that our religious faith allows us to be content with an idea that self-interest is the only driving dynamic of human progress."

There has been increasing irritation among Tories as a string of senior churchmen have attacked the social security reforms intended to target help on the most in need.

PW silent on Tutu's claim of evil-doing

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — President P W Botha yesterday declined to respond to charges by Archbishop Desmond Tutu that Botha's apartheid policies were not only unjust and oppressive but "positively unbiblical, unchristian, immoral and evil".

Tutu's remarks came in response to an earlier attack by Botha on various clergymen in which he challenged the head of the Anglican Church to say whether he was "acting on behalf of the kingdom of God, or the kingdom of the ANC and the SACP".

In an eight-page letter delivered to Tuynhuys this week, Tutu said it was apartheid that was at variance with the teachings of the Bible.

Tutu ended his letter by saying: "I work for God's kingdom. For whose kingdom with your apartheid policy do you work?"

Earlier, Tutu said he stood by all he had done concerning the application of the Gospel to the oppression that was the essence of apartheid.

"I told you (at Tuynhuys on March 16) I support the ANC in its objectives to establish a non-racial, democratic SA, but I do not support its methods ... my views have never been clandestine."

Tutu added: "I reject atheistic Marxism as I reject apartheid which I find equally abhorrent and evil."

RD 13/4/88

PW declines to reply to Tutu

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The State President, Mr P. W. Botha, yesterday declined to respond to charges by Archbishop Desmond Tutu that apartheid policies were "unChristian, immoral and evil".

Archbishop Tutu's remarks came in response to an attack on clergymen by Mr Botha, in which he challenged the head of the Anglican Church to say whether he was "acting on behalf of the kingdom of God, or the kingdom of the ANC."

(28)

Earlier, Archbishop Tutu said he stood by all he had done concerning the application of the Gospel to the oppression of apartheid.

He had gone to Lusaka twice last year and tried to persuade the ANC to suspend the armed struggle.

He stood in the mainline Christian tradition, and had not deviated from the teaching of his church.

Tutu's letter page 9

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Open letter to P. W. Botha

DID 13/4/88

Tutu: I never preached under communist flag

28

Archbishop Desmond Tutu said yesterday in a letter to the State President he stood by all he had done concerning the application of the Gospel to the oppression that was the essence of apartheid.

The lengthy letter was the first public response by Archbishop Tutu, the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, to allegations in a letter from Mr P. W. Botha, on March 16.

He said Mr Botha had accused him during a meeting on that day, of "having preached under a flag depicting the hammer and sickle."

"I denied this accusation.

"You did not withdraw your extraordinary accusations, but claimed that you had photographs to prove your charge.

"I challenged you to produce this photographic evidence which I knew was non-existent because I have never been so photographed as you had alleged.

"I refer to this matter because of the questions in your letter about atheistic marxism.

"I want to state quite categorically that I stand by all that I have done and said in the past concerning the application of the Gospel of Jesus Christ to the situation of injustice and oppression and exploitation which are of the very essence of apartheid, a policy which your government has carried out with ruthless efficiency.

"My position in this matter is not one of which I am ashamed or for which I would ever want to apologise."

He stood in the mainline Christian tradition.

He had never listened to Radio Freedom nor read Sechaba.

"My theological position derives from the Bible and from the teaching of the Church.

"The Bible and the Church predate marxism and the ANC by several centuries."

He said he was distressed that during the interview on March 16, which he asked for to appeal for clemency for the Sharpeville Six, Mr Botha harangued him about the church leaders and their recent petition.

He was also surprised that a letter marked "personal" should have been distributed to MPs and the media without his concurrence.

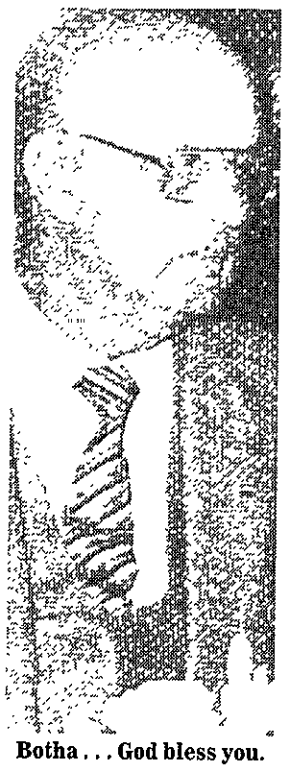
"I thought that there were conventions governing such things."

The letter also said: "Since you are a fair-minded person, I am sure you will ensure that my reply will receive the same publicity accorded your letter to me."

"Certainly I am sure you will ask SABC-TV to give it equally prominent coverage."

Archbishop Tutu gave illustrations of his views, quoting from the Bible several times.

The letter ended: "I work for God's kingdom.



Botha . . . God bless you.

Tutu . . . pillars still in place.

1980 . . . and now

The pillars of the apartheid system remained firmly in place, the Archbishop said in his letter.

Archbishop Tutu said that in 1980 he had said Mr Botha should declare a commitment to a common citizenship for all in an undivided South Africa, abolish the pass laws, stop forced removals and establish a uniform education policy.

"That was eight years ago.

"How much time has been wasted and how many lives have been lost trying to beautify apartheid through cosmetic improvements when the pillars of a vicious system still remain firmly in place." — Sapa.

"For whose kingdom with your apartheid policy do you work?

"I pray for you, as I do for your ministerial colleagues, every day by name.

"God bless you."

The letter said apartheid, that claimed "biological irrelevance, the colour of a person's skin and his ethnic antecendents" qualified a person for power, was at variance with the teachings of the Bible and Christ.

"Hence the Church's criticism that your apartheid policies are not only unjust and oppressive.

"They are positively unbiblical, unchristian, immoral and evil."

Apartheid said people were ultimately intended for separation.

"You have carried out policies enshrined in the Population Registration Act, the Group Areas Act, segregated education, health, etc.

"The Bible teaches quite unequivocally that people are created for fellowship, for togetherness, not for alienation, apartness, enmity and division (Gen 2:18, Gen 11:1-9:1 Cor 12:12-13, RO 12:3-5, Gal 3:28, Acts 17:26).

The US Supreme Court had found it was impossible to carry out a policy of "separate but equal."

Apartheid policies were, quite unabashedly, intended to be separate and unequal.

He had not deviated from the teaching of his church, Archbishop Tutu said.

He enclosed copies of statements issued by fellow bishops and others saying they believed he stood in the teaching and tradition of their church.

"I want to submit respectfully that it is more likely that they would be better judges of the orthodoxy of my position than the State President and his advisors, theological and otherwise."

To bring the Word of God as they understood it to bear on the situation was not an innovation.

"The prophets of old when they declared 'Thus saith the Lord . . .' to the rulers and the powerful of their day were our forerunners, they spoke about the need for religion to show its authenticity by how it affected the everyday life of the people and especially by how the rich, the powerful, the privileged and the rulers dealt with the less privileged, the poor, the hungry, the oppressed, the widow, the orphan and the alien."

The church's "marching orders" come from Christ, not from a human being.

"Our mandate is provided by the Bible and the teaching of the Church not by any political group or ideology, marxist or otherwise."

When laws were unjust, Christian tradition taught that they did not oblige obedience.

"It is hallowed tradition of direct non-violent action such as we engaged in when we tried to process to Parliament."

They accepted Paul's teaching in Romans 13 —"that we should submit ourselves to earthly rulers."

"Their authority however is not absolute.

"They themselves also stand under God's judgment as His servants.

"They are meant to instil fear only in those who do wrong holding no terror for those who do right (Rom 7:3-4)."

The ruler ruled for the benefit of the ruled.

"The corollary is that you must not submit yourself to a ruler who subverts your good."

Archbishop Tutu said Mr Botha "could not have been serious" when he quoted a passage allegedly from Radio Freedom that used similar words to the petition and suggested there was a sinister connection to the ANC.

"I told you in my interview that I support the ANC in its objectives to establish a non-racial, democratic South Africa, but I do not support its methods.

"That is a statement I have made in the Supreme Court in Pretoria and on other occasions.

"My views have never been clandestine.

The security police were unable to find anything of which to accuse him when Mr Botha appointed the Eloff Commission to investigate the SACC and he was its general secretary.

"Not even Craig Williamson could produce evidence that I held different views to those I had expressed in public."

He went to Lusaka twice last year and tried to persuade the ANC to suspend the armed struggle.

"I am committed to work for a non-racial, just and democratic South Africa

"I reject atheistic marxism as I reject apartheid which I find equally abhorrent and evil."

If Mr Botha were to lift the state of emergency, unban political organisations, release all detainees and political prisoners and permit exiles to return "and then say you would be ready to sit down with the authentic representatives and leaders of every section of our society to negotiate the dismantling of apartheid and drawing up of a new constitution, I would say to our people, 'Please give him a chance. He is talking real change'."

"Your apartheid policies are leading our beautiful land to disaster."

They loved SA and longed long for the day when black and white would live amicably and harmoniously together.

Boesak: Gospel says church must speak for voteless

D/D 13/4/88

28

CAPE TOWN — It was Gospel for the church to speak on behalf of the voteless, the Moderator of the N. G. Sendingkerk (NGSK), Dr Allan Boesak, said in an open letter in the latest issue of Die Ligdraer, official mouthpiece of the NGSK.

He warned that a government which played God would regret it and that a government which threatened the church, threatened God.

Dr Boesak said he was convinced that he had the majority support of his church, but he was also convinced that except for the Reverend Nic Appolis, no other member of his Moderature was prepared to pray for the safety of his family.

Dr Boesak said his open letter to Die Ligdraer was an unusual step, but many things had been said about him, without giving him a chance to defend himself or put forward the other side of the argument.

He said the government had with its action against 18 anti-apartheid organisations given the church the function as "the last instrument to secure peace and justice."

He said without asking or wanting it the church was now in the front line.

He said the government had eliminated the last possibility for peaceful reform with its action against the 18 organisations and only two choices remained.

Either to accept apartheid and resign to the fact that nothing could be done with the government in power or "we must in desperation clutch at violence because it is the only language understood by government".

He said these two options should not be forced on the church.

Dr Boesak said the NGSK had declared war against apartheid and refuted allegations by government that the African National Congress was prescribing to the NGSK. — Sapa

State-church conflict: new phase in old battle

(28) B/Day 13/4/88

President P W Botha's tough approach to SA's anti-apartheid clergy is nothing new. Former Prime Ministers Hendrik Verwoerd and John Vorster also took strong measures to counter church protest. ELSABÉ WESSELS reports on the escalating conflict

PRESIDENT P W Botha and churchmen such as Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu are but the latest figures in a conflict with a long South African history.

Their dispute, which flared again yesterday, is more acrimonious than in the past, but it is a new phase in an old battle. The conflict between church and State over apartheid has brought confrontation and division on several occasions since the Nationalist election victory in 1948.

And it is not only English-speaking churches which have been affected. The Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk left the World Council of Churches in 1961 when it could not reject apartheid, and then split two years ago when it did.

But while the NGK, having declared apartheid a heresy, tries reform from within, one of its "daugher" churches, the NG Sendingkerk, led by Allan Boesak, is in the forefront of the latest confrontation with government.

The struggle, as in the past, concerns two fundamentally different ways of interpreting the Biblical message, University of Cape Town theologian Professor John de Gruchy said.

First clash

In his book "The Church Struggle in SA," De Gruchy traces the first major clash in church-Nationalist government relations back to 1957, when the promulgation of the Native Laws Amendment Bill made it very difficult for blacks to attend church services in white areas.

It caused an immediate outcry from English clergy, who believed that "apartheid was beginning to affect the life and worship of the churches in a direct way," stated De Gruchy. "Since 1948 the synods, conferences and assemblies of the English-speaking churches have protested against every piece of legislation they have considered unjust. Countless deputations have been sent to prime ministers.

"There must be few comparable instances in the history of the Christian church where such a sustained protest has been waged over such a long period against State legislation and action," De Gruchy concluded in his book.

The beacons of internal strife in SA — Sharpeville, Soweto 1976, the mass bannings of October 1977, deaths in detention and two states of emergency — have marked the ebb and flow of church-State relations. Church leaders involved in the current militant but non-violent protest against State actions see no end to the conflict.

"President Botha's tough approach to SA's anti-apartheid clergy is the strongest action yet by a South African head of state," said Afrikaans theologian and honorary secretary of the SA Council of Churches Dr Beyers Naudé.

President Botha personally reprimanded Tutu for his participation in a church protest march to Parliament in February. The President added a strongly worded letter addressed to South African Council of Churches (SACC) general secretary Frank Chikane, accusing him of indulging in "false liberation theology" and "embracing" Marxism and the ANC.

The clergy's position was contained in a petition sent to Botha:

"Our mandate to carry out these activites comes from God and no man shall stop us. If the State wants to act against the church of God in this country for proclaiming the Gospel, then so be it."

Naudé said that acts of protest and confrontation were regarded by church leaders as effective actions to confront injustices in the face of increased government control. But he believed that church and State had not been locked in such acrimonious dialogue since Cottesloe in 1960 and the SA Council of Churches' "Message to the People of SA" in 1968.

A week-long World Council of Churches (WCC) consultation on Christian race relations and social problems in SA at Cottesloe in December 1960 resulted in a confrontation between Verwoerd and WCC affiliates. Cottesloe was called to address racial tension in the wake of the March 21 Sharpeville killings earlier that year.

Verwoerd expressed grave displeasure with the Cottesloe conclusions, which rejected all unjust discrimination and affirmed the equality of all racial groups. The WCC also addressed direct political issues by asking for the direct representation of coloureds in Parliament and called for consultation between race groups on all matters affecting them.

Uncompromising

Verwoerd's uncompromising attitude resulted in the white establishment NGK rejecting the Cottesloe decisions. Although NGK church leaders, including Naudé, then acting moderator of the Southern Transvaal synod, supported the Cottesloe decisions, regional synods, under government pressure, refused to ratify the statement.

The NGK's termination of its WCC membership followed, as well as Naudé's formation of the Christian Institute and his resignation as NGK minister. Both Naudé and the Institute, which NGK members were prohibited from joining, were banned in October 1977. Naudé believes that by turning its back on Cottesloe and suspending co-operation with fellow WCC affiliates, the NGK's integrity suffered irreprable damage and intensified accusations about its connivance with apartheid.

In 1968 Vorster objected strongly to the church interfering in government's secular vocation and warned SA's political prelates not to do "the kind of thing in SA that Martin Luther King did in America," by "disrupting the State under the cloak of religion". Vorster's target was the newly-founded SACC, which angered government with its controversial "Message to the People", which attempted to show how apartheid and seperate development were contrary to the Gospel.

In April last year State/church relations sank to a new low when religious leaders warned they would defy new emergency curbs prohibiting organised campaigning for the release of detainees. Boesak, chairman of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, Tutu and Catholic Archbishop Stephen Naidoo led the call for a nation-wide defiance of the new emergency restriction.

The detainees issue also put a further strain on the deteriorating relationship between the white Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk — which refrained from criticising the emergency measures — and its coloured and black daughter churches, the NG Sendingkerk and the NG Kerk in Afrika. The black churches, believing detention was "at the heart" of their ministry, voiced a further alienation from the NGK.

In the past year the discordant notes between the influential white mother church and its black daughters increased, with the younger churches becoming more impatient with the NGK's symbiotic relationship with the State, Naudé said.

The Afrikaans church voice was quiet from Cottesloe until October 1986, when the NGK General Synod adopted a new "verligte" manifesto to replace its 1974 policy document "Ras, Volk en Nasie," which was the culmination of years of study to Biblically justify apartheid.

As in the case with the traditional English-speaking churches where several "moderate" church movements have been formed, the NGK also witnessed dissention between synodical resolutions and congregational resolve and action.

Party split

In NGK circles the dramatic acceptance of its new policy document, which declared apartheid as unchristian, forced a party political split in the mother church, resulting in a right-wing group founding its own Protestantse Afrikaanse Kerk. Ecumenical bodies were hopeful that the new theological approach would improve the NGK's fragile ties with the traditional English churches.

However, historic meetings between the NGK and the Anglican Church and the SACC, scheduled for last month to establish a new era of ecumenical contact, were called off following a critical NGK statement accusing Tutu and Boesak of "exceeding the limits of the Gospel".

NGK Moderator Professor Johan Heyns made a personal attempt to save the discussions. But Anglican and the SACC delegations stood firm in their rejection — accusing the NGK of siding with government.

Concludes Naudé: "There is no immediate solution. The State, the NGK and protesting clergy hold fundamentally different opinions over the prophetic role of the church."

Boesak: 'Lack of support in church'

28 Cape Times 13/4/88

Staff Reporter

DR Allan Boesak, moderator of the NG Sendingkerk, has criticized his moderature for not giving him united support in the growing clash between church and state.

In an unusual open letter published in the latest issue of his church's news magazine Die Ligdraer, he says that the only member of the moderature who has prayed for the protection of himself and his family is Dr Nick Appolis.

In a statement in the same issue, three other senior members of the church, the assessor the Rev I J Mentor, scribe Dr A J Botha and the Rev J J F Mettler, say they regret that Dr Boesak's personal actions and utterances are threatening church relations and functioning.

Dr Allan Boesak

Their statement follows the Sendingkerk's decision to break off talks on church unity with the white NGK, a move to which they were opposed.

They say he is involved in numerous bodies and activities in which he is not representing the Sendingkerk, and the white NGK's problem is with him and not the church as a whole.

Dr Boesak writes that the tensions between the church and the state in South Africa have never been higher.

There were those in the church who were deliberately trying to weaken its resolve.

Dr Boesak says the government has sunk to the ludicrous depths of alleging that the church is prescribed to by the African National Congress.

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ANC using churches, claims NGK

ARGUS 13/4/88

Staff Reporter

THE African National Congress has a religious wing which plans strategies for using churches "in the freedom struggle", according to the Ned Geref Kerk mouthpiece, Die Kerkbode.

Writing in the latest issue, the director of information for the Cape Synod, the Rev Lafras Moolman, said the church had "new information" on the way in which "revolutionary forces were abusing religion and the church".

The ANC division concerned with religious affairs saw the Christian and Islamic faiths as equal and had as its emblem a combination of the cross and the crescent moon, Mr Moolman said.

In publications which he had seen, Christian terminology, Islamic concepts and Marxist phrases were "mixed together to incite readers to conflict".

"Revolutionary forces"

Mr Moolman quoted Dr Beyers Naude, former secretary-general of the South African Council of Churches and an adviser at the Ned Geref Kerk in Afrika's Federal Council meeting last month, as saying that the church should become "more involved in the struggle of the workers" and should support youth who were "fighting in the front line".

Mr Moolman warned the church that what would happen in a liberated South Africa would depend on what the church had done in the so-called "enslaved South Africa".

This left "no doubt that the revolutionary forces will do anything to achieve their goal using the church, other religions and ideologies", he said.

(28)

13/4/88

Tutu gets taste of bush war

By KAREN STANDER, Religion Reporter

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu has had several tastes of the 22-year-old bush war in SWA/Namibia during his current visit to the war zone.

He is attending the Anglican Church's annual episcopal synod, which is being held in Windhoek this year to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the United Nations resolution 435 plan for independence. He is accompanied by 18 other bishops from all parts of Southern Africa.

It is the Nobel Peace Prize winner's second visit to the territory since he became Archbishop of Cape Town and Metropolitan of the Anglican Church in Southern Africa two years ago.

The chartered Dakota carrying Archbishop Tutu, Mrs Leah Tutu and his entourage of bishops, aides and a contingent of local and foreign Press from Windhoek flew over the Etosha Pan and "tree-hopped" to avoid heat-seeking Sam-7 missiles.

Landing at the airstrip in Oshakati inside the barbed-wire compound housing the South African Defence Force military base, the party was met by Bishop James Kauluma of SWA/Namibia and an armed soldier, who escorted him from the compound gates to the airport.

Travelling in three hired mini-buses in convoy, the visitors left the compound and drove through the "urban" area where the local people live along the main route to the Angolan border.

Tin shanties are interspersed with gaudily painted concrete-brick structures sporting names such as "Club Sahara" and "Oshaku Love Bar". Butcheries display their fresh wares on tree branches in the open — in spite of the oppressive heat — attracting flies by the swarm.

The normally dusty countryside has been dampened by good rains and it is green and lush, with grass waist-high in places.

The peaceful scene of small children herding cattle and goats grazing next to the road was contrasted by the constant rumble of military activity.

The party passed high mud walls surrounding the Air Force base at Ondangwa before turning in the direction of the border post at Oshikango.

The road had been destroyed in three places, apparently by bombs placed in drainage pipes, and all traffic is forced to drive off the road and around the sections under repair.

At St Mary's mission station, Odibo — just 300m from the edge of the 500m strip of "no-man's land" between SWA/Namibia and the Anglolan border — the Anglican bishops were greeted by rows of singing and dancing schoolchildren.

The mission bears the scars of the bush war. Only ruins remain after the mission's seminary and nearby buildings were destroyed by fire after an explosion in 1981.

The huge church was jam-packed with about 2 000 people, most of whom had walked all morning to see and hear the bishops.

Delivering the central message of his visit, Archbishop Tutu called on the South African Government to leave the people of SWA/Namibia to choose their own government in free and fair elections.

Bogged down

He said he was looking forward to the day resolution 435 was implemented and pledged to ask the international community to put pressure on South Africa "so that that day comes soon".

After the three-hour service Archbishop Tutu greeted members of the congregation and Mrs Tutu delighted the crowds by singing and dancing with them.

On the journey to the Lutheran-run guest house at Oniipa the mini-bus carrying Archbishop Tutu and most of the bishops was bogged down and they had to push it out of the mud.

The Anglican party met church leaders before retiring to the guest house at sunset in accordance with the strictly enforced sundown-to-sunrise curfew.

PW and Tutu 'should speak'

14/4/88 (28) B/day

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY — Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu had already gone far beyond his jurisdiction and authority as a spiritual leader, CP leader Andries Treurnicht said yesterday.

Although religious leaders had a right to their own political viewpoints and loyalties, they should not see themselves as co-governors of a country with politicians.

Referring during the Budget debate to the "tension" between Tutu and President P W Botha, Treurnicht said: "We do not welcome tension between political leaders and religious institutions."

Botha and Tutu should rather get together for discussions on an equal basis, as Christians and not in their positions as a political and a religious leader, to solve their dispute.

"Church leaders have a right to their own political viewpoints and loyalties . . . as I have. We are against the church prescribing to government, or vice versa."

Earlier in the debate, Mike Ellis (PFP Durban North) said the conflict between Botha and Tutu was "most unfortunate and can in the short and long term have severe consequences for this country.

"It is a conflict which receives much publicity in the media and which is of growing concern to many South Africans of all race groups." — Sapa.

DD 14/4/88 (28)

Papal greeting from air for PW

Daily Dispatch Correspondent

HARARE — While avoiding setting foot on South African soil, Pope John Paul II will greet President P. W. Botha as he flies over South African territory en route from Botswana to Lesotho on September 14.

This was disclosed yesterday by Archbishop Peter Buthelezi of Bloemfontein, who attended the annual meeting of Zimbabwe's Catholic bishops as an observer.

Archbishop Buthelezi said a papal stopover in South Africa during his planned tour of the front line states posed too many problems to be possible.

"How many heads of state have visited South Africa?" he asked. "One would be breaking a sort of embargo one might say."

Archbishop Buthelezi said, however, that Pope John Paul II would extend the "courtesy" of sending a message of greeting to President Botha as he flew over South Africa.

The papal pro nuncio in Mozambique and Zimbabwe, Archbishop Patrick Coveney, said he hoped the Pope's visit would be preceded by moves to end the ten year Mozambican civil war.

In a previously unthinkable sign of reconciliation between the church and President Joaquim Chissano's government, a Mozambican politburo member attended mass in Maputo.

The Catholic church still has no chaplains attached to the Frelimo government troops in the field.

"The acceptance of religion in public life has not yet reached that stage," said the Irish-born archbishop.

He and his Zimbabwe colleagues expressed pleasure at improved relations between church and state in both Zimbabwe and Mozambique.

They sent a message of support to South Africa's Catholic bishops "who are going through hard times".

Rabbi explains stand on demo

ARGUS 14/4/88 28

From ANTHONY BARKER in Johannesburg

WHEN Christian leaders took to the streets last month to protest against the Government's latest gagging of black dissent, the new Chief Rabbi of South Africa was not with them.

Rabbi Cyril Harris was not asked to join the protest, but said in an interview: "I am not a political cleric: I am a moralist. I am not sure of the wisdom of any cleric of whatever denomination taking a lead in political affairs."

During a period of unprecedented Church-State confrontation, the rabbi's view of the religious leaders' role under apartheid is the one the Government also prefers.

President P W Botha has denounced clerics such as Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu for "preaching politics" and the Government has threatened to act against them.

Rabbi Harris emphasises that their faith gives Jews special responsibilities towards black people under apartheid.

"If anyone cries in the beloved country, let it not be because of us," he quoted from his induction sermon at Johannesburg's Great Synagogue last month.

But he does not share the thirst for radical change towards black majority rule expressed by Archbishop Tutu and other religious leaders. "I prefer peaceful and constructive avenues towards a multiracial society."

He said he respected Mr Botha's reforms of apartheid but that change was coming much too slowly.

"I have been pleasantly surprised to find South Africa is not the monstrous prison state I had been led to believe," said Scottish-born Rabbi Harris, 52, who scouted out the country before leaving England to take up his delicate appointment in January.

South Africa's 120 000 Jews include many in business and the professions, giving them influence and wealth beyond their numbers. Mindful of the Jewish experience of persecution, they traditionally produce liberal, even radical, opponents of apartheid.

Progressive Federal Party MP Helen Suzman, for 35 years a thorn in the Government's side, is Jewish-born. So too is Joe Slovo, one of the few whites in the exiled leadership of the African National Congress (ANC).

In religious terms, the community covers a wide spectrum. The largest groups are traditional followed by liberals and a few orthodox sects. Rabbi Harris is a traditional rabbi in the British mould.

In the general election last May, analysts detected a swing among Jews towards the National Party. For the first time two Jews hold seats for the party, sitting opposite others representing the PFP.

"More and more Jews are drifting towards the white consensus as represented by the National Party," said Cape Town law professor Dennis Davis, of the anti-apartheid Jews for Justice.

The group has about 500 supporters among Cape Town's 20 000 Jews and supports black aspirations for a non-racial democracy.

"The Jewish ethos compels one to act against any kind of oppressive evil. The South African State is fundamentally oppressive," he said.

In contrast to demands for majority rule, Rabbi Harris emphasises the practical side of Jewish moral obligations.

"If a Jewish businessman has black employees, he should pay them above the norm. I expect Jewish housewives to treat their black servants better than average."

Some Jewish organisations help blacks with driving lessons, cookery classes and advice. Rabbi Harris has set up a think tank to work out what else can be done.

Like many Jews, he fears both a government of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) and of the ANC.

AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche wants to recreate the old Boer republics and admit blacks only as temporary workers. His brown-shirted followers, with their swastika-style flags, resemble the Nazis who murdered millions of Jews in Europe.

Rabbi Harris has seen little evidence of anti-semitism among whites, although many leaders of the National Party were once Nazi sympathizers.

He is worried by what he sees as a trend among black radicals to support the Palestine Liberation Organisation. In common with most South African Jews, Rabbi Harris firmly backs Israel and hopes to retire there.

"All decent people are terrified of the extremes getting into power," he said in the Spartan office of his modern concrete headquarters in the largely Jewish Johannesburg suburb of Yeoville.

"An ANC government may well be every bit as bad as a Terre'Blanche government," Rabbi Harris said. "The answer is evolution; not revolution."

One reason underlying the difference with Archbishop Tutu's approach is that most Anglicans are black, and voteless. After President Botha effectively banned 17 extra-parliamentary movements in February, some Christian leaders saw themselves as the last voice of opposition.

South Africa's Jews are all white, although a few blacks profess Jewish beliefs.

"This is the only church made up solely of whites, which is a disadvantage in the South African context," Rabbi Harris said. — Sapa-Reuter.

'End this conflict'

CAPE TIMES 14/4/88 (28)

Party concern at church-state row

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

BOTH the Conservative Party and the PFP expressed concern yesterday at the ongoing conflict between President P W Botha and Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

Commenting on the simmering church-state row during the Budget debate, Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said: "We do not welcome tension between political leaders and religious institutions."

Referring to the exchange of sharply-worded letters between the State President and the head of the Anglican Church, he said Mr Botha and Archbishop Tutu should rather meet for discussions on an equal basis as Christians rather than in their positions as political and religious leader to resolve their dispute.

Dr Treurnicht, a former Ned Geref Kerk dominee and editor of Kerkbode, said he did not wish to "take sides" in the dispute.

Church leaders had a right to their own political viewpoints and loyalties. However, the CP was against the church prescribing to the government or the government prescribing to churches.

"Although this does not mean there should be no points of contact, they are two separate authorities, even though both are in the service of God.

"But religious leaders should not be co-governors of our country and Archbishop Tutu has gone far in contravening this rule. He has gone far beyond the jurisdiction and authority of a spiritual leader."

Earlier, Mr Mike Ellis (PFP, Durban North) described the conflict as "most unfortunate", adding it could have "severe consequence" for the country in both the short and long term.

"It is a conflict which receives much publicity in the press and which is of growing concern to many South Africans of all race groups."

Mr Ellis said he was also concerned that while President Botha's letter of March 16 to Archbishop Tutu was issued to MPs "immediately", they had not yet received copies of the archbishop's reply.

Dr Treurnicht

Archbishop Tutu

SOWETAN, Friday, April 15, 1988 28

Sowetan 15/4/88

DRC defends leaders

By SELLO RABOTHATA

THE Synodal Commission of the Dutch Reformed Church in Africa interprets the recent attacks on some church leaders by the State President, Mr P W Botha, as a disquieting indication that an attempt is being made to silence voices of protest against injustice in Government.

This was also seen as a suspicion against church leaders who were carrying out their prophetic role.

In a statement issued by the Moderature of the church, the general synod said it noted with deep concern matters which gravely affect the relationship between the Church and State in South Africa.

The commission said it wished to seriously admonish President P W Botha, whom it said professes to be a practising Christian, to consider the possible consequences of pronouncements against church leaders.

The commission also asked Mr Botha to refrain from such actions and warned that should he continue the church would be compelled to "contradict him in the strongest possible way".

It expressed deep concern over Government action against 18 organisations.

The three-month suspension of the *New Nation* was also condemned and described as a "disastrous way which will only serve to arouse increasing resistance to the authorities".

The commission expressed displeasure with proposed Government measures to drastically reduce funds to anti-apartheid organisations.

'Govt has no moral values'

Sowetan 15/6/84 (28)

A MAJOR Roman Catholic order has entered the Church/State row by attacking the Government for its "absence of moral values" in silencing leaders, continuing to occupy Namibia and maintaining a military presence in black townships.

In a letter to the State President, Mr P W Botha, the major superiors of the Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate, representing 500 Catholic priests and monks, said they supported unconditionally the South African Catholic Bishops' Conference, other church leaders and the South African Council of Churches in their stand on "recent events" in South Africa.

"We note the absence of moral values in the silencing of local leaders who strive to verbalise the aspirations of the people of South Africa in their determination to be totally free," said the priests.

They said they decried the occupation of Namibia which was to the detriment of the Namibian people and "the unnecessary prolongation" of the war there.

"We decry the elements of destabilisation in Southern African countries, in particular where the South African Defence Force is present," they said.

The letter was signed by the chairman of the Missionary Oblates, Father H Steegmann OMI of Windhoek and the secretary Father E Risi OMI of Johannesburg. — *Sowetan Correspondent.*

CHURCH AND STATE

Dear Mr President

"I work for God's kingdom. For whose kingdom, with your apartheid policy, do you work?" That was Archbishop Desmond Tutu's bald question to State President P W Botha, in a letter delivered to Tuynhuys on Monday. Tutu was, of course, responding to Botha's challenge that Tutu state whether he was "serving the kingdom of God, or the kingdom promised by the ANC."

With a selection of texts from the Old and New Testaments, Tutu says that the "involvement of religion with politics, and the habit of religious leaders to speak into the socio-political and economic situation, can be attested to as standard practice in the Bible which provides our mandate and paradigm."

Tutu writes: "We accept wholeheartedly St Paul's teaching in Romans 13 that we should submit ourselves to earthly rulers. Their authority, however, is not absolute ... The ruler rules for the benefit of the ruled. That comes not out of a political manifesto, but from the Holy Scriptures. The corollary is that you must not submit yourself to a ruler who subverts your good. That is why we admire those who oppose unjust regimes, for example, totalitarian Communist governments. The Bible teaches that governments can become beasts in the symbolic language of the book of Revelation ... Not too many governments, nor their apologists who use Romans 13 with glee are quite so enthusiastic about its full implications nor of Revelation 13."

On Tuesday, Botha aide Leana Kitshoff told the *FM* there was "no comment" from the president at that stage.

Tutu's missive is in reply to Botha's March 16 letter to the archbishop, who sardonically hopes that Botha, as a "fair-minded person, will ask the SABC-TV to give it equally prominent coverage."

Tutu claims that Botha used their last meeting, requested solely to discuss clemency for the "Sharpeville Six" last month, as an occasion for "haranguing me about the Church leaders and our petition."

The unrepentant Tutu says: "I stand by all that I have done and said in the past concerning the application of the Gospel of Jesus Christ to the situation of injustice and oppression and exploitation which are of the very essence of apartheid, a policy which your government has carried out with ruthless efficiency."

On his alleged support of the ANC, Tutu explains: "I told you in my interview that I support the ANC in its objectives to establish a non-racial, democratic SA, but I do not support its methods. That is a statement I have made in the Supreme Court in Pretoria and on other occasions. My views have never been clandestine.

"You appointed the Eloff Commission to investigate the SACC when I was still its general secretary. Your security police investigated my personal life and looked into my bank accounts and tried to discredit me in their evidence before the commission. They were unable to find anything of which to accuse me. Not even Craig Williamson could produce evidence that I held different views to those I had expressed in public.

"You know I went to Lusaka twice last year. I tried to persuade the ANC to suspend the armed struggle, that is a matter of public record. I reject atheistic Marxism as I reject apartheid, which I find equally abhorrent and evil. Transfer of power to the people of SA means exactly that."

The turbulent priest asks Botha to "kindly confirm whether you include me in the paragraph in your letter to the Reverend Frank Chikane which reads: 'You love and praise the ANC/SACP with its Marxist and atheistic ideology, landmines, bombs and necklaces ...' because as supporting evidence you then quote what I said in St Paul's Cathedral, London."

Tutu says "the Bible teaches that what invests each person with infinite value is not this or that arbitrarily chosen biological attribute, but the fact that each person is created in the image of God (Genesis 1:26). Apartheid, the policy of your government, claims that what makes a person qualify for privilege and political power is that biological irrelevance, the colour of a person's skin and his ethnic antecedents.

"That is clearly at variance with the teaching of the Bible and the teaching of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Hence the Church's criticism that your apartheid policies are not only unjust and oppressive. They are positively unbiblical, unchristian, immoral and evil.

"Apartheid has said that ultimately people are intended for separation ... The Bible teaches quite unequivocally that people are created for fellowship, for togetherness, not for alienation, apartness, enmity and division." In dealing with human beings "as if they were less than those who are created in the image of God," says Tutu, "you have contravened basic ethical tenets."

Tutu advises Botha: "I would say if you were to lift the State of Emergency, unban all our political organisations, release all detainees and political prisoners and permit exiles to return and then say you would be ready to sit down with the authentic representatives and leaders of every section of our society to negotiate the dismantling of apartheid and drawing up of a new Constitution, I would say to our people: 'Please give him a chance. He is talking real change'."

The letter ends: "I pray for you, as I do for your ministerial colleagues, every day by name. God bless you." ■

Church-State row: Opposition MPs unite

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

Argus 15/4/88 (28)

OPPOSITION parties in the Assembly, from the Conservative Party to the Progressive Federal Party and the National Democratic Movement, are unusually united in their concern about the Church-State confrontation.

Speakers from these parties have expressed concern about the continuing row between President Botha and Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

The matter may be raised again in a debate on the President's Vote in the Assembly next week.

A spokesman for the President's Office said today there was no reaction to Archbishop Tutu's letter sent to Mr Botha last week in reply to an earlier letter from the President.

The matter was raised again in Parliament yesterday when Mr Peter Gastrow (NDM Durban Central) accused the Government of "hijacking" Christianity to prop up its "fading" legitimacy.

He said the result was a holy war in which the Government was painting all those who opposed it as the forces of darkness.

The previous day the Leader of the Opposition, Dr Andries Treurnicht, also raised the matter.

He said tension between President Botha and Archbishop Tutu was "not welcome" and called for them to meet as Christians and not as political and religious leaders respectively.

Dr Treurnicht said his party did not welcome tensions between political parties and church leaders.

The PFP MP for Durban North, Mr Mike Ellis, said the consequences of the conflict between President Botha and Archbishop Tutu could be severe for South Africa.

● See page 12.

(28)

Naude hits out at NGK allegations

By CHARL DE VILLIERS

CHURCH leaders have vigorously denied claims that South African churches were being abused for revolutionary purposes, as alleged by the Rev Lafras Moolman in a recent article in the Kerkbode.

Quoted in the April 6 edition of the official mouthpiece of the Ned Geref Kerk, Mr Moolman warned NGK churches of being used as "implements for the revolutionary transfer of power.

"For the ANC and the SA Communist Party, the end justifies the means — and the end has little bearing on the Kingdom of God and everything to do with the overthrow of the status quo," he said.

He accused Dr Beyers Naude, former secretary of the SA Council of Churches, of encouraging church support for "worker and student struggles". He said Dr Naude had advocated that churches oppose, and if necessary break, "unjust" laws.

He also accused Dr Naude of approving the link between the ANC and the SACP.

'Just demands'

Reacting to the allegations, Dr Naude said he had repeatedly stressed that churches identify with the "lawful and just" demands of black workers and youths. "If we do not do so, a situation will arise where thousands of workers and youths will turn their backs upon the church," he said.

It was obvious that this support would be determined by evangelical norms, Dr Naude said.

Accused of propagating civil disobedience, Dr Naude said Romans 13 expected citizens to subject themselves to the authority of the state — except when the state disobeyed the laws of God.

SACP

Dr Naude said the SACP was the only organization which had publicly supported the ANC during its 48 years as a legal organization.

He was merely acknowledging a "historical fact" when mentioning the link between the two organizations, he said.

Tutu's challenge to PW

By KAREN EVANS

THE Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, Desmond Tutu, this week challenged State President PW Botha to nominate a theologian from his church to debate the issue that apartheid is unbiblical.

Tutu was replying by letter to a personal letter Botha sent to him last month. Botha's letter drew a parallel between Tutu and the African National Congress and South African Communist Party.

Tutu offered to provide Botha with evidence that "your apartheid policies are unbiblical, unchristian, immoral and evil."

He denied that he had deviated from the teachings of the church and enclosed statements of support from his bishops.

"I want to submit respectfully that it is more likely that they would be better judges of the orthodoxy of my position than the state president and his advisors, theological and otherwise."

He made biblical references citing apartheid as a "immoral" and using the United States as an example showing it is "impossible to carry out a policy of separate but equal".

"Quite unabashedly (apartheid policies) are intended to be separate but unequal. Just note the grossly unfair distribution of land between black and white or the unequal expenditure on black and white education."

Tutu challenged the state president to provide proof to back his statements — in particular that he had been photographed preaching under a flag with a hammer and sickle.

Tutu continued: "I want you to know that I have never listened to Radio Freedom, nor do I have the opportunity to read *Sechaba*" (an ANC publication).

"My theological position derives from the Bible and from the teaching of the church. The Bible and the church predate Marxism and the ANC by several centuries," he said.

Tutu has considered taking legal action against the state president with regard to Botha's allegations.

At the Southern African Bishops General Synod this week, the bishops drew up a resolution identifying themselves "completely" with the archbishop's letter.

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President and preacher — powerful sons of Africa

Archbishop Tutu.

BRENDAN SEERY

WINDHOEK — Within the past 10 days, two of South Africa's most influential men came to Namibia, they saw and, each in his own way, conquered.

Mr Pieter Willem Botha and Archbishop Desmond Tutu could not be further apart in terms of race, ideology or public performing style.

Yet, the defender of white South Africa and staunch Dutch Calvinist has more in common with the Anglican church's Archbishop and prophet of a "brave new world" than might at first be supposed.

One has only to look into their eyes to know that here are two sons of Africa who believe fervently that right is on their side, who are acutely conscious of their sense of mission, and who recognise their own power and influence.

In the high-ceilinged colonial grandeur of South West Africa House (the official residence of the Administrator-General in Windhoek), President Botha is the sub-continent's fluent power broker. Moving among the politicians of the six-party transitional government, other Namibian political figures and press people, Mr Botha holds the spotlight.

In his conservative, blue pin-striped suit, he is no longer as quick physically as he used to be. But when he moves into the negotiating room carrying his finely crafted ostrich-skin case (with handles, it resembles a cross between a briefaces and a handbag), everyone is acutely aware that here is a man who means business.

During discussion with the transitional government, Mr Botha is confronted on the question of the immunity granted to the "Windhoek Six", the six SADF soldiers charged with murder whom Mr Botha protected.

His inquisitor is Mr Regiee Diergaardt, young, left-leaning leader of the coloured Labour Party. Mr Botha expertly deflects the question by saying how glad he is to meet Mr Diergaardt and how he believes the young man will go a long way in politics. "But," he adds in finger-wagging tone, "you still have a lot to learn."

The press conference after the talks is handled in typically confident, brusque "P W style". He takes a few minutes to slam the Namibia Peace Plan 435 lobby group, which has posed a number of questions to him concerning Namibian independence, in advertisments in local daily newspapers.

One after another of their questions is dismissed by Mr Botha as a "dom vraag" (dumb question). He is similarly to-the-point when revealing that South Africa will take a firmer, no-nonsense stand on Namibian internal politics in the near future.

All the while, his eyes have a combative, self-assured gleam.

That gleam is again in evidence on Sunday morning in the dusty crowded township of Katutura, this time in the eyes of Archbishop Tutu as he sweeps through a congregation of 2 000 people in an evangelistic style which is "great footage" for the foreign TV crews who have flown in to Windhoek from South Africa.

His charisma is almost a physical presence as he rails against aparthied, calls on South Africa to leave Namibia and tells people that God is on their side. He dances with fellow worshippers as they try to raise the church roof with the upbeat hymn "Celebration".

Behind him, 18 of the Anglican church's southern African bishops join in the joyful and exuberant worship (Archbishop Tutu has certainly "discoed-up" the staid church in recent years).

It is an approachable Archbishop Tutu (his T-shirt "Just call me Arch" comes to mind) who talks during a break from the episcopal synod, being held for the first time in Windhoek.

In T-shirt and shorts, with socks and sandals, he does not look like an Archbishop. But there is a righteous fire in his eyes as he explains why he sent his letter to President Botha, and how he takes his "marching orders" from God and not from the ANC or the SA Communist Party.

President Botha.

power they should trust

Army to withhold names of victims

Cape Times 27/4/88

Political Staff

THE Defence Minister, General Magnus Malan, will in future not divulge the names of people killed in SADF raids.

He was insisting, in spite of strong denials by the Botswana government, that one of the men killed in a pre-emptive commando strike in Gaborone this month was 41-year-old Mr Solomon Molefe, regional military commander of the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Botswana denied that it was Mr Molefe, claiming that the victim was Mr Charles Makoena and that neither he, nor one of the women killed, were members of the ANC.

However, General Malan told Parliament in reply to a question yesterday by Mr Roger Hulley, PFP Constantia, that Charles Makoena was one of the aliases used by Mr Molefe.

He was also known as Patrick Mvudla, Boy Aubrey Moloi, Sandile, Mbele, Sipho Siphete and Molotshe.

"As a result of the general practice among terrorists to use aliases and the circumstances that exist during such operations, it is almost impossible to positively identify all the bodies in all cases."

"The names and particulars of the dead thus given can be abused by the enemy for its own purposes. Consequently, I do not intend to divulge the names of fatalities in future," he said.

He said two other men had been killed in the raid but had not been positively identified.

A Botswanan woman, Ms Masego Ikgopoleng, also known as Ketshabile, was also killed in the raid.

Rent control off 905 units

Political Staff

THE first stage of the phasing-out of rent control had resulted in the exemption of 905 dwelling units in the Cape Peninsula, the Minister of Local Government and Housing, Mr Amie Venter, said yesterday.

He confirmed in reply to a question from Mr Ken Andrew (PFP, Gardens) that his department had issued a notice in February last year under the heading "Phasing Out of Rent Control".

Notices were distributed in Bantry Bay, Clifton, Camps Bay, Bakoven, Hout Bay, Llandudno, Fresnaye, Rondebosch, Constantia, Bergvliet, Milnerton, Woodstock, University Estate, Bloubergstrand, Lansdowne and Pinelands.

ARGUS 18/4/88

28

Tutu asks Europe to step up pressure

MADRID. — Archbishop Desmond Tutu says European countries are not doing enough to help end race discrimination in South Africa by putting economic pressure on Pretoria.

Referring to Western nations he said: "It is really up to you whether South Africa is going to become a more democratic country peacefully or violently."

Speaking on his arrival here to record a television interview, he said there was still hope for a peaceful solution for South Africa.

SHARPEVILLE SIX

Referring to the Sharpeville Six, Archbishop Tutu said he expected repercussions in South Africa if they were executed.

"Like any death it is something to be opposed and it is something for which people will feel sorry ... there will be a lot of pain and anguish and it is possible they might be provoked into acts of protest."

The six were granted a month's reprieve a month ago.

● It is reported from London that Lord Scarman, a retired British Law Lord, has appealed to President Botha to reprieve the Sharpeville Six.

After reviewing a transcript of the court proceedings, he says in a World in Action television programme to be screened tonight that he thinks there is not enough evidence for a safe conviction. The Court of Appeal in Britain would have overturned the verdict, he says. — Foreign Service and Sapa-Reuter.

Tutu asks EC to warn SA not to halt foreign funds

SMM 10/4/88 (28)

BRUSSELS — Archbishop Desmond Tutu called on the European Community (EC) yesterday to take united action to stop the South African Government legislating against the inflow of foreign funds.

Speaking at the opening of the General Assembly of Development Non-Governmental Organisations, Archbishop Tutu said the EC should tell the Government it would be compelled to act should the Promotion of Internal Orderly Politics Bill, aimed at curbing foreign funding of activities in South Africa, be passed.

Among steps EC countries could take if the Government failed to heed its appeals could be to break or scale down diplomatic relations, to deny landing rights to SAA, to suspend telecommunications for a set period and to deny South Africa access to the world's financial markets.

The Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town said the EC should call on the Government to lift the state of emergency, free political prisoners and detainees, unban political organisations and move to negotiate with authentic representatives of all South Africans.

He used the international platform to focus attention on the detention of a Cape Town Anglican church worker, Mr Ngconde Balfour, a member of the KTC mediating committee, last week.

Events such as Mr Balfour's detention showed that people no longer "expressed a sufficient degree of outrage" at what was happening in South Africa.

"We want it to end. All we want is that we all should be citizens of a united South Africa."

He said the Government had chosen a military option and was determined to crush all opposition outside approved limits.

"The South African Government knows it will always be protected from the consequences of its actions because they know their friends in Bonn, No 10 Downing Street and the White House will apply their veto.

"Please don't tell us sanctions don't work. Why have you then applied them to Panama, Nicaragua, Poland and Argentina?"

ARGUS 19/4/88 (28)

Row flares as NGK attacks own minister

By KAREN STANDER
Religion Reporter

THE Ned Geref Kerk newspaper has refused to publish a minister's reply after attacking him in an editorial for criticising the church and defending Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Dr Allan Boesak.

The editor of the Kerkbode, Dr Frits Gaum, confirmed he had refused to publish the letter and had sent it back to the Rev Herbert Brand of St Stephen's congregation in Cape Town.

Mr Brand was welcome to submit the letter again if he rewrote it, he said.

The attack in the Kerkbode followed a letter by Mr Brand to The Argus saying he was deeply distressed that his church leadership had attacked Archbishop Tutu and Dr Boesak "while positively fawning on a Government which persists in making a mockery of the call of the Word of God to love, justice and humility".

In his editorial, Dr Gaum said it was "strange" Mr Brand had used the public Press to attack the church of which he was a minister.

He denied Mr Brand's accusation that the Kerkbode and the NGK had taken part in a campaign against Archbishop Tutu and Dr Boesak. It was true, especially in the case of Dr Boesak, that they had scrutinised some statements and questioned certain actions.

In his reply, Mr Brand said it was clear the NGK, like the Government, was becoming increasingly intolerant of public criticism "while reserving the right to abuse the 'enemy' — all who disagree with 'official' views — at will".

"The hierarchy of the church may, with impunity, attack ministers of the Church of Christ (albeit not of the NGK!) from its collective pontifical throne — and such attacks may appear with bold headlines on the front pages of newspapers.

"When, however, a letter of protest against such an attack is published in The Argus, this is so heinous a crime that it verges on a mortal sin."

In a letter to Mr Brand, Dr Gaum objected to the tone of his reply and the language used.

10

Church must support Tutu — NGK priest

(28)

Cape Times 21/4/88

BY TONY SPENCER-SMITH

A WHITE Ned Geref Kerk minister, the Rev Herbert Brand, says that, far from attacking Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Dr Allan Boesak, the church should align itself with their struggle for justice.

Mr Brand made it clear in an interview with the Cape Times yesterday that he will continue to speak out against his own church, despite the attack on him in the Kerkbode recently.

Mr Brand's church, St Stephen's, in central Cape Town, which has a coloured congregation, is the only non-white congregation within the white NGK.

For many years, Mr Brand has been the rebel priest of the NGK, criticizing his church publicly in strong terms for failing to divorce itself completely from apartheid.

He said it was quite wrong for his church to support State President P W Botha in his attacks on prominent churchmen.

"People like Tutu and Boesak are taking their stand on scriptural grounds, and I believe the NGK should be there with them.

"Imagine how different things could be if the NGK were true to its calling and came out and said 'these people are right, the essential principles they're enunciating are correct'."

REBEL DOMINEE ... Fighting Ned Geref Kerk minister the Rev Herbert Brand at his home yesterday.

Botha and Tutu toe to toe

(28) 21-27/4/88

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu and State President PW Botha — the two chief protagonists in the deepening conflict between the State and the Church — seem to be involved in an elaborate game of chess.

Each carefully-considered move is being played out before the full glare of the world's media.

There have been smaller clashes in the past where Tutu, the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize winner, managed to come off best.

Tutu's calls to the international community to impose sanctions and his campaign to get Western countries to break diplomatic relations with South Africa incensed Botha — but no legal action was taken against the Archbishop.

However, Botha seems determined not to lose this latest encounter. A lot more than pride is now at stake. This is how the seven-week clash started.

February 29: Tutu, Dr Allan Boesak, the SA Council of Churches' the Rev Frank Chikane and about 150 other churchmen are arrested outside St George's Cathedral after attempting to march to Parliament.

The petition protested against the government's clampdown on 17 organisations.

Several clergymen are hosed by policemen using a water cannon.

March 2: Speaking in parliament, Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok — one of the president's most active supporters — claims that clergymen like Tutu are "hiding behind the cloak of sanctimoniousness".

March 7: Tutu, Boesak and others launch "The Committee for the Defence of Democracy" in response to the government's crackdown on anti-apartheid opposition.

March 12: Vlok restricts the new organisation and bans a rally organised by members of the Committee for March 13 at the University of the Western Cape.

March 13: Speaking at a detainees' support service at St George's Cathedral, Tutu accuses the Government of being the greatest threat to public safety in South Africa.

He claims members of the present Government — including Botha — supported the Ossewabrandwag when it committed sabotage to undermine the South Africa war effort during World War Two.

"If their own laws were used against them, they would be found guilty of terrorism," says Tutu.

March 16: The Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference, in a joint pastoral letter, expresses "profound dismay" at State actions against the church.

March 16: Tutu meets with Botha at Tuynhuys to ask the president to grant clemancy to the Sharpeville Six.

In the stormy 45-minute meeting Tutu claims Botha "lambasted and threatened" him.

"He said I was looking for trouble and would get it. I told him to go ahead."

Botha accuses Tutu of "having preached under a flag depicting the hammer and sickle" and claims he had photographs to prove the charge.

Botha uses the meeting to hand to Tutu a letter he has written in reply to one he received from the Archbishop along with the petition.

State's actions

March 17: The letter receives widespread publicity. In it Botha questions Tutu's "understanding of evil" and challenges him to declare whether he is "acting on behalf of the Kingdom of God, or the kingdom promised by the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party".

"You owe all Christians an explanation of your standpoint," Botha says.

March 22: Anglican bishops from throughout Southern Africa hold an emergency meeting in Johannesburg to discuss the threat of government action against Tutu. The Right Rev Keith Sutton arrives from England to show solidarity.

In a statement the bishops claim the Ned Geref Kerk and the government have launched an attack on Tutu and Boesak which is aimed at portraying them as Marxists and isolating them from their churches as a prelude to State action against them.

Sutton says the message from the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Anglican Church is clear: "You touch one of our bishops and you touch us all."

At a press conference Tutu challenges the Government to do its worst. He emphasises he will not obey a banning or restriction order, and that they will have to jail him.

March 23: The general purposes committee of the South African Council of Churches (SACC) announces it has cancelled a meeting scheduled for March 28 with the Ned Geref Kerk.

The organisation says it is "shocked" at the attack on Tutu and other church leaders by the church's general synodal commission, which stated, among other things, that Tutu and Boesak were "on the road to disaster".

March 24: Unexpected support for Tutu is expressed in a letter to the press by an NGK m[illegible] Rev Herbert Brand, of [illegible], who writes:

"It is cau[illegible] deep distress to me that the Ned Geref Kerk leadership has launched an attack on Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Dr Allan Boesak, while positively fawning on a Government which persists in making a mockery of the call of the word of God to love, justice and humility."

March 24: Botha replies to a letter he received from SACC general secretary Frank Chikane about the attack of the archbishop.

In his letter Botha tells Chikane it is a "flagrant misrepresentation" to say he had singled out the Archbishop for criticism.

Botha also accuses the SACC of "loving" the ANC and the SACP and of "embracing their call for violence, hatred, sanctions, insurrection and revolution".

Botha adds that he has always striven to conduct his personal life and his service as president according to the principles of Christianity. The letter receives substantial coverage on SABC.

March 25: Tutu's press secretary John Allen reveals the Anglican Church is considering taking legal action against Botha and the SABC since Botha's letter "linked Archbishop Desmond in the public mind to landmines, necklaces, hatred and revolution".

March 25: The NGK Sendingkerk cancels important unity talks with its white counterpart and claims one of the reasons is the "vicious" attack by the synodal commission on Boesak and Tutu.

March 28: Boesak makes public his assassination fears and says he sees a link between the death threats and the heightened conflict between the Church and State.

March 30: Questioned in parliament, Vlok admits the Eloff Commission had not found that the SA Council of Churches was lending financial or other support to "terrorist" movements.

April 6: Forty-five theologians accuse Botha of being "unchristian" in his attack on church leaders Tutu, Boesak and Chikane.

April 11: The Archbishop replies to the letter he received from the president with an eight-page letter delivered to Tuynhuys.

In the letter Tutu describes the apartheid policies as "positively unbiblical, unchristian, immoral and evil".

Kingdom of God

He reiterates that he has never been photographed preaching beneath a flag depicting the hammer and sickle as alleged by Botha.

"I want to state the obvious: I am a Christian religious leader. By definition that surely means I reject communism and Marxism as atheistic and materialistic. I try to work for the extension of the Kingdom of God.

"For whose kingdom do you work with your apartheid policy? I pray for you, as I do for your ministerial colleagues, every day, by name."

The SABC does not broadcast Tutu's reply.

April 13: The Geref Kerk mouthpiece, Die Kerkbode, says the church has "new information" on the way in which revolutionary forces are abusing religion and the church.

April 14 : The opposition parties in the House of Assembly voice a common concern about the Church-State confrontation.

National Democratic Movement MP Mr Peter Gastrow accuses the Government of "hijacking" Christianity to prop up its "fading" legitimacy.

April 17: Archbishop Tutu, fresh from a highly-publicised visit to Namibia, flies to Europe. In Lisbon he urges Portugal to use its position in the ECC to press for tougher trade sanctions on South Africa.

President criticises churches

Star 22/4/88 (28)

CAPE TOWN — The State President, Mr PW Botha, told Parliament yesterday the Government was not in conflict with the churches and did not wish to be so.

But there were a few church leaders attempting to create the impression of a church/State confrontation.

Under the auspices of the World Council of Churches and the South African Council of Churches it was alleged the Government was "illegitimate".

Accordingly, some churchmen were "encouraging the downfall of the Government and the transfer of power to the ANC".

He accused them of trying to isolate South Africa in economic and other fields without caring about the detrimental results.

Govt 'is trying to divide PFP and church over Tutu'

Star 22/4/88

(28)

Political Staff

Senior Progressive Federal Party members yesterday accused the Government of trying to drive a wedge between the party and the church on the issue of Archbishop Desmond Tutu and sanctions.

Challenged by President Botha to repudiate Archbishop Tutu's calls for sanctions, the PFP members said they had spoken out against sanctions more than most.

FOLLOW-UP

And once PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin and his veteran colleague Mrs Helen Suzman had clearly repudiated Archbishop Tutu's sanctions call, the Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha tried to draw them further, asking for their repudiation of the Archbishop's "indirect" plea for violence.

"The important thing is: do you associate yourself with some of Tutu's other statements," said Mr Botha, after thanking the PFP for their stand on sanctions.

"You should stand up and make clear your opposition to this man who is indirectly pleading for violence," said Mr Botha.

President Botha ... challenges PFP.

Mr Eglin criticised President Botha earlier for his "petulance and aggression".

Instead of responding to valid questions and concerns about where the President was leading the country expressed by Mr Eglin at the outset of the debate, President Botha had berated the PFP with "his old-fashioned aggressiveness".

Mr Eglin said his party opposed all calls for sanctions, including those from Archbishop Tutu.

The PFP had submitted evidence to the Congressional sub-committee calling for greater involvement rather than further withdrawal, he said.

His party had done more than most in attempting to convince the international community that sanctions were counter-productive.

The President had announced that blacks could vote in the Electoral College. This was only significant if blacks were an integral part of the process of government and not "locked into a minority", said Mr Eglin.

He challenged the President to state clearly whether he was committed to the principle of blacks having direct involvement in central government.

TANNIE ROW

Mrs Suzman: "Now the President challenges my leader to repudiate Tutu. We have done nothing but repudiate sanctions for the past 10 years. And don't call me *tannie* again because then I'll have to call you *oomie*."

(Mr Botha addressed Mrs Suzman as "tannie" during his speech on Wednesday evening.)

Mr Botha: "Do you reject Tutu's advocacy of sanctions?"

Mrs Suzman: "Yes, but there's never been any doubt about that. Don't try and drive a wedge between us and the church now. Stick to your own problems."

PW issues warning to church leaders

RDM 22/4/88 Political Correspondent (28)

CAPE TOWN — The State President, Mr P. W. Botha, yesterday reiterated that the state was not looking for a confrontation with the church.

He said, however, that he was aware certain members of the clergy deliberately pursued a path of confrontation.

He issued a veiled threat to church leaders like Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Dr Allan Boesak, saying the recent march they led on parliament was "initiated with a view to cheap publicity".

Such actions, he said, were aimed at "deliberately challenging the authority of the state and contravening the laws of the land".

Some church leaders both at home and abroad were waging propaganda campaigns "based on misrepresentation and falsehood".

Mr Botha mentioned a call made by Archbishop Tutu recently for "sanctions against our country".

Such people, he said, took the lead in isolating South Africa in the economic and other fields without caring about the results.

DR BOESAK

They were playing into the hands of the ANC, which was propagated the same approach with regard to the revolutionary role of the church.

It was unacceptable for any government if church leaders approved and encouraged by implication "revolutionary violence in the name of Christianity".

"Certain church leaders who go out of their way to provoke the government into action.

"I urgently appeal to them to abandon this attitude and not to misuse their position."

D/D 23/4/88

Tutu slams proposed reform deal

28

LONDON — The Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Reverend Desmond Tutu, slammed the decision announced by South Africa's State President, Mr P. W. Botha, to break the reform logjam as "merely making slight adjustments to apartheid".

Archbishop Tutu, on a visit to Birmingham where he opened a school named in honour of Nelson Mandela, said the South african Government was "moving the furniture around in a room that remained the same".

He said Mr Botha could not get rid of the apartheid system by "throwing crumbs of concessions".

Archbishop Tutu appealed to Mr Botha to agree to negotiations with the authentic leaders of every section of the community about ways of dismantling apartheid.

He said it was a waste of time to make apartheid "more comfortable". Apartheid is so evil that it must be removed from the face of the Earth."

The Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) said Mr Botha's announcement had far-reaching significance.

"With the present ratio of whites, coloureds and Indians in the electoral college 4:2:1, blacks outside the self-governing states would also have to gain representation in the con the basis of numbers."

The HNP noted that, "even if they only get 12 representatives, this would increase the number of non-whites to 50 — equal to those of the whites".

"The possiblity also exists that a party with a minority in the House of Assembly could well elect its leader as State President with the support of coloureds, Indians and blacks."

The party said that in prevailing circumstances the National Party could lose its majority position in the House of Assembly, but nevertheless get its State President elected with the support of non-white representatives in the electoral college.

It added that "this is apparently the chief motive behind the amendment to the Constitution".

The Director of the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba, Professor Dawid van Wyk, said that Mr Botha's notion of calling a Great Indaba, was to be welcomed as it involved all South Africa's key political leaders.

ARCHBISHOP TUTU

MR BOTHA

Prof Van Wyk said the Indaba had already proved the viability of negotiation politics and should serve as a particularly appropriate example.

"The State President's observation that the government is drawing on several constitutional models to develop a uniquely South African system is also encouraging, suggesting that the Indaba proposals should form part of such an initiative."

"Most significant is the State President's continued commitment to reform even in the face of increasingly agrresive right-wing pressures," he added.

The United Municipalities of South Africa (Umsa) reacted optimistically to the proposals.

Umsa said it welcomed, in particular, the recognition by the government that blacks could not be excluded forever from participating in highest level of government.

"But, despite the positive aspect of the announcement, we still find it unfortunate that Mr Botha has not spelled out in any great detail what the government intends with the proposed regional councils.

"If these regional councils are intended to become second class legislative bodies in an attempt to direct the aspirations of blacks away from the supreme legislative body in the country, Parliament, the government can expect further opposition organisations committed to democracy," it added.

Umsa said it was far too early to comment on the the proposed participation of blacks in the Electoral College because Mr Botha had not spelled out how the representatives would be elected and how the population ratio for electees would be amended. — DDC-Sapa

Methodist Church is suspicious of advert

Star 28 25/4/88

Highveld Bureau

Methodist Church secretary-general the Rev Stanley Mogoba has questioned whether there was a Government link with the controversial R8 700 "peace church" advertisement which appeared in a newspaper last weekend.

"I hope not," said Mr Mogoba, "but we are worried that some right-wingers are trying to cause trouble in our church".

The Church's president, Dr Khoza Mgojo, has appealed to Ermelo businessman Mr Keith Mitchell to reveal the name of the man who placed the advertisement.

The 20 cm by 30 cm advertisement, purporting to have been inserted by an organisation called the "Movement for Concerned Methodists", appeared in the *Sunday Times* on April 17.

Mr Mitchell's telephone number appeared in the advertisement.

When The Star spoke to Mr Mitchell about the advertisement he said he could not reveal the identity of the person who placed it.

Cape Times 26/4/88

Kidnap case man for trial

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Denzil Bruce Mellors, 19, of Brakpan North, who is accused of kidnapping and holding hostage a South African Council of Churches secretary at Khotso House, Johannesburg, earlier this month, is fit to stand trial, a magistrate here heard yesterday.

State psychiatrist Dr Michael Slutzkin told the court he had examined Mr Mellors on April 20. There was no evidence of mental disorder and Mr Mellors was able to follow court proceedings. He was fully aware of what he was doing at the time of commission, although he appeared to have been acting under an exaggerated sense of fear, which could be ascribed to his youthfulness. — Sapa

DR BOESAK MRS THATCHER ZOLA BUDD

DTD 27/4/88

28

Boesak: Thatcher more concerned for Budd than for jailed children

GABORONE — The anti-apartheid leader, the Reverend Allan Boesak, yesterday accused the British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, of showing less concern for imprisoned black children than for the future of Zola Budd.

Dr Boesak was speaking at a news conference in the Botswana capital, where he is chairing a conference of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches.

He said Western nations, particularly Britain and West Germany, held the key to the South African problem.

"Mrs Thatcher has more concern for Zola Budd not participating in the Olympics than for black children languishing in prisons in South Africa."

Dr Boesak dismissed recent threats by the South African Government to crack down on anti-apartheid clergymen.

"Should the South African Government try to ban me, they can throw me in jail every other week. I will not be told when to preach, where to preach and to whom to preach. I fear God more than the government of South Africa."

He said the solution to South Africa's future would not be found in reforms announced by the State President.

"Apartheid cannot be reformed, it can only be totally and fundamentally eradicated. Anything that Mr Botha proposes will still entrench apartheid," Dr Boesak said. — Sapa-RNS

Boesak slates Thatcher

GABORONE — The Rev Allan Boesak yesterday accused British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of showing less concern for imprisoned black children than for the future of Zola Budd.

Speaking in the Botswana capital, he said: "Mrs Thatcher has more concern for Zola Budd not participating in the Olympics than for black children languishing in prisons in SA."

He also dismissed recent threats by government to crack down on anti-apartheid clergymen.

28

B/day 27/4/88

I acted childishly, Mellors tells court

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Denzil Bruce Mellors would have preferred to take the head of the South African Council of Churches, the Rev Frank Chikane, as a hostage, the Regional Court here was told yesterday.

Sergeant Felix Tiedt said this in evidence for the state in opposing a bail application.

It is alleged Mr Mellors held secretary Beverley Fasser hostage in Khotso House on April 11 in protest against Bishop Desmond Tutu's "communist ties" and the Methodist Church's stand on border duty.

He is facing charges of kidnapping, a charge under the Explosives Act, of possession of an unlicensed firearm, possession of ammunition and theft of a firearm.

Mr Mellors told the court that he had strong religious and political beliefs and had gone to Khotso House to get information on rumours that he had heard.

"What happened that day was not meant to happen. I regret it knowing I acted childishly and stupidly."

He took a firearm for protection.

He was granted R2 500 bail and the case was adjourned till May 27.

Cape Times 27/4/88

'Budd put before child detainees'

GABORONE. — Dr Allan Boesak yesterday accused British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher of showing less concern for imprisoned black children than for the future of controversial runner Zola Budd.

Speaking at a news conference in the Botswana capital, where he is chairing a conference of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, Dr Boesak said Western nations, particularly Britain and West Germany, held the key to the South African problem.

But "Mrs Thatcher has more concern for Zola Budd not participating in the Olympics than for black children languishing in prisons in South Africa", he said.

Budd is threatened by an International Amateur Athletics Federation ban for allegedly taking part in athletics meetings in South Africa.

Dr Boesak also dismissed recent threats by Pretoria to crack down on anti-apartheid clergymen.

"Should the South African government try to ban me, they can throw me in jail every other week. I will not be told when to preach, where to preach and to whom to preach. I fear God more than the government of South Africa."

Dr Boesak said the solution to South Africa's future would not be found in reforms announced by President P W Botha.

"Apartheid cannot be reformed; it can only be totally and fundamentally eradicated. Anything that Botha proposes will still entrench apartheid," he said. — Sapa-Reuter

Airlifts from besieged town

NOUMEA, New Caledonia. — Paramilitary units yesterday moved to reassert French control over a town held for days by separatist rebels, the Minister for Overseas Territories, Mr Bernard Pons, said.

But Canala, where Melanesian separatists have besieged a police barracks since Sunday in election-related violence, remained cut off as authorities evacuated European settlers by air.

Major military operations continued on the outlying island of Ouvea, where 300 police and soldiers searched rugged bush country for 16 gendarmes taken hostage by Melanesian rebels at a barracks last week. — UPI

Argus 27/4/88

Couple fight deportation

WASHINGTON. — A South African couple, both members of the African National Congress, appeared in court yesterday to fight a deportation order.

Olive Shisana, 36, and William Shisana, 37, who have lived in the United States for 12 years, are contesting the refusal of the US to grant them political asylum on grounds they hold Tanzanian travel documents and could return to Tanzania.

A decision on their fate was postponed till today, when the court will hear testimony from the Shisanas, who have a daughter and a son who both hold US passports. — Sapa-Reuter

Durban advocate's killers to hang

DURBAN. — Three robbers who murdered Durban advocate Mr Lucas Botha after he was lured to a deserted spot by a prostitute, were all sentenced to death by Mr Justice Wilson in the Supreme Court here yesterday.

Sipho Emmanuel Nyide, 22, Lucky Clerment Luthuli, 19, and Jeffrey Bongani Bhengu, 23, were convicted of murdering and robbing Mr Botha near Umgeni Road on July 22 last year.

They were each sentenced to seven years' imprisonment for robbing him.

Beverly Gabela, 18, the prostitute girlfriend of Luthuli who lured Mr Botha to where he was murdered, was sentenced to four years for robbery. Half the sentence was suspended for five years. She was acquitted of murder. Gabela was instructed by her lover and pimp, Luthuli, to take a client to a spot where he could be robbed. — Sapa

Bulga

Staff Reporter

CITY stores are the un witting victim of fiendish Eastern-blo plot — South Africa rands in exchange fo American high-tech nology.

And the key to th deal? Bulgarian tooth paste, of course.

Consumers seekin "whiter-than-white" dentals were happy t settle for a Kisss in tube — the Bulgaria toothpaste that cost considerably less fo quite a lot more.

Little value

According to th senior group produ manager of Colgat Palmolive, Mr Herbe Starik, East-bloc cu rencies have litt value when it comes buying American hig technology.

Consequently Czechoslovakia an Russia market the Skoda and Lad vehicles in the Wes and Bulgaria sell "Kissses" in Sout Africa.

By "dumping" the goods on Western ma kets, the East earns th foreign exchange e sential for the pu chase of things such American computer said Mr Starik.

He also said th toothpaste did not ha to be tested by th South African Bure of Standards before went on the shelves.

Devoid of any truth — ministers

(28) South 28/4 – 4/5/88

WE, the undersigned ministers of the NG Sendingkerk in SA, have with great aversion taken notice of the editorial in "Die Burger" of April 12 1988 suggesting that the NG Sendingkerk was deeply divided.

Such a standpoint is not only devoid of all truth, but it is seen by us as a reprehensible and consciously orchestrated attack to hamper and undo the task and responsibility of a witnessing church.

As the deepest character and testimony of our church is affected in such a way, it is the religious responsibility of every true Christian in this country not to remain silent about it.

The Sendingkerk has always tried to fulfil and proclaim its responsiblity to the true Gospel with all its consequences. The church has indeed confessed: Jesus Christ is the Lord.

The kingship of Christ demands that Christ be acknowledged as Lord in all spheres of life. It is definitely not a cheap kingship, but one that ensures justice, one that does not keep people apart through legislation and selfishness, but one that teaches people to love one another.

Because we, like many others, are disciples of this kingship, we believe with the whole Reformed tradition that Christians have a responsibility in this world. This responsibility without any doubt also includes politics.

Injustice

Therefore the Sendingkerk has never hesitated to resist all injustices done against God's children. The church is also irrevocably committed to it in future on account of its union with Christ's kingship in this world.

To allege now that the church is being prescribed to by the ANC, and the NG Kerk, who has now joined the Government alleging that the church was misused by radicals, is not only utter fabrication, but a conscious effort to hold up the sin of apartheid as "holy" and "scriptural".

Die Ligdraer is cheerfully taking part in promoting further suspicion and feigned discord. We condemn this unholy game as the church is holy and cannot be used as a toy to sustain an ideology.

The Sendingkerk has repeatedly declared that apartheid is a sin and will remain a sin forever, that it is irreconcilable with the Gospel of Jesus Christ, that all legislation had to be tested against the demands of the Gospel and that the church owes obedience only to God.

True to this the church has also given expression to its religious convictions through the Belhar Confession of 1986. In an unambigous way, based on the Holy Scriptures, the Sendingkerk declared where it stood in relation to the South African societal set-up.

It is against this background that the Synod of 1986 instructed a Discussion Commission to reflect on the church unity of the Nederduits Gereformeerde churches.

It is thus naive and shortsighted to offer a minority statement by Dr AJ Botha and the Revs IJ Mentoor and JJF Mettler as if there were discord in the church. Such a statement was largely expected.

Valid

If, as the editorial of the Ligdraer of April 11 1988 put it, it was a democratic principle that the minority subject itself to a majority decision and that it was even more valid within the church, it is obvious that these brothers, through their minority statement, have enjoyed such presumptuous publicity that the game is not worth the candle. The publicity has done great injustice to the church.

The relevant decision on church unity was indeed taken in the spirit and against the background of the Belhar Confession.

An intractable attitude to it emasculates not only the confession as such but also creates room for actions which could harm the church.

The majority statement of the Discussion Commission states clearly that the Synodal decision had been implemented and that circumstances have changed to the extent that further discussions have become untenable.

According to church-law only the Synod can decide whether there are sufficient reasons to suspend discussion or not.

It is interesting to note that the NG Kerk in Afrika had no problems with the discussion on church unity and that the suspension of discussion with the NGK is now held up as if the continued existence of the Sendingkerk has become an issue.

It is indeed not true. How can a church that gave birth to apartheid, that fought for decades until apartheid conquered in South Africa, that untiringly formulated laws for the new apartheid state, now admonish others to "stay out of politics" and to "confine themselves to the Gospel"?

Theological

Although discussions have taken place and may still take place in future, it is quite clear that the core of the theological assumption that lies on the way to church unity is not negotiable for the NG Kerk.

Therefore we wholeheartedly support the majority statement of the Discussion Commission on church unity.

We completely reject the loveless behaviour to the person of the moderator, Dr Allan Boesak.

His standpoints and the cause he represents is well known. We are dismayed by conscious efforts to discredit our fellow brother. He does not deserve such conduct in the least and it does not belong in the church of Christ.

The church knows an orderly way for resolving church issues. We want to appeal to those who are burdened to follow this way if they are of the opinion that punishable infringements have been committed.

We assure the church leadership of the persevering and sincere prayers of the whole church in these times.

Dr N A Apollis (Actuary), D K Abrahams, W J McKay, H R Botman, N N Koopman, R T Boesak, Prof G D Cloete, Prof J C Adonis, A Boesak, N N Pietersen, H Visser, J Thyse, T Fredericks, C Klazen, J Louw, A B Van Wyk, B Leuvinink, J Witbooi, L L Macmaster, A J Van Wyk, B H Gantana, A Rust, A Marais, W J Engelbrecht (Kuruman), A A Du Plessis (Acacia Park), P Bock, S Davids, K P Botman, E E Leeuw, N Swartz, G Cloete, N P Damon, S G Pick, W Lemboe, T Irion, H Matthys, F Marco, P W Abrahams, W I Steenbok, E D Jacobs, I J Theunnissen, C Smith, M Lemboe, Dr J Retief, Dr I C Potgieter, A Beukes, C J Petersen, H G Platt, E B Faure, J H Vermaak, R C Heroldt, J De Waal, A Phillips, J W Fransman, F P Mathee

upgrade their existing

SA, T'kei church leaders meet

DD 30/4/88

UMTATA — The first move towards uniting the United Methodist Church of Southern Africa (UMSCA), based in Transkei, and the Methodist Church of Southern Africa (MCSA), with its head office in Pietermaritzburg, took place during a six-hour meeting here yesterday.

The meeting, attended by delegates from both churches led by their respective presidents, followed the lifting last month of a 1978 ban on the MCSA in Transkei.

The then prime minister, Paramount Chief K. D. Matanzima, banned the church for what he considered a slight on the sovereignty of the independence of Transkei published in a Methodist newspaper.

The chairman of the military council, Major-General H. B. Holomisa, said the unbanning of the MCSA was in keeping with the enunciated policy of freedom of worship in Transkei.

The delegates identified the following steps as needing immediate attention:

- The holding of extraordinary sessions of synods and of conferences by UMCSA for the implementation of these objectives.
- A uniting and thanksgiving service to be held on July 24, in Umtata. — DDC

NEWS

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Tutu tells UK: I'm no politico

by MICHAEL MORRIS
Weekend Argus
Foreign Service

LONDON. — When Archbishop Desmond Tutu made an appearance on Britain's prime time television chat show, *Wogan*, he assured host Terry Wogan he had no "political ambition".

"Actually, I know I'm not smart enough to be a politician," he confessed.

Not satisfied, Wogan pressed him, wondering whether — if he as the "reasonable face" of black opposition, did not play a political role in talks to end apartheid — blacks would end up being represented by "radical leftwing" leaders. "Surely you'll be needed?" asked Wogan.

"That will only happen," said the Archbishop, "if the Government becomes more and more intransigent."

Peace-loving

Then he added: "You see, our people are actually reasonable, and peace-loving to a fault."

He emphasised that he sought a non-violent solution and that liberation meant not merely the liberation of blacks "but, liberation for all people".

"One of the miracles about South Africa," he said, "is that there are so many white people who really want to see things change . . . so that they can learn to share and be human together."

However, there was no reason for blacks to be expected to be "patient" while their children starved or were detained.

He described President Botha's latest plans for power-sharing as "crumbs of comfort" adding: "No, sorry. These guys are very smart. They have done this . . . to hoodwink the world into believing things are changing.

"But, they are still holding power. We say 'If you do not share, you will run the risk of losing everything'."

Cape Times 6/5/88

March: Dean King charged

By ANDRE KOOPMAN

The Anglican Dean of Cape Town, the Very Reverend Edward King, has been told he faces charges following the protest march on Parliament by about 150 clergymen earlier this year.

None of the other clergymen involved in the march, including the Anglican Archbishop, the Most Reverend Desmond Tutu, were to be charged, Dean King said last night.

He said he was only "mildly interested" in the charges. "These people are quite ridiculous really", he added.

Tutu: PW and I are brothers

Cape Times 6/5/88 28

MADISON. — Archbishop Desmond Tutu told a cheering crowd in America's mid-West on Wednesday night that whether he or the State President, Mr P W Botha, liked it or not, they were brothers.

Addressing 11 000 people in a sports hall of the University of Wisconsin, Madison, Archbishop Tutu called for pressure to be exerted on the United States government to stop it from "collaborating with apartheid".

He was there at the invitation of the university's Lutheran Campus Centre.

One family

He said in a speech interrupted by repeated applause that people of all backgrounds in the world formed one family. "You don't choose your family. Our brothers and sisters are God's gift to us. Our brothers and sisters sometimes disagree and maybe disagree violently. But they still remain our brothers and sisters.

"If we take seriously our baptism, the oppressor and the the oppressed are brothers and sisters. And whether I like it or not, whether he likes it or not, President P W Botha is my brother."

Although "nasty things" could be said about the US, it was "still a fact to celebrate that in 1988 a black man can become a serious candidate for the presidency". — Sapa

(28)

Cape Times, Saturday, May 7, 1988 5

US must take a moral stand on SA — Tutu

SEWANEE, Tennessee. — The Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev Desmond Tutu, said here that the United States must take a moral stand, not just a political one, to help end South Africa's policies of racial separation.

"Apartheid is going to end," Archbishop Tutu said on Thursday during a visit to the University of the South, a small Episcopal liberal arts school about 128km south-east of Nashville.

"What we are trying to say to the people of the United States, and especially to its government, is it's a question of moral choice. Are you going to be on the side of the oppressor or are you going to be on the side of justice, on the side of the victim?"

Archbishop Tutu praised Congress's legislative sanctions against the South African government.

The House Foreign Affairs Committee approved a bill on Tuesday that would bar all US investment in South Africa and impose a near-total trade embargo against the country.

But the archbishop said the Reagan administration was still dragging its feet.

"We're going to be free, and all we're saying is we'll remember who helped us in the process," he said.

The archbishop began a three-week visit to the United States on April 23.

More than 1 100 students, church and school officials and alumni packed the 81-year-old All Saints' Chapel to hear Archbishop Tutu address the university board of trustees' convocation after he was awarded an honorary Doctor of Divinity degree.

Archbishop Tutu said he was grateful that the university had established an annual scholarship in his name for a student from South Africa.

"Only those who have been victims of oppression and injustice know how all of that can instil self-doubt and self-hate that gnaws away at the vitals of a person, so that you begin to doubt that you are a child of God," he said. — Sapa-AP

Cape Times
10/5/88 28

SA church group to visit Pope

JOHANNESBURG. — A high-powered ecumenical delegation of church leaders, representative of the South African Council of Churches, member churches and the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference, will meet the Vatican Curia and the Pope in Rome from May 23-28, a joint statement said yesterday.

The ecumenical delegation will include the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev Desmond Tutu; the Moderator of the NG Sendingkerk, Dr Allan Boesak; the president of the Methodist Church of SA, Dr K E Mgojo; the general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, the Rev Frank Chikane; the vice-president of the SACC, Mrs V Gcabashe; the general-secretary of the Council of African Independent Churches, the Rev Paul Makhubu, also representing the member churches of the SA Council of Churches; Archbishop G F Daniel, Archbishop P Buthelezi and Bishop Biyasi of the SACBC, and two other representatives. — Sapa

Baptist moderator jailed for 6 years

Cape Times 12/5/88

DURBAN. — Norman Sokhela, former moderator of the Baptist Convention of South Africa, was jailed for six years in the Regional Court here yesterday for his part in a "get-rich-quick" scheme.

His two co-accused, Morris Makhaye, 39, and Victor Zondi, 42, were each fined R5 000 (or 500 days' imprisonment), plus a further 18 months' imprisonment suspended for five years.

The men were introduced to a scheme whereby dud cheques were deposited into their bank accounts by three white men from Johannesburg. They withdrew money once their accounts showed a credit balance. The court heard that Sokhela had withdrawn R138 660 within a very short period. — Sapa

● A spokesman for the Western Province Baptist Association and former president of the executive committee of the Baptist Union and the South African Baptist Missionary Society, yesterday dissociated his organizations from the trial.

The Rev Ellis Andrè said Mr Sokhela had never held the office of Moderator of the Baptist Church of Southern Africa, nor had he ever had "365 (Baptist) Churches under his wing", as reported in the Cape Times yesterday.

The vast majority of South African Baptist churches were members of the Baptist Union of Southern Africa of which the Rev Dr R B Codrington was the president, he added. — Sapa and Staff Reporter

Police investigate fashion 'con artist'

Cape Times 12/5/88 28

College has SA links, so Tutu rejects degree

NEW ORLEANS. — Archbishop Desmond Tutu has rejected an honorary degree from a US university because it decided to keep its investments with companies doing business with South Africa.

The degree had been offered by Tulane University in Louisiana. Tulane president Mr Eamon Kelly said he understood Archbishop Tutu's position but was sorry the churchman would miss an opportunity to bring his message to New Orleans.

He was scheduled to speak at the university on Saturday, then accept an honorary law degree from the school's College of Arts and Sciences on Sunday.

The archbishop said he could not "in conscience" accept the degree. A spokesman, Mr John Allen, said Archbishop Tutu learnt that the school had rejected a student group's demand for disinvestment after he arrived in the US two weeks ago on a North American speaking and preaching tour.

"I regret that the university did not share fully with me its position on South Africa at an earlier stage," Archbishop Tutu said. "I am willing to accept the degree in a year's time should Tulane review its decision not to divest."

The Alliance Against Apartheid, the student group which demanded disinvestment last month and built shanties on Tulane's campus in protest, had hoped Archbishop Tutu would refuse the degree but still make his speech, said Tim Wise, a political science undergraduate from Nashville, Tennessee.

"We're pleased with Tutu's decision to reject the doctorate, but we would still like him to come to New Orleans. We think his speaking here would be beneficial," Mr Wise said.

Archbishop Tutu accepted an honorary degree from Mount Allison University, Sackville, New Brunswick, in Canada on Monday. He will leave the United States on May 16.

Meanwhile, he yesterday called for support of legislation pending in the US Congress that would impose new economic sanctions. — Sapa-AP-Reuter

Cape Times 12/5/88 (28)

Diocese support for Tutu in wake of attack

Staff Reporter

STRONG support has come from Archbishop Desmond Tutu's diocese in the wake of President P W Botha's recent attack on the archbishop and other members of the clergy.

This was reported in the latest issue of "Good Hope", the Diocese of Cape Town's newsletter, which stated that many messages of support had flowed into Bishopscourt from the diocese.

Among the score of messages were those from the church in Maitland and Caledon, and the executive of the Anglican Woman's Fellowship.

The Rev James Gribble, of the Cape of Good Hope District of the Methodist Church, said the attacks by the government and the Dutch Reformed Church were "altogether unwarranted and unacceptable".

He said "any threat to silence prophetic voices is a threat to the whole Church".

A local presbytery of the NG Sendingkerk, the Ring van SA Gestig, had also written a letter of support, it said.

Tutu 'endorses' Michael Dukakis

CAPE TIMES 13/5/88

28

WASHINGTON. — Archbishop Desmond Tutu virtually endorsed Democratic presidential front-runner Mr Michael Dukakis yesterday and called for the election of a Democrat as president.

"I don't think we need to give any endorsements, but I know we would be among friends," Archbishop Tutu said with a beaming Mr Dukakis at his side.

"We would have a very, very powerful friend if we had a Democrat occupying the White House."

Earlier yesterday Archbishop Tutu, appearing in Washington with Mr Dukakis, said: "Apartheid remains firmly in place, protected, aided and abetted by the Reagan administration, by (British Prime Minister Margaret) Thatcher and by Chancellor (Helmut) Kohl." — Sapa-Reuter

● Reagan's speech blessing or curse? — Page 4

COMMENT

(28)

Share their fate

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu has assured Americans that black South Africans, people like himself, prefer any hardship and deprivation to their bondage. If he is right, black South Africans owe him a great debt of gratitude, for he has raised enormously the chances that they will be deprived, and that in increasing numbers they will suffer hardship. Whether black people will, in this generation, shake off their bondage is less certain but he has made the choice for them.

The archbishop, who lives in the style of the oppressors rather than of the oppressed, has employed every device of rhetoric, and every trick of moral blackmail, to ensure that sanctions are imposed. He accuses the Germans of opposing sanctions because, he says, they still bear the taint of Nazism. The Japanese he accuses of being still bound by their Nazi alliance. He accuses Margaret Thatcher and Helmut Kohl of having decided that blacks are expendable. He accuses blacks who oppose sanctions of being like the Jews who collaborated with the Germans "to line their pockets".

Coming from anybody else, such intemperate and far-fetched nonsense would be dismissed as mere ravings; coming from the winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, a Christian archbishop, his rhetoric will shape public attitudes. The cunning with which he has baited his traps is (if one dare apply the word to a holy man) diabolical. Any black South African who now complains that he has had enough of deprivation will be dismissed as the equivalent of a Jewish collaborator with the Nazis. Any trade unionist who, in a shrinking labour market, begins to doubt that workers can thrive in a shrinking economy, will find that he has been so smeared in advance by the archbishop that he will get no hearing. Any German or Japanese who doubts that the way to liberation passes through the empty bellies of children will find that the archbishop has employed the European holocaust to brand him as a Nazi.

There is one thing, and only one thing, left for the victims of sanctions to do. They can insist that Archbishop Tutu and his highly privileged, prosperous family share the suffering which he has called down on the heads of his people. He should earn no more than the least of his parishioners, and eat no more than any of them. He should travel no farther, dress no better, be no warmer or drier than the least of them. He has, by pinning the labels of "collaborator" and "racist" and "Nazi" on all who disagree with him, silenced all other views. The suffering which he has invoked can be averted only if the Nationalist government can defeat sanctions. To the extent that they fail to overcome sanctions, he bears reponsibility for what ensues.

He will undermine his own credibility, and make a lie of what he has said, if he chooses now to look down on the suffering of his people from the heights of privilege which he occupies.

Church accused of indirectly funding apartheid

DD 14/5/88

LONDON — Two church groups yesterday accused the Church of England of indirectly funding apartheid in South Africa and urged it to stop investing in companies with holdings there.

The accusation came in a report issued by End Loans to Southern Africa and Church Action on Namibia, and was endorsed by the Bishop of Oxford, the Right Reverend Richard Harries.

"The church should demonstrate its opposition to apartheid and the terrorism of that regime, by selling its own holdings in British companies with a heavy involvement in the country," the two church groups said in a statement.

"For example, the church is indirectly funding the apartheid war machine through its investments in Shell. This suggests that it gives tacit consent to the atrocities of the South African Government."

A spokesman for the Church of England's commissioners, who are responsible for investing its money to support the clergy, said he had not seen the report, but there were no plans to change investment policies.

The report said of 131 companies in which the Church of England had a shareholding of more than £1 million, 63 had investments in South Africa.

It said the companies included: The BOC Group Plc, Imperial Chemical Industries Plc, Shell Transport and Trading and Unilever.

The value of the commissioners' investments in the companies was £285,5 million at the end of 1986, it said.

The commissioners' spokesman said their policy was not to invest in any company that had more than a small stake in South Africa.

"The stake is something we judge by what percentage of a company's profits come from its South African involvement.

As charitable trustees, the commissioners were legally required to manage their assets efficiently, he said. — Sapa-RNS

Row erupts in church over peace proposal

PRETORIA — A Methodist Church row has erupted over a proposal that it declare itself a "Peace Church", opposed to all forms of violence.

The Reverend Fremont Louw, a former president of the church, said in a Pretoria congregational newsletter that the impression that the church supported the ANC had to be denied.

He said the implication was made recently on SABC-TV.

The proposal, supported by "a substantial body of opinion within the church", had also created "a great deal of opposition".

Proposals were that the church should:

- Specifically reject violence and war;
- Formally declare that its members ought not to participate in violence or military service of any form;
- Not participate in the manufacture of munitions of war; and
- Avoid all activities promoting ill-will or hatred among people or nations.

"The proposals contain sentiments to which many Christians will give full support. They also contain suggestions which are highly controversial and likely to be unacceptable to most Christians," Mr Louw said.

A church committee had already rejected the proposals, as had all the congregations in the eastern suburbs of Pretoria and of Mamelodi, Ga-Rankuwa, Mabopane and Atteridgeville.

"The Methodist Church has for many years constantly rejected violence as a means for bringing about political change, which is certainly contrary to ANC policy at the present time," Mr Louw said.

He urged Methodists to not react to media statements without giving the church an opportunity to give them "the full facts" or "to correct what may be a distortion". — Sapa

ARGUS 19/5/88 28

Churches to meet on non-violent action plan

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The South African Council of Churches has called an emergency convocation of churches "to develop effective non-violent action in an effort to force the South African Government to the negotiating table".

The convocation, to which all churches in South Africa have been invited, will be held in Johannesburg on May 30 and 31, the general secretary of the SACC, the Rev Frank Chikane, said at a Press conference yesterday.

It will be opened by Mr Chikane, after which it will be a closed workshop for delegates. It will end with a mass public rally at Soweto's Jabulani Stadium on Republic Day.

"It is no longer a question of whether we are involved in violence or not. We believe in non-violence and must act non-violently. The question is what type of action is important and can be taken," Mr Chikane said.

He said although the SACC will hold its usual annual conference at the end of June, church leaders felt that because of the urgency of the situation a special meeting was neccessary to work out strategies on how to end apartheid.

Among the 300 delegates expected at the conference are church leaders, clergy, lay members and SACC executives. Delegates will also come from the World Council of Churches, the Lutheran World Federation, the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, Christian Aid and the Netherlands Council of Churches.

Rev Frank Chikane

Messages of support have been received from the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the United Nations Centre Against Apartheid, the Canadian embassy in Pretoria and others, Mr Chikane said.

Among those invited but who have not yet replied are the Zionist Christian Church based at Moria City in the Northern Transvaal, the Afrikaans reformed churches, including the Ned Geref Kerk, and "rightwing" churches.

"The whole idea is to get the body we call Church to share," Mr Chikane said.

Topics outlined for discussion are the Church/State conflict, foreign funding, labour, the clampdown on the Press and the emergence of rightwing church groups supporting apartheid. The aim of the conference is "getting South Africa to the negotiating table before it is too late".

CAPE TIMES 19/5/88 (28)

Clerics will meet on non-violence

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — South African church leaders will hold an emergency national convocation at the end of the month to develop "an effective non-violent strategy to pressurize the government to the negotiation table SACC general secretary, the Rev Frank Chikane said yesterday.

The meeting, the first of its kind in South Africa, was expected to draw up to 300 people, including prominent representatives of international ecumenical bodies, as well as the Council of Churches of Namibia.

"Most churches have been engaged in the debate on violence and non-violence but decided that the time of debate was over. Leaders like Martin Luther King and Gandhi did not only theorise about non-violence but acted," Mr Chikane said.

Churches to plan new non-violent strategy

(28) B/day

SIPHO NGCOBO 19/5/88

SA CHURCH leaders will hold an emergency national convocation on May 30 and 31 in Johannesburg to develop "an effective non-violent strategy to pressurise the SA government to the negotiation table", SACC general secretary Frank Chikane said yesterday.

The meeting is expected to draw up to 300 participants, including prominent representatives of international ecumenical bodies, SACC executive and other members, and representatives of the Council of Churches of Namibia.

High on the agenda will be issues like the church-state conflict, sanctions, the Foreign Funding Bill, the Labour Relations Amendment Bill, the October municipal elections, the National Statutory Council, the clampdown on the Press, the emergence of right-wing groups and "getting SA to the negotiating table before it is too late".

The meeting will end with a solidarity rally at the Jabulani Amphitheatre in Soweto on May 31.

On May 29, the day before the convocation, church leaders will attend a service in Lawaaikamp, near George, to identify with the residents who are faced with forced removal on May 31.

□ Chikane rejected a report in an Afrikaans newspaper that the SACC received R40m from the EC countries last year to fund training programmes with revolutionary goals.

"The fact is that the SACC received R4,5m from EC countries, and this has been made available to the victims of apartheid," he said.

SOWETAN, Friday, May 20, 1988

Church leaders to hold indaba

Sowetan 20/5/88

(28)

By MZIKAYISE EDOM

CHURCH leaders will hold an emergency national convocation at the end of the month to discuss non-violent action to facilitate negotiation with the Government.

Addressing a Press conference in Johannesburg this week, the Reverend Frank Chikane, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, said about 300 delegates were expected at the meeting.

It will be held on May 30 and 31 at the German Community Centre in Johannesburg. The meeting will end with a solidarity rally at the Jabulani Amphitheatre in Soweto on May 31.

The delegates will include SACC executive members, representatives of international ecumenical bodies and the Council of Churches in Namibia.

Mr Chikane said issues to be discussed will include church-state conflict, Bill on Foreign Funding, Labour Relations Amendment Bill, October elections for local and regional authorities, the clampdown on the Press and the National Statutory Council.

Rejected

Mr Chikane said: "Church leaders have also become conscious of the escalating violence in the society and since the churches are committed to non-violent action, church leaders decided to consider effective ways of acting non-violently to bring an end to apartheid."

• Mr Chikane has rejected a report in *Beeld* newspaper that the SACC received R40 million from the European Economic Community last year to fund training programmes with "revolutionary goals."

"I wish to put it on record that the SACC received R4,5 million from the EEC and this money has been made available to victims of apartheid," he said.

THE Rev Frank Chikane . . . SACC.

Vlok: Boesak doesn't like SAP

D/P 20/5/88

CAPE TOWN — The moderator of the Nederduits Gereformeerde Sendingkerk, Dr Allan Boesak, did not want any of his chaplains to serve in the police force, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said yesterday.

Mr Vlok said, during the debate on his vote in the House of Representatives, that Dr Boesak did not like the police and did want any minister from his church to join the South African Police.

The minister said the police did not want to complicate any minister's career by appointing him a police chaplain, but added that progress had been made towards appointing "coloured" and black chaplains. — PS

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Demonstrations staged against Tutu

(28)

20/5/88 B/Day

DIANNA GAMES

ANGLICAN Archbishop Desmond Tutu missed a group of protesters at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday on his arrival — which was several hours earlier than originally scheduled — but was caught by a different group on his departure for Cape Town.

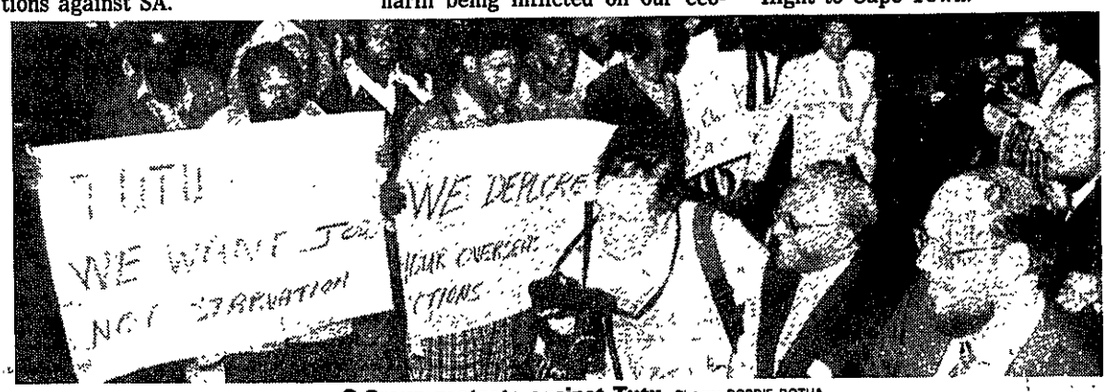
Tutu, who refused to speak to journalists in Johannesburg saying he would address them in Cape Town, was returning from a month-long visit to the US and UK where he campaigned for stricter sanctions against SA.

A group of about 30 members of the National Student Federation, a body with affiliates on English and Afrikaans campuses, were there at mid-morning to meet Tutu who had arrived at 5am.

They were protesting against the damage they said Tutu had done abroad in calling for sanctions against SA and distributing pamphlets which said Tutu's US tour "may possibly result in irreparable harm being inflicted on our economy.

"The respect the Archbishop's title affords him allows him a wide audience of ill-informed Americans who labour under the misconception that Tutu has the support of the majority of South Africans in his call for yet further punitive sanctions."

A group of workers from Inkatha's United Workers' Union of SA was in the departure hall carrying placards when Tutu arrived back at the airport to catch his flight to Cape Town.



● Group protests against Tutu. Picture: ROBBIE BOTHA

Tutu greeted by well-wishers and demonstrators

ARGUS 20/5/88 (28)

Religion Reporter

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu was met by groups of cheering well-wishers and placard-waving demonstrators when he arrived in Cape Town from the United States.

Earlier there was an anti-sanctions placard demonstration at Jan Smuts Airport, organised by the United Workers Union of South Africa, an Inkatha affiliate.

About 30 Cape Town Anglicans who met Archbishop Tutu at D F Malan Airport yesterday afternoon, handed him a letter of support signed by more than 5 000 lay members of the diocese while about 20 white students from the National Students Federation demonstrated.

Slogans

During his tour of Europe and the United States, Archbishop Tutu reiterated his call for tougher sanctions and met pro-sanctions Democratic presidential candidate Mr Michael Dukakis.

As his aircraft taxied towards the airport building, the students raised placards bearing slogans: 'Tutu go home", "Sanctions kill the poor not the rich" and "Tutu, the Anglicans need you".

A policeman warned the students that it was illegal to display placards in the airport building, but no action was taken.

As Archbishop Tutu and his aides entered, the Anglican group cheered and clapped and a student shouted: "Who gave you your mandate to call for sanctions?"

As Archbishop Tutu was whisked from the building to a car, the students rushed after him.

Some of their placards were confiscated.

When heated arguments developed between members of the opposing groups, a policeman pulled one of the students away and clergymen spoke to the Anglicans.

The letter handed to Archbishop Tutu expressed support for the stand he and 24 other church leaders took when they tried to march to Parliament to deliver a petition against restrictions on individuals and 17 organisations.

Pictures: PETER STANFORD, The Argus.

PLACARD DEMO: Archbishop Tutu is hugged by well-wishers at D F Malan Airport. Demonstrating members of the National Students' Federation hold placards aloft in the background.

CONFISCATED: A policeman removes anti-Tutu placards used by demonstrating students.

Tutu greeted by well-wishers and demonstrators

ARGUS 20/5/88

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Pictures: PETER STANFORD, The Argus

CONFISCATED: A policeman removes anti-Tutu placards used by demonstrating students.

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Cape Times, Saturday, May 21, 1988 3

'Tired of whites' crocodile tears'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu was tired of whites shedding "crocodile tears" over black suffering as a result of his calls for sanctions.

Speaking at his installation as Chancellor of the University of the Western Cape last night, he said he would rejoice if apartheid could be destroyed without sanctions, but the onus was on those who opposed sanctions to provide a viable non-violent alternative to end apartheid.

"I am a little tired of the spurious white altruism about black suffering. What have these altruists done to stop the rape of District Six, what did they do to help the Noordhoek squatters, what are they doing to stop the agony of the people of Lawaaikamp in George?" he asked.

"We are talking about a present actual black suffering now — in ghettoes created by apartheid as at Crossroads, in the impoverished starving Bantustan homelands."

The problem was not sanctions but apartheid, and apartheid was "filthy, vile, immoral, violent, evil and un-Christian".

Archbishop Tutu said he would call on the world to end its sanctions campaign if the government stopped forced removals, lifted the state of emergency, released detainees and political prisoners, allowed exiles to return freely and then promised to discuss with authentic leaders a timetable to dismantle apartheid.

Earlier, he said it was paradoxical that given his opposition to working "within the system", he had now become "the titular head of what apartheid had spawned as that monstrosity — a bush ethnic college".

However, it was a "truly remarkable achievement" that UWC rector Professor Richard van der Ross, his collegues and students had "turned the tables so completely that an apartheid institution should become the most potent academic institutional dissident".

But "we will fail and be left behind by others against whom we must compete if our university will constantly be disrupted by boycotts".

Use your clout for change, Tutu urges business

W/E ARGUS 21/5/88 (28)

Religion Reporter

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu has warned the business community that much tougher sanctions were possible, unless they used their "clout" to force the Government to negotiate.

He said "some people" in the United States were discussing whether South Africa should be declared a "terrorist state" and the legislation involved in this would make the present sanctions look "like a Sunday-school picnic".

He was apparently referring to a campaign started by American presidential candidate the Rev Jesse Jackson. The "blacklist" of terrorist states includes countries like Iran, Libya and Cuba.

Cheered

The Nobel Peace winner was installed as chancellor of the University of the Western Cape last night by the chairman of the university council, Professor Kay de Villiers.

Several hundred jubilant students lining the canvas-roofed walkway cheered as Archbishop Tutu followed a procession of academics on their way to the main hall on the campus.

Archbishop Tutu said he had said nothing new on his recent trip to the US.

He had never claimed to speak on behalf of anyone when he supported sanctions "as our last non-violent strategy".

"The problem is not sanctions. The problem is apartheid. I have said I do not want sanctions, but I want apartheid destroyed, not reformed," he said.

"If the Government were to stop all forced removals ... lift the state of emergency, release detainees and political prisoners ... and promise to discuss with our authentic leaders and representatives a clear and definite timetable to dismantle apartheid and a new constitution for a non-racial, democratic and undivided South Africa, then I swear I would call on the world to end its sanctions campaign."

He said the honour had been accorded him by the university in a representative capacity, as a tribute to those, black and white, who were committed to the struggle for a new South Africa.

It was a paradox for him, who was "so firmly opposed to working within the system" to be the titular head "of what apartheid had spawned as that monstrosity, a bush ethnic college".

It was a truly remarkable achievement that the tables had been so completely turned, that an apartheid institution should become the most-potent academic institutional dissident.

One of the chief attributes of a university was its universality so "it must be obvious that any institution which chooses an arbitrary qualification, such as skin colour, disqualifies itself from being regarded as a university.

Uphold freedom

"They ought not to be granted admission to the international fellowship of university communities. If they want to maintain their improper exclusivism then they ought to accept the consequences."

Universities should seek to uphold academic freedom.

Archbishop Tutu rebuked the students for resorting to boycotts and demonstrations.

"We will fail and be left behind by others against who we must compete if our university is constantly disrupted by boycotts.

"I believe you must rethink your strategy. You will end up alienating the community you want to support you," he said.

TUTU IN AMERICA

Living symbol of black SA resistance

W/E ARGUS 21/5/88

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by NEIL LURSSEN, Weekend Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON.— Archbishop Desmond Tutu's just-ended visit to the United States and Canada has clearly given the pro-sanctions movement in North America a mighty boost.

When the new sanctions Bill is debated in the Senate and House of Representatives chambers in coming months, the name Tutu will be cited time and again as the ultimate authority and the embodiment of conscience.

The diminutive South African cleric, with his strange accent, his engaging sense of humour, and his powerful oratory, has become for many Americans the living symbol of black resistance to white oppression.

He has become the African version of Poland's Lech Walesa, a thorn in the side of the authorities, but an untouchable because of his international reputation.

For the majority of black Americans, he has become a figure of pride from their ancestral homeland, their own Gandhi. His influence has reached spiritual levels.

As a result, many Americans lavish affection and admiration upon him at his public appearances, applauding a man who has demonstrated personal courage on behalf of his people.

Lunchtime speech

Archbishop Tutu's lunch-time speech at Washington's National Press Club, televised around the nation on a cable network, provides an example.

Tickets were sold out weeks before the event, and he was given standing ovations before and after he spoke. The speech began humourously with self-deprecating jokes and quiet appeals to reason. It ended in passion and controlled rage at the villainy of the SA Government.

Questions afterwards were soft, avoiding many of the points that trouble conservatives here about the Archbishop's message.

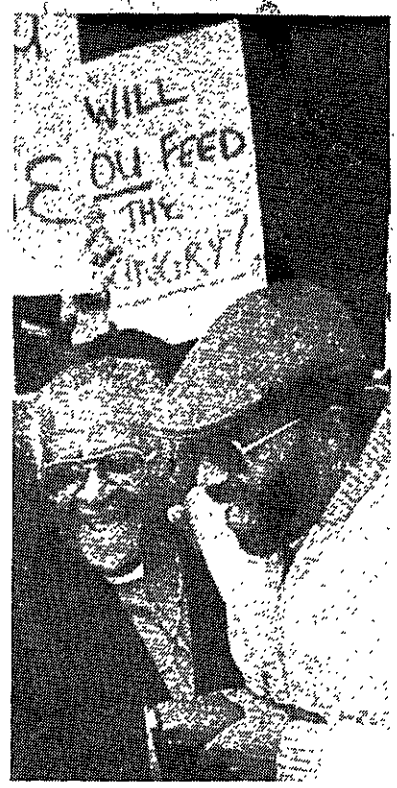
For instance, he was not asked how he could justify supporting sanctions and the consequent loss of jobs for many blacks, when he and his family lived in considerable personal comfort, protected from the effects of sanctions.

Nor was he asked how he could continually equate SA policies with the policies of nazi Germany when he was able to travel freely around the world to denounce those policies. Jewish leaders in Nazi Germany were not treated in this way.

Opponents of sanctions tried to have questions like this raised during Archbishop Tutu's visit but did not get very far in their effort.

The Free Africa Coalition, which describes itself as a grassroots movement that believes the best way to tackle apartheid is through black economic advancement and not impoverishment, distributed a list of tricky questions — one of which asked the Archbishop to explain allegedly anti-Semitic views he uttered in a 1984 speech.

The Coalition said he had said that Jews must suffer in terms of the New Testament and that there would be no sympathy for Jews when blacks took over.



HOME again — Archbishop Desmond Tutu arrives at DF Malan airport this week. He was met by placard-carrying demonstrators.

The wife of Democratic Party presidential candidate Michael Dukakis reportedly tried to raise this issue at a private meeting with Archbishop Tutu but the subject was changed by her husband who gave a clear indication to reporters that the South African would be a welcome official visitor to Washington in a Dukakis Administration.

No red carpets

Reagan Administration officials rolled out no red carpets for the Tutus this year, however, and in statements at the White House and the State Department made it clear that they disagreed strongly with his call for tougher economic sanctions against South Africa.

There was no evidence at all that sanctions did anything to advance US goals in South Africa — ending apartheid and replacing it with a democratic, nonracial system of government, the Reagan spokesmen said.

But Archbishop Tutu has written off the Reagan Administration, just as he has written off the Thatcher government in Britain. South Africa's black rulers of the future would remember who its friends were, he said repeatedly.

Judging from the way they treat him in the US, Democratic Party leaders in the US are eager to be included in the list of friends when the big change comes.

FOOTNOTE: Mr John Allen, Archbishop Tutu's Press secretary, pointed out today that when the issue of alleged anti-semitic remarks was raised in February last year, the SA Jewish Board of Deputies made it clear that Archbishop Tutu had not made the remarks attributed to him.

He also denied that Mrs Dukakis had tried to raise the issue with Archbishop Tutu, saying these reports were "a fabrication". Mrs Dukakis made no reference to the issue whatsoever, he said.

Howe explains policy to SA church group

Star 24/5/88

LONDON — The British Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, told a group of visiting South African church leaders yesterday that Britain's policy towards South Africa was "one of persuasion and pressure", officials said.

Archbishop Denis Hurley, the Rev Frank Chikane, Dr Beyers Naude and Pastor Khoaza Mgojo spent 45 minutes with the Foreign Secretary.

The church leaders were concerned about a new South African Bill which could curb foreign aid.

They said the new law, which would permit only aid for "non-political" activities and would exclude projects perceived as "anti-apartheid", would be tantamount to punishing the victims of the system.

Officials said Sir Geoffrey listened with "sympathy and concern" to the churchmen. — Sapa.

Howe rejects church plea

Cape Times 24/5/88

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Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The British Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, yesterday rejected calls from visiting South African church leaders to implement a sanctions package — including a ban on new lending and denying SAA landing rights in Europe.

The main purpose of the church mission was to seek support from European Economic Community (EEC) countries in opposing the South African government's Orderly Internal Politics Bill.

The bill includes various measures aimed at controlling foreign funding of South African anti-apartheid bodies, among them churches, and is being studied by a parliamentary committee.

If passed, it will cripple the EEC's package of positive measures to aid victims of apartheid, which is administered by South African churches.

Meet the Pope

The church leaders emerged from their 45-minute meeting with Sir Geoffrey saying they were deeply disappointed and depressed. The British government, they said, did not understand the dynamic in South Africa.

The delegation consists of the general-secretary of the SA Council of Churches, Rev Frank Chikane, the president of the Methodist Church, Dr Khoza Mgojo, the Archbishop of Durban, Archbishop Denis Hurley, the Bishop of Kroonstad, Bishop Hans Brenninkmeijer, and the chairman of Kagiso Trust, Dr Beyers Naude.

On their tour they will meet the Pope in Rome. They will also meet the West German Chancellor, Mr Helmut Kohl, the Foreign Minister, Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher, and the EEC vice-president, Mr Lorenzo Natali.

A Foreign Office spokesman said Sir Geoffrey had listened with great sympathy and concern to the arguments put forward by the delegation, but had reiterated British policy of using pressure and persuasion to end apartheid.

Other calls by the church leaders which Sir Geoffrey rejected were that:

- Visa requirements be tightened for South African citizens visiting EEC countries.
- The staff of South African embassies and consulates in the 12 member states be reduced.
- Pressures on trade finance and communications be intensified.
- The importing of South African coal be embargoed.
- European banks be prevented from renewing loans and extending new ones to South Africa.
- That direct flights to South Africa be banned with South Africa being denied landing rights in Europe.

Dr Mgojo said the meeting had confirmed for him that the British had nothing tangible to offer to help end apartheid in South Africa.

"We will have to do it ourselves. It's going to be very difficult but church leaders are prepared to suffer."

Tutu address at UWC inauguration

Cape Times 24/5/88

28

THE address by Archbishop Desmond Tutu on the occasion of his installation as Chancellor of the University of the Western Cape on Friday has attracted considerable interest.

Here are some extracts:

"The catholicity of the university means giving a warm welcome to a diversity of views and opinions. People should not normally be excluded because they hold unpalatable views.

"The search for truth is undermined if there is a severe and rigid censorship. That means we must seek to uphold academic freedom. But we do know that a university to be a responsible institution does reserve the right to determine who may be granted the opportunity to express their point of view. It would have been the height of irresponsibility for instance for a university to permit a Nazi to spew forth his views about Aryan superiority and Jewish inferiority and to extol the virtues of gas chambers.

"Academic freedom is not an absolute right. During wartime a university would be deemed utterly irresponsible if it published information that was considered classified and would assist the enemy and do that by invoking the concept of academic freedom. Such an institution would be richly deserving of severe disapprobation. It is not to negate the nature of a university to say that it would be impolitic to permit certain people to speak at that university. Obviously a university would be scrupulously careful when to apply an interdict on anyone or on any organisation. UWC would be crazy to invite say a member of the AWB to speak here and the black community would question the integrity of an institution they hold very dear.

"Philosophers speak of what they call a hierarchy of values — that values are not all on the same level, e.g. truth and love are not on the same level. Must you always tell the truth? Many would say yes, but if a mad man with an axe was chasing a young helpless lady who had outrun him and he asked you "which way did she go?", would you point in the right direction or try to mislead him in an effort to save her? Most people would condemn you for the former and quite rightly because they believed saving a life even with a white lie was morally right and the truth would have been morally reprehensible.

Social conscience

"When people are denied fundamental basic human rights of association, of participation in political decision making, it is an intolerable luxury to insist on a lesser right especially on the part of those who already enjoy the rights denied to those others. The context is crucial. In the abstract academic freedom grounds great, but insistence on this when children are detained, suffer from preventable deficiency diseases, from kwashiokor and malnutrition not accidentally but by deliberate government policy, is to be guilty of an obscenity. Particularly is this the case when certain people come in an aggressive mood intent on breaking a cultural boycott which was intended as a non-violent strategy to change a vile political system by the disenfranchised.

"I think that particular academic got what he richly deserved. Many overseas academics do come to South Africa and are permitted to lecture without any let or hindrance because they have not been deliberately provocative of the dispossessed and downtrodden...

"A university must have a social conscience. It must not be an ivory tower insulated against the real world from which most of those it seeks to serve come, nor from the rigours of the life lived by most of the community it serves. It would deserve to be treated as an interesting irrelevance if it did not take account of the setting in which it is placed using the most rigorous academic standards for the sake of that community. It would be a crazy Afrikaans university which did not teach Voortrekker history and sought to inculcate a deep pride in things Afrikaner.

"It must take seriously issues that affect the community it serves. Our community is concerned about liberation as its number one priority.

"Our educational system must be sensitive to this overriding concern. It must take cognisance of the fact that our children have paid a heavy price to oppose a system that would have them believe that they are inferior, created for inferiority. And so it must salute them for their courage and join enthusiastically in the exhilarating enterprise of preparing for the new South Africa, non-racial, democratic and just; where character and ability will determine a person's place (not their worth for we are always of equal, infinite worth however we may be) in that new society we are helping to bring to birth.

"A true university will engage in the demanding task of helping to prepare our children for the new South Africa when they will need to be computer experts, jet plane pilots, neurosurgeons, cardiologists, engineers, judges, lawyers, teachers, architects, original thinkers and researchers, psychiatrists, nurses, civil servants, cabinet ministers, state presidents, etc. And they must be these things because they qualify on merit and ability.

Our struggle

"Our students have helped to bring many issues to the fore in various ways including through the means of boycotts and demonstrations. These have their value. But a university is an institution for the quest of truth, learning and skill and expertise. It requires the kind of environment that is conducive to the pursuit of these goals. We will fail and be left behind by others against whom we must compete if our university will constantly be disrupted by boycotts at the drop of a hat.

"Surely you know that you have a sympathetic rector, administration and staff, that there must surely be other less disruptive ways to making your point. My father used to say "don't raise your voice. Improve your argument". Good sense does not always lie with the loudest shouters nor can we say that a large unruly crowd is always the best arbiter of what is right. True learning requires application and discipline demanding that we do things that we don't always find attractive or pleasant. We don't usually want to get up on a cold winter's morning but if we did only that which was pleasant and congenial then we would deserve to be oppressed.

"If we are not restrained and disciplined we will give delight to the enemies of our struggle who will gloat and gleefully point to our university which has dedicated itself to our struggle as degenerating into a third rate institution where you don't know from one day to the next what the students are going to do.

"Our struggle deserves better. We are insulting those who have paid and continue to pay a heavy price for our liberation. Only the best can be good for the new, free South Africa. We do not want to destroy an institution which has the potential to be one of the greatest universities in South Africa. You are aware that it is only at this university that there are always demonstrations versus graduations — not at any other institution.

"I believe you must rethink your strategy. You will end up alienating the community you want to support you. You are in danger of alienating your parents and friends who make great sacrifices to ensure that you are educated. Who benefits from most of your demonstrations if it is not the enemies of our people?"

Star Times 25/5/88 28

David Penman

Sanctions clash

Staff Reporter

THE United Apostolic Ministers' Council in Africa, an inter-church organization claiming two million black members, yesterday condemned sanctions against South Africa.

And the foreign ministers of the TBVC homelands said they "categorically reject" sanctions as these would damage the regions' economies, causing "misery".

But support for sanctions came yesterday from Australian Archbishop David Penman, of Melbourne. Archbishop Penman, head of all the bishops in Victoria who arrived in Cape Town this week to visit Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, said: "I have indicated our strong support for him (Archbishop Tutu)."

Archbishop Tutu declined to comment on the United Apostolic Ministers' Council and the TBVC foreign ministers' statements.

The Ministers' Council said it "wished to convey to capitals of the world its strongest protest" against the imposition of trade sanctions. They were "counter-productive" and could jeopardise the livelihoods of 100 000 employees of American companies in SA, it said.

Today, 30 Apostolic and Zionist Church ministers will march in Pretoria in an anti-sanctions protest.

But Archbishop Penman said his church and the Hawke government in Australia were "largely in agreement on policy towards South Africa".

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Howe rejects church leaders' sanctions package

● HOWE

MIKE ROBERTSON

LONDON — British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe yesterday rejected calls from SA church leaders to implement a sanctions package, including a ban on new lending and denying SAA landing rights in Europe.

The church leaders emerged from their 45-minute meeting with Howe saying they were deeply disappointed and depressed. They said the British government did not understand the dynamic in SA and approached the problem of ending apartheid as if it was dealing with a normal state of affairs.

The delegation consisted of SA Council of Churches general secretary the Rev Frank Chikane, Methodist Church in SA president the Rev Khoza Mgoja, the Archbishop of Durban, Archbishop Denis Hurley, the Bishop of Kroonstad, Bishop Hans Brenninkmeijer, and the Rev Beyers Naude, Kagiso Trust chairman.

They said the main purpose of their visit was to seek support from EC countries in opposing the Orderly Internal Politics Bill.

They said the Bill would make it impossible for the EC's package of positive measures to aid victims of apartheid, which is administered by the churches, to continue operating.

On their tour they will meet the Pope in Rome and, later, West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, as well as EC Vice-President Lorenzo Natali.

A Foreign Office spokesman said Howe had listened with great sympathy and concern to the arguments put forward by the delegation today.

It was agreed that all concerned wanted to end apartheid but differed on the means.

Howe, the spokesman said, reiterated that British policy remained one of using pressure and persuasion to end apartheid.

● CHIKANE

CAPE TIMES 26/5/88

20 turn up for march against sanctions

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Own Correspondent

PRETORIA. — About 20 members of the United Apostolic Ministers Council demonstrated in Pretoria yesterday against pending US legislation to tighten sanctions against SA.

Accompanied by a heavy police escort, they marched around Church Square carrying anti-sanctions banners.

The group, which aroused little public interest, dispersed a few blocks north of the square.

In a statement after the march, a spokesman, Bishop Mzilikaze Masiya, said sanctions hurt blacks most — the very people they were supposed to help.

Already the mining industry had been forced to lay off more than 9 000 workers because of sanctions.

"We oppose sanctions and disinvestment as totally unchristain," Mr Masiya said.

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Cape Times, Thursday, May 26, 1988

Tutu to open hostel for poor in Rome

ROME. — Archbishop Desmond Tutu — in Rome for a private audience with the Pope — will tonight open a hostel for poor Third World immigrants.

He and two other high-ranking South African churchmen — the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Pretoria, Monsignor George Daniel, and Mr Frank Chikane, Secretary General of the South African Council of Churches — are also scheduled to meet Pope John Paul II later today or tomorrow.

No details of the forthcoming discussions are available, and what is said during the secret papal audience will be revealed later.

The clerics will then take part in a prayer vigil for peace and an end to racism and apartheid in their homeland at one of the city's most famous churches.

The Archbishop, along with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, is also to appear on Ted Koppel's "Nightline".

The broadcast is to be a status report on reform efforts since their first appearance on the programme three years ago.

The three South African churchmen will attend the inauguration of the new hostel, called "Abraham's Tent", which has been set up in a restored "palazzo" in the heart of Rome's left-bank bohemian quarter of Trastevere.

The once quiet area is now a violence-plagued and drug-infested zone where many people from the third world — some of them homeless — try to eke out a living.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu will also address a Nelson Mandela freedom rally in Hyde Park on July 17, according to a statement by the organizers.

The statement said the rally was expected to be the largest ever anti-apartheid event staged in the British capital.

Archbishop Tutu will be joined on the platform by a leading South West Africa People's Organisation official, Mr Andimba Toivo Ja Toivo, the president of the Anti-Apartheid Movement; Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, and British film director Sir Richard Attenborough. — Own Correspondent, Staff Reporter, Sapa-UPI.

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SA churchmen to see Pope today

The Argus Foreign Service

ROME. — A high-powered delegation of South African church leaders is seeing the Pope today in a private audience at the Vatican Palace.

The talks centre on the situation in South Africa, said Archbishop Desmond Tutu before taking part in a packed prayer vigil at one of Rome's oldest churches.

Asked if he regretted the fact that John Paul II will skip South Africa during his pilgrimage to neighbouring countries, Archbishop Tutu snapped: "Of course I'm happy that he is not going to South Africa."

The 10-strong ecunumencial delegation calling on the Pope at lunchtime today included Roman Catholics, Anglicans, Methodists and other Protestants.

The word "historic" was used to describe the event by the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Pretoria, George Daniel. He spoke at the start of a packed prayer vigil against apartheid and racism in the ancient basilica of Santa Maria in Trastevere. He first addressed the congregation in Zulu, then English — and drew applause when he switched to Italian.

Earlier the group visited a shelter for the homeless.

CITY/NATIONAL

Sanctions: Tutu, Boesak challenged

Argus 26/5/88

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — A senior spokesman for the United Apostolic Ministers' Council in Africa, Bishop Mzilikazi Masiya, who is opposed to sanctions, has challenged Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Dr Allan Boesak to a public debate on the issue.

Bishop Masiya, who led a lunch-hour protest march of about 30 members of his council from Church Square to a hotel about two blocks away, was addressing a Press conference on sanctions.

He opposed sanctions because "they will hurt our people the most" and would "force our people out of work".

"Already the mining industry has been forced to lay off more than 9 000 workers because of sanctions. A conservative estimate means that more than 54 000 black people are going to be grossly affected."

He said Archbishop Tutu and Dr Boesak "should come and explain and convince the people who are out of work that sanctions will help them".

The bishop, who said his council enjoyed the membership of 850 churches and about 2-million followers, said the protest march was prompted by the approval on May 3 this year of legislation by the Foreign Affairs Committee of the United States House of Representatives which bars all US investment in South Africa.

Social programmes

"All this is done to force the South African Government to abandon its policy of apartheid," he added.

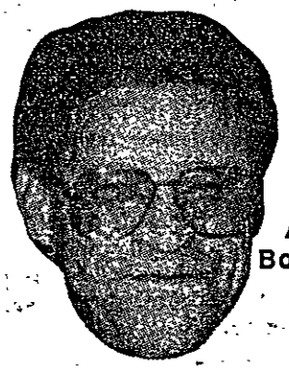
He said that foreign companies operating in South Africa had contributed much to the development of this country and that the US companies alone had in the past five years spent about R550-million on social programmes in the country.

Asked why he had not been harassed by the authorities for staging a protest march, as was the case with Archbishop Tutu and Dr Boesak in the Cape earlier this year, he said: "I applied for permission."

The protesters carried placards denouncing sanctions, such as: "Give us food and shelter, not sanctions."

Anglican, Catholic ... the churches team up against a state which defies Gospel

An extraordinary convocation brings together the widest-yet range of churche leaders to talk of action against apartheid. KAREN EVANS reports



Allan Boesak

CHURCHES in South Africa will outline a definite plan of action to end apartheid non-violently at a major convocation planned for next week, according to the South African Council of Churches.

The convocation, which will be hosted by the SACC in Johannesburg, will be attended by leaders of member and non-member churches, including the Anglican, Zionist, Roman Catholic, African Catholic and Methodist churches, the Order of Ethiopia, the NG Sendingkerk and the NG Kerk in Africa, as well as members of the SACC executive and representatives of international ecumenical groups.

It will be the first time such a wide range of churches will be meeting specifically to formulate a definite stragey of non-violent action to end apartheid.

"Because of the crisis in the country, the normal event of an annual confefence is inadequate," said Frank Chikane, SACC general secretary, when he announced the convocation.

He cited increasing repression by the state against individuals, organisations and the media as reasons to discuss "effective ways of acting non-violently to bring an end to apartheid".

Some of the matters which are to be discussed are the church/state conflict, the Promotion of Orderly Internal Affairs Bill, which deals with foreign funding, the Labour Relations Amendment Bill, the October municipal election, the clampdown on the press, the emergence of rightwing church groups and ways to "get South Africa to the negotiating table".

Leaders of mainstream churches saw the banning of 17 organisations and restrictions on the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) in February as a "direct challenge". Their consequent march on parliament was followed by written and verbal attacks on mainstream church leaders by the state president and rightwing church groups.

"The basis of this conflict is not the church defying or confronting the state, but the state defying the Gospel and being in conflict with its demands for society," Chikane said in a statement. "It is in this context that the church leaders decided to hold a convocation together."

Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, said in an interview this week: "The convocation was called in the beginning of the year when the church felt the situation in South Africa was worsening. Since then there has been open confrontation between the state and the church, and it won't end soon.

Boesak feels the convocation is the most important gathering the SACC has organised. "It brings together not only a few official representatives, but a broader representation of churches. It is certainly overdue."

Archbishop Temba Ntongana of the Apostolic Methodist Church of Southern Africa and vice-president of the Council of African Independent Churches, which incorporates the Zionist church, sees the convocation as a mediating body.

"Because of the State of Emergency, people have been rendered leaderless," he said. "The church is one of the few organisations that still has freedom. It is the only body that is a true mediator because it doesn't take sides.

CAPE TIMES 28/5/88

Pope's SA decision 28 'eloquent' — Tutu

ROME. — Nobel Peace prize-winner Archbishop Desmond Tutu said yesterday Pope John Paul's decision not to visit South Africa in September was an eloquent statement against apartheid and Pretoria.

Anglican Archbishop Tutu was speaking after a delegation of South African church leaders met the pope to ask for Vatican support in their struggle against apartheid.

The pontiff, who in September visits five Southern African countries, excluding South Africa, told them: "I know the terrible toll that the system of apartheid continues to take on the lives of individuals and families and on society itself."

Asked at a news conference whether the pope's tour could affect the situation in his country, the archbishop said: "The Holy Father's not going to South Africa is already an eloquent statement. It speaks to the perpetrators of apartheid." — Sapa-Reuter.

Cape Times 30/5/88

Chief: World losing faith with peaceful change

MORE than 30 000 Inkatha members yesterday endorsed KwaZulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's stand against economic sanctions, rejecting the campaign for world economic isolation of South Africa by Archbishop Desmond Tutu and other church leaders.

At a rally held in Umlazi to focus on the issue, Inkatha rejected the call to Britain and Western Europe to implement sanctions by the delegation of South African church leaders now touring Europe.

Inkatha called on Archbishop Desmond Tutu and every other member of the clergy advocating sanctions to consult "the black masses in South Africa (who) reject disinvestment as a strategy which they wish to support" to ensure that their actions were not divisive.

Inkatha said Western governments should help blacks promote economic development to boost employment opportunities as disinvestment was a policy rejected by its main victims — the black majority in South Africa.

Addressing the rally, attended by Inkatha members bussed in from as far afield as the Northern Transvaal, Chief Buthelezi said the world was losing faith in peaceful change in South Africa because it saw the reform process as having ground to a halt.

Tutu threat glossed over

The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — European universities which have awarded Archbishop Desmond Tutu honorary degrees are reticent about commenting on his threat to return awards to those institutions which refuse to disinvest in South Africa.

There was no reaction from King's College, London, where Archbishop Tutu was elected a fellow in 1978.

A spokesman said: "We have absolutely nothing to say about this matter."

She had been asked whether the university had any financial interests in South Africa and whether she could comment on his decision to return certain degrees.

A spokesman for Ruhr University in Bochum, West Germany, which in 1981 awarded the archbishop an honorary doctorate of theology, said the university had no ties with South Africa, financial or otherwise.

He made no comment about how the threat applied to those universities which retained financial interests in South Africa.

"The archbishop accepted our degree, and that was that. I am not aware of any change in the situation."

The official spokesman for Aberdeen University, which gave Archbishop Tutu an honorary doctorate in divinity in 1984, was not available for comment.

Church must take sides on justice, urges Chikane

Star 31/5/84

When the South African Government talked about negotiations it was in fact talking about co-option of black leaders, the Rev Frank Chikane, general-secretary of the South African Council of Churches, said in Johannesburg yesterday.

"It is not negotiations in the sense of people who come together," he told the emergency Convocation of Churches which had been called to consider how to bring about pressure to achieve a negotiated solution to South Africa's crisis.

When it came to questions of justice the church had to take sides, he added.

The issue was no longer whether the church should be involved in ending apartheid, but "how we can go about ending this evil and unjust system".

Repressive Government action since the February 24 restrictions on 17 anti-apartheid organisations, and threats on the lives of Dr Allan Boesak and Archbishop Desmond Tutu, were an indication of the level of crisis in the country.

He said recent action by the Government made non-violent action illegal.

Church leaders had committed themselves to active and effective non-violent methods to force the Government to abandon apartheid.

The time had come to stop talking about suffering and crisis, and to decide what to do about it, Mr Chikane said.

Church leaders called the emergency meeting of more than 200 representatives to discuss how the church could intervene in the present situation in the country with effective, non-violent action. — Sapa.

I know your anguish — Pope

Tutu seeks Vatican backing for anti-apartheid stand

WK Argus 28/9/88 28

ROME. — Archbishop Desmond Tutu said Pope John Paul's decision not to visit South Africa in September was an eloquent statement against apartheid and Pretoria.

Anglican Archbishop Tutu was speaking after a delegation of South African church leaders met the Pope yesterday to ask for Vatican support in their struggle against apartheid.

The Pontiff, who in September visits five Southern African countries, excluding South Africa, told them: "I know the anguish you experience day by day. Christians cannot accept racial discrimination."

Asked at a news conference whether the Pope's tour could affect the situation in South Africa, Archbishop Tutu said: "The Holy Father's not going to South Africa is already an eloquent statement. It speaks to the perpetrators of apartheid; it speaks to the victims.

Last chance

"It underlines what we are so desperately seeking to find — ways of pressuring the apartheid regime to come to the negotiating table."

The Rev Frank Chikane, secretary-general of the South African Council of Churches, said: "This sort of effort to whip up international support may be our last chance."

The Pope told the delegation, which included Roman Catholics, Protestants, Methodists and leaders of other Christian faiths, that "the ecumenical nature of your group shows that co-operation among all Christians vividly expresses the bond which unites them."

He added during the "extremely cordial" meeting: "Christians cannot accept structures of racial discrimination which violate human rights. In the one House of God there is room for everyone, but above all for the weakest and poorest."

More violent

It was one of the strongest indictments of racism yet made by the Pope.

But in an appeal to avoid violence as a way of beating apartheid he said: "I pray that the Christian communities in South Africa will continue to foster only peaceful means of responding to the difficulties of the present situation."

But Mr Chikane warned: "South Africa is becoming more and more violent every day. The church is the remaining voice that can speak in South Africa. We are determined to continue, even if it means persecution."

Mr Chikane said the delegation would leave today for an emergency convocation of 200 church leaders in Johannesburg on Monday and Tuesday to discuss non-violent ways of ending apartheid. — Weekend Argus Foreign Service and Sapa-Reuter.

Non-violent strategy to be debated

Star 30/5/88

Churches meet to thrash out political stance

28

By Jo-Anne Collinge

An unprecedented two-day emergency meeting of hundreds of church representatives begins in Johannesburg today in an attempt "to develop effective non-violent action to pressurise the South African Government to the negotiating table".

At least 250 delegates from most mainstream churches — Catholic and Protestant — as well as representatives from several of the African independent churches are attending the convocation, which is being organised by the South African Council of Churches (SACC).

The gathering follows the visit of a top-flight interdenominational delegation of church leaders to Europe, where they had an audience with the Pope and urged continued international pressure on Pretoria.

Legitimacy

In a document prepared for the convocation, SACC general secretary, the Reverend Frank Chikane, says that if the church is to minister to the oppressed it will have to take a stance on the legitimacy of the present authorities and consider appropriate steps to be taken if it were to judge the present government illegitimate.

"If the church could approve only non-violent methods it would have to lead the way in proving that non-violence could be effective in removing an illegitimate regime from power.

"But if the church stops at the 'traditional' line where religion is said to end and politics to begin, if it does not cross this imaginary line in order to test its non-violent methods in the field, it will forfeit any legitimate right to condemn those who go further into the arena of life and death for the sake of justice."

SACC vice-president Mrs Sheena Duncan, in the same publication, asserts that non-violent protest action by the churches has been mainly symbolic and sporadic.

"These symbolic actions are important but they are not planned with a fixed goal and an ongoing follow-up. It is only in the last months that the church leaders have become serious and unanimous in the need to act in a focussed, planned and strategic way.

"This is in contrast to the secular organisations, which have in recent years undertaken very successful actions involving organisation, discipline, courage, strategic planning and considerable sacrifice.

"These actions have been boycotts, non-participation, work stayaways — the withholding of co-operation in many different ways. The success of these strategies is evidenced by the fact that the emergency regulations seek to prohibit non-violent campaigns of all kinds."

Mrs Duncan reviews some of the anti-apartheid actions taken by the church in recent years. These include:

- Resistance to forced population removals, where ministers have sat in vigil with communities to prevent their removal.
- Church delegations visiting Namibia to witness the horror of war and to reinforce the call for the withdrawal of the South African Defence Force from the territory.
- The institution of alternative birth registers for people who do not wish to submit their children for racial birth registration.
- Plans for paid community service within church structures in southern Africa for young men who are unable to face the harsh penalties applicable to conscientious objection and who do not want to "disappear" to Europe or America.

Censorship provisions

- Refusal by the SACC to submit copies of its publication, Ecunews, to the Minister of Home Affairs as required under emergency censorhsip provisions.

The SACC working document for the convocation also makes it clear that the concept of non-violent action is wider than that of civil disobedience. There are, it says, areas of action to be considered by the convocation which would not involve any statutory defiance such as campaigns of non-collaboration with the State.

But under emergency rule many normal campaign strategies have been made illegal. The advocacy of civil disobedience is itself unlawful in terms of the emergency.

The convocation ends tomorrow.

CHURCH AND STATE

1988

JUNE — SEPT.

'Non-violent' means of pressure

(28)

1/6/88 B/day

Churches vow to take action against State

ELSABÉ WESSELS

A TWO-DAY emergency meeting of hundreds of church representatives ended in a mass inter-denominational service in Soweto yesterday afternoon where leaders committed themselves to a programme of non-violent action against the State.

More than 2 000 Christians gathered at Soweto's Regina Mundi Catholic Church where a four-hour service was held in solidarity with the church leaders committed to developing "effective non-violent action to pressurise the SA government to the negotiating table".

Riot police and army patrols assumed a high profile outside the church grounds. There were no incidents but a steward distributing service programmes at the gate was detained during the service, SACC general secretary Frank Chikane said.

Church leaders who addressed the congregation included Chikane, Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, NG Sendingkerk Moderator Allan Boesak and Methodist president elect Stanley Mogoba.

SACC past president Peter Storey described the convocation as the "largest and most representative coalition of churches and church leaders ever in SA".

Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town Desmond Tutu and followers bearing the cross at a service at Soweto's Regina Mundi church yesterday.

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

A national church campaign of "effective non-violent action" was launched with the reading of a draft declaration that committed those present to a programme of action to "end the unjust rule".

Support unions, Soweto service told

Star 1/6/88 28

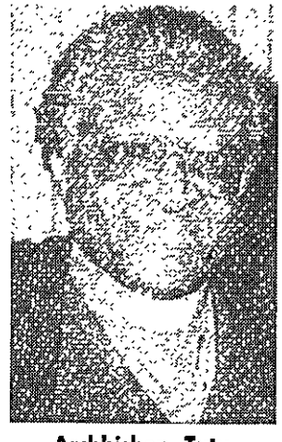
Churches back call for protest action

By Jo-Anne Collinge

Churches have declared their unqualified support for the national protest action called by the trade unions for early next week.

Their decision was made against the background of ongoing emergency rule and the threat of new labour legislation.

The announcement that churchgoers could be expected to rally behind the unions was made at an interdenominational service in Soweto's Regina Mundi church yesterday marking the end of a two-day convocation of more than 200 church leaders from the Protestant and Catholic denominations and some independent black churches.



Archbishop Tutu

The convocation was called specifically to plan strategies of non-violent resistance to apartheid.

A brief outline of some campaigns to be undertaken was made during the Soweto service, attended by more than 3 000 churchgoers and led by the national heads of several denominations.

A more comprehensive statement on the outcome of the convocation is expected soon.

SA Council of Churches general secretary, the Rev Frank Chikane, said a national committee had been set up to launch a programme called Standing for the Truth to introduce social analysis into pastoral work.

In a sermon which brought the entire congregation to its feet, Cape Town's Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu declared: "We as the Church have determined we are going to obey God rather than man — whatever it costs."

Comparing the 40 years of National Party rule with the 40 years the Israelites spent in the wilderness before crossing into the Promised Land, Archbishop Tutu said: "We are on the march ... We are going to cross the Jordan into a new South Africa, a just South Africa, a non-racial South Africa."

Warning those who stood in the path of the freedom march to beware, he added: "We don't look for enemies. We don't want to drive whites into the sea. We hope our white sisters and brothers will hear us. We want a non-racial South Africa where black and white will be able to live together."

World Alliance of Reform Churches president, the Rev Allan Boesak, said the Government realised the days of minority rule were numbered and "for them there is no choice but more repression — more detention without trial".

CAPE TIMES 11/6/88

British Labour MP visits Soweto

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The British Labour MP for Brent South, Mr Paul Boateng, visited Soweto for the first time yesterday, partly fulfilling his 1987 election victory boast: "Brent South today, Soweto tomorrow!"

He said he would advocate stronger measures against South Africa when he reported back to the British Parliament and the World Council of Churches (WCC).

Mr Boateng is in South Africa as the vice-moderator of the WCC programme to combat racism, to attend the emergency convocation of South African churches.

The heavy security force presence at the convocation service at Soweto's Regina Mundi church yesterday did not surprise him, but he was impressed by the hope, inspiration and prophetic vision offered by the churches.

Asked whether his visit had affected his views on sanctions, Mr Boateng said: "It has reinforced my belief the world community is responsible for bringing all the pressure it can on the South Africa government to persuade it to abandon apartheid.

"Existing measures are inadequate."

But it was wrong to say the existing measures had had no impact.

He was encouraged by the South Africa church's position there was a non-violent way to bring home the reality of world opinion to the South Africa government which he condemned for being "shameless and obdurate to world opinion".

The SA government could not continue indefinitely to place a lid on change through the state of emergency and its security measures.

Churches to support trade union protests

ARGUS 1/6/86 28

SOWETO SERVICE: Archbishop Desmond Tutu carries a cross in Soweto's Regina Mundi Church at a service marking the end of an emergency conference where church leaders called for intensified non-violent resistance to the Government.

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Churches have declared their unqualified support for the national protest action called by trade unions for early next week.

Their decision was made in the wake of the continued state of emergency and the threat of new labour legislation

The announcement was made at an inter-denominational service in Soweto's Regina Mundi Church yesterday, marking the end of a two-day convocation of more than 200 church leaders from Protestant and Catholic denominations and some African independent churches.

The convocation was called specifically to plan strategies of non-violent resistance to apartheid rule

Social analysis

A brief outline of some campaigns to be undertaken was made during the Soweto service which was attended by more than 3 000 churchgoers and led by the national heads of several denominations

A more comprehensive statement on the outcome of the convocation is expected later this week

The general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, the Reverend Frank Chikane, said a national committee had been set up to launch a programme called "Standing for the Truth", which would introduce social analysis into pastoral work.

The convocation has also called on all Christians to commit themselves to "active non-violence" and to engage immediately in programmes calling for the release of all political prisoners in South Africa

In a sermon which brought the entire congregation to its feet, Cape Town's Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu declared "We as the Church have determined we are going to obey God rather than man — whatever it costs."

Wilderness

Comparing the 40 years of National Party rule to the 40 years that the Israelites spent in the wilderness before crossing into the Promised Land, Archbishop Tutu said, "We are on the march .. We are going to cross the Jordan into a new South Africa, a just South Africa, a non-racial South Africa."

He pointed out that 1988 was also the 40th anniversary of the founding of the World Council of Churches and of the signing of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights. South Africa, a founder member of the UN, had never signed the declaration, he said

The president of the World Alliance of Reform Churches, the Reverend Allan Boesak, said the Government realised the days of minority rule were numbered and "for them there is no choice but more repression".

A young Soshanguve resident, Mr Caution Bogopa, was reported to have been taken into custody while distributing copies of the order of service near the church.

Court strips Lebowa rulers of indemnity

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA — The Appeal Court in Bloemfontein has stripped the Lebowa Government of its self-proclaimed indemnity from civil and criminal court actions.

The Appellate Division last week upheld a challenge to the validity of the Lebowa Indemnity Act, passed by the Legislative Assembly more than two years ago to bar court action against the homeland Government and police force

The judgment effectively opens the homeland government up to more than 600 long-standing civil actions claiming damages totalling more than R4-million, according to Mr Richard Ramodipa, a Potgietersrus attorney involved in the case.

The Lebowa Indemnity Act, which was made retrospective to June 1985, nullified all existing and future criminal and civil cases against members of the Lebowa police and government officials which arose from the unrest which swept the homeland in 1985 and 1986

The government of neighbouring Kwandebele passed a similar, backdated Indemnity Act in April this year in an effort to stem the flood of claims against it

The Kwandebele Act has not yet been challenged in court, but after the Appeal Court judgment it "will die a natural death", predicted Mr Ramodipa

Call us with your False Bay news

PASS on your news from False Bay towns and suburbs to The Argus False Bay Bureau.

Call staff reporter Linda

Rajbansi taking new steps for survival

Political Staff

INDIAN parliamentary politics bubbled again today, with indications that beleagured Mr Amichand Rajbansi was taking new steps for survival.

Rapid developments are expected in the next few days following a series of meetings yesterday between Mr Rajbansi and the rebels who broke away from his party to form the People's Party of South Africa (PPSA)

Spokesmen for the parties clammed up, but final decisions could be made at a meeting of the majority alliance today.

PPSA and Solidarity are to consider a new motion which, according to Mr Somaroo Pachai, chairman of the PPSA, "will bring clarity to the position".

He declined to comment on how the motion would affect the demand of the earlier motion calling for Mr Rajbansi's resignation.

Notice of the motion is likely to be given in the House of Delegates this afternoon and debated tomorrow

There is no indication of how this will affect the ultimatum of President Botha to the House to resolve the position by tomorrow, when he is again due to meet the factions.

Today Mr Rajbansi hinted that he thought he might survive when he objected angrily to suggestions by Solidarity chairman Mr Ismail Omar that the House of Delegates would move to reduce his salary to R1 a month.

Mr Rajbansi dismissed the suggestion as "puerile" and out of touch with reality and general thinking in the House of Delegates.

He challenged Mr Omar to say why he had not met his threat to swim at the all-white Durban beach and why his call to boycott Parliament for a month over the Group Areas Act was not supported by his own party.

He said Mr Omar "will be bitterly disappointed very soon" following his "smoke-screen of accusations of maladministration and corruption about the real reason for the unrest in the House of Delegates".

Di's two sons making her 'a stretcher-case'

The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — Princess Diana says her mischievous young sons are turning her into a "stretcher-case".

Diana, who has two nannies, told young mothers at a community project in Wandsworth: "It's tiring work looking after children I know because I have to look after my two boys and by Sunday I am a stretcher-case."

One mother said afterwards. "There were no inhibitions, but nobody asked about Diana's marriage."

Prince William and Prince Harry flew back to London last night after a half-term holiday in the Scilly Isles.

New man in charge

NEW YORK. — Argentina's UN ambassador Mr Marcelo Delpech has taken over as president of the Security Council for June. — Sapa-Reuter.

Churches 'march on' apartheid'

Cape Times 1/6/88 2P

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Church leaders yesterday committed themselves to a programme of non-violent action against the government at a mass inter-denominational service at Soweto's Regina Mundi church.

The four-hour service was attended by more than 2 000 Christians. It ended a two-day anti-apartheid convocation of hundreds of church representatives. The service was held in solidarity with plans for "effective non-violent action to pressurise the government to the negotiating table".

"We are determined we are going to obey God whatever the cost," said Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu. "We are on the march."

Riot police and army patrols were present outside the church grounds. There were no incidents but a steward distributing service programmes at the gate, Mr Cautious Bongopa, was detained during the service, SACC general secretary the Rev Frank Chikane said.

Church leaders who addressed the congregation included Mr Chikane, Archbishop Tutu, NG Sendingkerk moderator Dr Allan Boesak and Methodist president elect the Rev Stanley Mogoba.

SACC past president the Rev Peter Storey described the convocation as the "largest and most representative coalition of churches and church leaders ever in South Africa".

Trade union support

A national church campaign of "effective non-violent action" was launched with the reading of a draft declaration that committed those present to a programme of action to "end the unjust rule".

Mr Chikane read the draft declaration committing the churches to a "new way of non-violent change" with explicit support for the trade union movement in their opposition to the proposed Labour Amendment Bill and an active engagement in programmes to release detainees.

Said Mr Chikane: "The state may well regard this as disobedience. But this is not to undermine authority or advocate anarchy but to conform to the gospel."

In his address, Archbishop Tutu compared the suffering of blacks under 40 years of NP rule to the "40 years the Israelites wandered in the wilderness".

"But God will lead his children forth from bondage into the promised land.

"Beware those who are in the way. We are on the march to cross the Jordan into the promised land," Archbishop Tutu said.

In a rousing speech UDF patron, Dr Boesak, challenged the congregation to join the struggle.

Speaking on behalf of the World Council of Churches, British MP Mr Paul Boateng said "the apartheid state was devoid of any legitimacy.

Church campaign against apartheid

1/6/88 Sowetan

(28)

A NATIONAL campaign has been launched by churchmen to spearhead the end of "the unjust, apartheid rule" of the Nationalist Party, a prayer service in Soweto was told yesterday.

The service, attended by more than 2000 people at Regina Mundi Church, was the highlight of a two-day convocation organised by the South African Council of Churches to consider non-violence strategies of resisting apartheid.

The SACC's general secretary, the Reverend Frank Chikane, told the service that about 200 clergymen — who attended the convocation on Monday — had resolved to participate in this campaign. A national committee was to be formed to play and organise "inter-denominational participation" in the campaign.

Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu said the oppressed black masses were marching to victory after 40 years "in the wilderness." He said it was interesting that the Nationalist Party, on the other hand, was celebrating 40 years of "apartheid rule."

Marching

"We are marching to the promised land. Those who stand on our way should beware," Archbishop Tutu said.

The Rev Alan Boesak, president of World Alliance of Reformed Churches, said the South African Government had no choice but to continue with removals, detention without trial and apartheid rule. "We, as churchmen, have no choice but to stand with the poor and oppressed," he said.

Rev FRANK Chikane

Rev ALLAN Boesak

Mr Paul Boateng, representing the World Council of Churches, said apartheid was "a gaping wound in the body of Christ." This wound, he said, had been inflicted by "PW Botha and his government."

The service, held under police surveillance, was told of a detention of a church member while he was distributing programmes."

Disagreement on anti-racist plan

2/6/88 (28) B/Day

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu has expressed disappointment that SA religious leaders have failed to agree on a far-reaching programme to fight apartheid.

About 200 Christians, along with a handful of Muslim, Hindu and Jewish leaders, resolved to wage a nationwide peaceful "Campaign for Truth" after a two-day emergency conference in Johannesburg.

"We call on all Christians to commit themselves to active non-violent opposition rather than passive non-violence," SACC head Frank Chikane told the congregation in Soweto's Regina Mundi church on Tuesday.

Tutu said a number of the leaders, representing more than 15-million South Africans, dissented from a majority vote to back three days of protest from June 6-8 by the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu).

Tutu said there had been deep divisions at the meeting, but he declined to say who had voted against joining the union protest.

Addressing 1 500 worshippers packing the church, Tutu struck a defiant note despite the presence of more than 100 troops and police surrounding the building and filming participants.

Chikane said the 200 representatives would appoint a committee to work out tactics for the Campaign of Truth. They would consider his proposals for civil disobedience, including refusal to record race on birth and marriage certificates, and a boycott of government race law structures. — Sapa-Reuter.

Clerics counter division reports

Star 3/6/88

(28)

By Jo-Anne Collinge

Church leaders and representatives who met in Johannesburg this week to consider strategies of non-violent action against apartheid have countered reports that the meeting ended with division among top clerics.

The convocation, comprising 230 delegates from 22 churches, 17 church organisations and 21 regional church councils, adopted three resolutions unanimously. These were:

- A commitment to "engage in effective non-violent action". A 12-member national committee would work out a detailed programme.
- The launch of a campaign, "Standing for the Truth", which would have as its "first thrust the release of political prisoners and detainees".
- Church leaders would be asked to adopt the proposed non-violent action programme and to make a press statement endorsing the trade unions' call for three days of national protest next week.

According to a press release yesterday, church leaders unanimously committed themselves to the programme of non-violent action and only two disagreed with endorsing the unions' protest call.

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Public split over mixing of politics and religion

Star 4/6/88 (28)

SPEAK OUT!

Mrs Margaret Thatcher has assumed a high moral stance in her public pronouncements lately, using biblical quotations to support many of her policy decisions. South African political leaders too, from time to time, have loudly invoked Christian principles when called upon to explain their policies. Should religious principles have a place in the government of the land?

That question evoked a flurry of calls to Speak Out last night. There were ardent supporters and bitter critics.

Opinions ranged from outright rejection of any link between the two, to ardent support for the concept that politics and religion are inseperable.

Mr Tim Groom, Windsor: There is no place in politics for religion. It is a man-made institution used as an excuse by those in power to structure and so exploit society.

Mr D Honey, Hillbrow: If more governments made use of the 10 Commandments there would be less trouble, but nobody — especially the youth — cares about religion. There is no harm done by the government making use of religious principles.

Mr Glen Masebenza, Venda: The South African Government's policy contradicts the teachings of Christianity. In SA, which contains people of many different religions and beliefs, it would be better if politicians didn't take a religious stand.

Mr J Chambers, Benoni: If our country is a Christian country then our Ministers and Government must draw attention to the Christian faith and principles, and then live up to them.

Mr Fred Ellis, Springs: Religious principles should have a place in every facet of life but these fine and beautiful principles are sometimes darkly blotted out by religious leaders who have revolutionary principles and have assumed political roles.

Mr James Warrington, Germiston: I'm in favour of a government which runs a country according to Christian principles. No government should rely on its intellectual ability alone.

Mr Mandla Dlamini, Soweto: Religious principles should not have a place in the government of the land, especially this one. The South African Government has perverted the scriptures to its own advantage by promoting apartheid and racial domination.

Pastor Ray McCauley, Rhema Church, Randburg: It's a very good idea, and I believe that leaders in government should look for moral solutions to issues that the Bible speaks plainly about. It is excellent when a leader of a nation looks to a higher power for direction.

Mr J Franks, Windsor Park: Yes. Mrs Thatcher is a Christain living in a Christian country governed by Christian principles where human rights are of paramount importance. SA, a so-called Christian country governed by a so-called Christian government, should in no way quote religious principles because the majority are suppressed by this so-called God-given government.

Mr Jack Curtis, Norwood: All good government is founded on the observance of the moral principles of true religion. Apartheid — enshrined in the South African constitution — is immoral.

Mr Mandla Dlamini, Soweto: I firmly support the corrolation of the two. They are inseparable.

Mr John Ritchie, Randburg: I definitely agree that religious principles should have an input in the government of the land.

Mr Russel Sadowsky, Hillbrow: Thy shall not take His name in vain. Some clerics and certain politicains are guilty of this sacrilege by bandying His name around like a yoyo to add credence to declarations and misguided protestations. Thinking man must not be duped by them.

Mr D Flint: I believe the people who continually use biblical quotes are seldom to be trusted. That is probably why politicians use them. Commonsense principles should have a place in government, but religious principles are seldom commonsense principles.

Mr Ya'ir Lewis, Hillbrow: Politicians often evoke biblical quotations so as to counter and expose the political propogaida of church leaders determined on interpreting subjectively Christian principles, so as to to foster political causes and movements bent on undermining, and ultimately destroying, the Western civilisation and the white Africans of South Africa.

Mr R Shuttlewood, Berea: Religious principles are a personal thing and should not fall into the ambit of politicians. But in SA the reverse applies.

Mrs S Ingleby, Cyrildene: Christian principles should have a place in the government of the land. There is great wisdom in Christianity but its teachings should be seen in their proper context.

Bishop Temba Ntongana, Soweto: The Bible is God's constitution to all people on earth. Quoting it by anybody in authority should be done sincerely and that person should be a true Christian. It must not be used by individuals to support statements which are not acceptable to others.

Mr B Segal, Berea: The influence of the church should be seen as a contributing factor in the orderly affairs of the State.

Did the clerics fail? Or did they expect too much?

Religious leaders deny claims that there was a 'split' at their convocation. A more accurate assessment was that some delegates set their hopes too high. KAREN EVANS reports

THIS week's emergency convocation of church leaders was a "positive step", and if the more politically-motivated delegates were disappointed by the outcome, it was because their expectations were "unrealistic".

This was the opinion of several religious leaders who attended the Johannesburg gathering organised by the South African Council of Churches. They were responding to reports of divisions among the delegates and dissatisfaction with the meeting's outcome.

The convocation was called to discuss the "worsening political situation" in South Africa, and hoped to formulate non-violent strategies for fighting apartheid. It was attended by some 250 people, representing the Christian, Hindu, Moslem and Jewish faiths.

The convocation decided a committee would co-ordinate long-term campaigns and strategies. More immediate campaigns would be support for next week's three days of protest and a support campaign for political prisoners and detainees running from June 12 to July 18.

The "church campaign committee" agreed upon at the meeting is to be a national body comprising three elected members from the convocation, three from the SACC and three other church leaders.

According to Father S'Mangaliso Mkhatshwa, former general secretary of the Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference and now of the Institute for Contextual Theology, the convocation was not a failure.

"The wheels of the church grind very slowly," he told the *Weekly Mail*. "The announcement of the convocation evoked much interest, and unfortunately resulted in unrealistic expectations.

"People who suffer most in the struggle because of their experiences expected something more meaty and dramatic to come out of it."

According to Mkhatshwa, many "progressive people" were disappointed because there "wasn't really a definite programme of action.

"You don't end unjust rule by talking. Something practical has to be adopted, therefore the convocation did not come up to expectations. It is the 'how' which is worrying the leaders."

However, he believed the long-term effects could be positive if the committee appointed at the meeting, to which he has been elected, succeeded in implementing plans of action.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu participates in a play during the final service of convocation at Regina Mundi in Soweto
Picture: ANNA ZIEMINKSI, Afrapix

Several prominent church leaders who attended the meeting agreed with Mkhatshwa's assessment, and pointed to limitations on debating time as another factor which contributed to the absence of definite decisions.

Further, according to an Anglican representative who asked not to be named, church leaders had not had enough time to obtain mandates from their constituents, especially regarding controversial issues such as next week's three "days of protest" against the Labour Relations Amendment Bill.

But the successful drawing together of such a range of churches and traditions was viewed as a victory by the head of the Central Methodist Church in Johannesburg, Rev Peter Storey. "This is an important advance," he said.

And according to Dr CF Beyers Naude, former general secretary of the SACC: "Over a short period of time we were able to achieve our goal to agree on a strategy for action ... and to set up structures to take the issue further.

"It is the best one could have expected," he said, adding that he was pleased reference had been made to trade unions and detainees.

Rev Stanley Mgoba, general secretary of the Methodist Church and president of the South African Institute of Race Relations, also expressed optimism about the outcome.

Emma Mashinini, the Anglican church's Justice and Reconciliation department co-ordinator and an appointee to the committee, felt reports of a split among the convocation delegates were overstated. "The church made headway — there were only differences of opinion about the specific ways in which we should go forward."

These differences — particularly over responses to next week's days of protest — had prompted Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, to express disappointment at the "level of commitment" of some church leaders. He felt the effective banning of extra-parliamentary groups in February had placed the onus on religious leaders to take a clear political lead.

"It is clear that the commitment we wanted was more than some of the church leaders were willing to make," he said.

Issues to be taken up by the church campaign committee include prayer; pastoral care for victims of apartheid; identification of areas of possible "non-co-operation and non-collaboration" with government such as the Group Areas Act and military service; intervention strategies involving national action during emergencies; theological rationale for effective action to resist apartheid; and international relations.

Regional committees are to be established to "stimulate involvement at local levels", mainly among youth.

28

Churches to protest against apartheid

By KERRY CULLINAN

CHURCHES are to embark on an anti-apartheid campaign called "Standing for the Truth" and will support a trade unions call for a three-day protest on June 6, 7 and 8 against the banning of organisations and the Labour Bill.

This was announced by SA Council of Churches general secretary Frank Chikane this week after a two-day convocation of some 250 church leaders to discuss non-violent ways to end apartheid.

"We cannot bow down to the government any longer. We are determined to serve God, not the government," NG Sendingskerk moderator Rev Allan Boesak told the 3 000-strong crowd. "The church is ready to stand with the people, struggle with the people and die with the people," he added.

Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu noted that Tuesday was celebrated by some as Republic Day and that this year marked the 40th year of National Party rule.

"Can you imagine meeting a coloured person dancing in the streets because he was removed from the voters' role 40 years ago?" asked Tutu.

"Can you conceive of a black South African saying: 'I am celebrating that over three-million of my people have been forcibly uprooted and dumped like rubbish in arid homelands; that I am happy because my children have been detained, jailed, exiled and brutalised by the violence of apartheid?'"

Tutu added that 40 was a biblically significant number.

"Christ spent 40 days in the wilderness before returning to his people," he said.

The children of Israel had wandered for 40 years before finding the Promised Land.

"There is no doubt that we, too, are going to cross the Jordan into the Promised Land," added Tutu.

Other figures at the meeting included Methodist Church president Dr KE Mgojo, Catholic Archbishop Denis Hurley, Rev Peter Storey; Council for African Independent Churches general secretary Rev Paul Makhuba, Bishop Manas Buthelezi and Father Smangaliso Mkhatshwa.

International church bodies also showed their solidarity. British Labour MP Paul Boateng had a stern warning for State President PW Botha.

"I have a message for PW Botha on the birthday of his government," he said. "Although racism is a gaping wound in the body of Christ, it is no match for Jesus Christ."

June 5 1988 ★

SACC set to collide with State over labour laws

CHURCH-STATE confrontation is rapidly coming to a head with the South African Council of Churches' decision this week to support the three-day trade union protest.

By SIMON ANDREW and CAS St LEGER

The SACC which, through its member churches represents 10-million South Africans of all races, voted at its crisis convocation at the beginning of the week to adhere to a policy of "effective non-violent action" to overcome apartheid.

The campaign, dubbed Standing for the Truth, has as a short-term goal the support of three days of Cosatu/Nactu peaceful protest against the Labour Relations Amendment Bill planned to begin tomorrow.

Voted

Of the three resolutions voted on at the convocation, this labour issue was the only one not passed unanimously.

There were two dissenting voices out of 23 heads of churches.

The other resolutions passed by the 230 delegates from 23 churches, 17 church organisations and 21 regional church councils, were:

- A 12-man committee would work out a "non-violent action" programme.
- Church leaders would be asked to adopt this programme.

Commit

SACC general secretary the Rev Frank Chikane told the gathering at Regina Mundi Church, Soweto, at the close of the convocation: "Called to proclaim and witness to truth in living, and even by dying, we now commit ourselves with solemn resolve in prayer and action to end unjust rule in our country and to see the advent of the democratic society of justice and peace."

As the trade union movement's clashes with the Government had more to do with political rights than with labour, so the church's confrontation with the State was to do with social and human rights rather than with worship and with God.

The strategy of non-violent action has already been used to good effect and much publicity after the banning of 17 organisations on February 24, when 25 church leaders — including Archbishop Desmond Tutu — were stopped by police after attempting to march on Parliament in protest.

The emergency convocation in Johannesburg, attended by Archbishop Tutu and president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, the Rev Allan Boesak, among others, came hot on the heels of their visits to British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe and the Pope last week.

Church says 'no sanctions'

Sowetan 8/6/88

28

THE Full Gospel Church of God has come out in strong opposition to punitive sanctions, boycotts or disinvestment against South Africa and has challenged churchmen who support these strategies to produce scriptural backing for them.

The church has some 500 000 members in South Africa, about half of them Africans. The Indian membership is said to be the largest Indian Christian community in the country.

The church president, Pastor Martin Badenhorst of Pretoria, said yesterday that the General Moderature of the church had passed a resolution at a meeting in

SOWETAN Correspondent

Durban saying they could not support any measures undertaken against South Africa by way of punitive sanctions, boycotts or disinvestment, "as we find no scriptural authority for depriving persons of the means whereby they can earn a dignified livelihood or whereby they can be condemned to starvation through no fault of their own."

Peaceful

The resolution also condemned the policy of apartheid, saying it had no scriptural foundation whatsoever and was an offence to human dignity.

The Moderature said: "We believe that a just and equitable dispensation should be instituted in our society in South Africa, but by peaceful and non-violent means only".

The General Moderature consists of 15 church leaders representing the leadership from the black, coloured, Indian and white communities of the church.

Pastor Badenhorst said the resolution made no reference to any specific church leaders who supported sanctions and disinvestment.

He said: "We have appreciation and respect for the whole Christian body of believers in South Africa and worldwide, but it is sad there should be a division on such cardinal issues such as this.

"We strongly base our doctrine on the Bible, the Word of God, and we have observed that Christians who plead for sanctions have not submitted one verse of Scripture or one acceptable theological argument in favour of this.

"We can quote dozens of scriptural references to support our stand."

The pastor said that those who supported sanctions had a right to their own opinions, "but I need to challenge them to come forward and to say: "Thus says the Lord and the Scriptures".

He said it was surprising that churchmen who supported sanctions did not seem willing to have a theological discussion with their opponents.

Before his departure to Moscow, Archbishop Desmond Tutu flanked by well-wishers. With him is his wife, Leah.

Jobless recruits for Tutu demos

PORT ELIZABETH. — Unemployed workers who "protested" against Archbishop Desmond Tutu on his arrival at the airport here recently were "loaded on buses" and given placards "they did not understand".

This was said by the Rev de Villiers Soga of the Interdenominational African Ministers Association of South Africa who interviewed some of the workers at the local labour bureau after the demonstration.

"The workers were told to get on the buses if they wanted jobs. They did not know what was on the placards," Soga said.

Among the demonstrators were white members of the National Students Federation, Victims Against Terrorism, the Positive Students Organisation and people recruited by the Labour Party-controlled Northern Areas Management Committee.

Some of the placards read: "We want jobs not starvation" and "Sanctions breed violence".

Tutu, head of the Anglican Church in South Africa, walked smiling past the demonstrators.

The former mayor of the Ibhayi Town Council, Mr Tamsanqa Linda, confirmed he had recruited the unemployed workers for the demonstration and had transported them in two buses to the airport.

Linda said he "dealt with job seekers everyday. I drew the posters myself".

"We want to show our little bishop that what he's doing overseas is not in the interest of our country. People need jobs. We wanted to say thank you for what he had done to Ford and other companies which have pulled out of South Africa.

"My organisation, the United Conciliation Party, brought these jobless people here (the airport). Tutu can't come here after all this suffering. He has no mandate among my people," Linda said.

He walked directly behind Tutu during the demonstration chanting: "You're a liar. No one gave you a mandate to call for sanctions. You are a Marxist agent. To hell with you."

An official of the Ibhayi Town Council said Linda had acted in his personal capacity and his actions should not be associated with the council.

The police liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, Captain Bill Dennis, said the particulars of seven people had been taken after the demonstration because "certain airport regulations were contravened".

He said the matter would be investigated and referred to the Attorney-General.

ARGUS 9/6/88

Anti-sanctions protesters meet Tutu

Protesters meet Archbishop Tutu.

The Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH. — Archbishop Desmond Tutu was met at the airport here today to by placard-bearing anti-sanctions protesters.

About 150 people from four organisations braved the cold to wait for him.

First to arrive were a handful of members of Victims Against Terrorism. Mr Sean McCallum, a technikon student, said a branch was being formed in the city and had the support of many businessmen who were concerned about unemployment.

Next a busload of people led by former community councillor Mr Tomsanqa Linda, arrived. He said more than a 100 people in his group did not have jobs or food and people like Archbishop Tutu, who supported Ford motor company leaving the city, had no right to visit Port Elizabeth where people were starving.

Mr Linda, who formed the United Conciliation Party and was an adviser to the Ibhayi Town Council, said he spent every day "fighting the Marxist onslaught".

The third group comprised members of the Positive Student Organisation at the University of Port Elizabeth, which is affiliated to the National Student Federation.

Mr Edward Bramley said Archbishop Tutu's campaign abroad sharply contrasted with the views of thousands left jobless after the withdrawal of American companies.

Archbishop Tutu's "call for starvation of blacks as a means to achieve political objectives" had been rejected by most blacks in the region, he said.

They questioned Archbishop Tutu's motives for propagating hardship on others as a means of furthering aims not shared by those affected.

The fourth group comprised members of the Northern Areas Management Committee and of the Labour Party.

Cape Times (28)
10/6/88

Airport protesters arrested

PORT ELIZABETH. — Seven people were held briefly by the police following yesterday's demonstration at the airport here against the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, Bishop Desmond Tutu.

The bishop had to walk through a gauntlet of abuse from some 250 banner-waving demonstrators when he arrived at the H F Verwoerd Airport for a day-long visit to the city.

At a lunch in the city soon afterwards, attended by prominent members of commerce and industry, Bishop Tutu asked how, under a state of emergency, the protest had been allowed.

Vlok condemns SA churchmen

28

Political Staff Cape Times 10/6/88

TWO prominent Western Cape churchmen, the Rev Lionel Louw and Dr Allan Boesak, were strongly criticized yesterday by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, for statements they had made about actions taken by the police and defence force.

Mr Vlok said Mr Louw had made a statement in the United States based on hearsay and "untested allegations", and accused Dr Boesak of telling "blatant lies".

Mr Louw, chairman of World Vision in South Africa and former chairman of the Western Province Council of Churches, had written in one of the world's largest newspapers, the Los Angeles Times, that the SA police and defence force "are harassing and imprisoning innocent people and committed atrocities of torture and killings. But they are not being held responsible for their actions".

Mr Vlok said this allegation was "based on hearsay or untested allegations. He actually holds this out as the truth before millions of people".

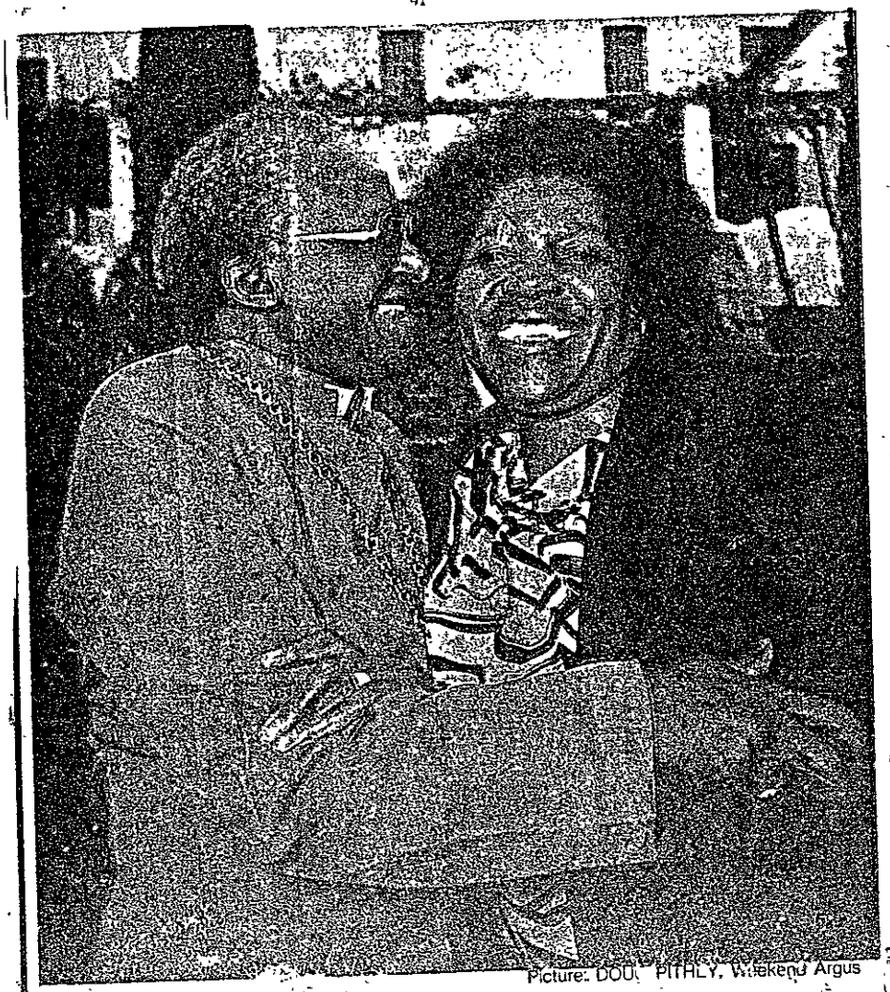
Dr Boesak had written in a book: "During recent years, there has hardly been a place where the police and army have not wantonly murdered our children ..." Mr Vlok called the statement a "blatant lie".

'I WAS SHACKLED BY POLICE', SAYS MRS DESMOND TUTU

W/E ARGUS 11/6/88

28

DEMAND FOR PROBE



Picture: DOUG PITHEY, Weekend Argus

ARCHBISHOP and Mrs Leah Tutu share a moment together in the grounds of Bishopscourt, Cape Town.

Weekend Argus Reporters

AN urgent top-level inquiry was demanded today into the alleged mistreatment of Mrs Leah Tutu, wife of the Archbishop of Cape Town.

The demand was made by Mrs Helen Suzman, PFP law and order spokesman, and Mr Ray Swart, the party's Parliamentary caucus chairman.

Both described the alleged treatment meted out to Mrs Tutu by traffic officials and the police in Johannesburg as "totally disgraceful".

Mrs Suzman said: "When the facts are established the person responsible for treating her in that way should be dismissed immediately. A man like that should not be allowed to have contact with the public in an official capacity.

"It is incredible that a minor offence should warrant such vicious retaliation."

"Contradictions"

A spokesman for the Ministry of Law and Order, Brigadier Leon Mellet, said today: "We are aware of the allegations that have been made, but the details are still unknown. Until such time as the contradictory details have been sorted out beyond doubt, [illegible] us

released, or at least allowed a telephone call.

"The officer then handcuffed me to the chair and left, at which point I started to scream, demanding to know whether I had any rights. The officer came back into the room with another man who told me: 'Ek sal jou bek skop' (I'll kick you in the mouth).

Chained

Mrs Tutu was then driven to the magistrate's court, again handcuffed, this time to the handle on the roof of the car.

"The officer handcuffed me to his arm and started to walk briskly to the court. When I objected to his pace he said: 'Shut your f... mouth'."

Mrs Tutu was chained to three men before being taken to John Vorster Square where she was locked in a cell for women for more than two hours before being released on payment of R200 bail.

She is scheduled to appear in court on June 20.

Johannesburg traffic department spokesman Mr Eric Hill last night said a warrant of arrest had been issued for Mrs Tutu, but he would not comment until the matter had been fully investigated.

Mrs Tutu said she was outraged by the behaviour of the traffic officials and the policemen.

"The pettiness, rudeness and bad language of these people was shocking. If they had civilly asked me to accompany them to court I would gladly have done so. Anyway, how could I, a 55-year-old with high heels dash away from police?

"It was obviously because I was the archbishop's wife that they chained me."

Mrs Tutu said she would fight the case in court when she appeared.

Lieutenant Colonel Frans Malherbe, Witwaterand Police liaison officer, confirmed last night that Mrs Tutu had been brought by traffic officers to John Vorster Square.

"She was brought to John Vorster Square about 1.45pm. A charge of contempt of court was laid against her and she was then locked in a cell for females."

A police spokesman said as far as he knew Mrs Tutu had not been handcuffed at any stage.

He said: "From the information I have after checking the allegations, Mrs Tutu was treated very nicely and correctly. As far as I know nothing went wrong, there were no scenes and everything was handled in a very nice way."

He said a police captain "even took the unusual step of arranging a court date, chosen by her".

share a moment together in the court, Cape Town.

"Contradictions"

A spokesman for the Ministry of Law and Order, Brigadier Leon Mellet, said today: "We are aware of the allegations that have been made, but the details are still unknown. Until such time as the contradictory details have been sorted out beyond doubt, it will not be timeous for us at this stage to make any comment."

Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who flies from Cape Town for overseas today, said he intended seeing his lawyers about the incident.

He said last night: "I take very grave exception to the treatment she was given and I want to take the matter further."

Highly contradictory claims have been made on the matter.

Mrs Tutu, 55, said she was arrested when she went to pay her car registration in Johannesburg. She was then taken to John Vorster Square where she was charged with contempt of court and locked up for more than two hours before being released on R200 bail.

Angry

At her Soweto home last night she angrily described her more than three-hour ordeal: "When I went to the traffic department to register my car a traffic officer asked me to step into a separate room.

"I waited for at least half an hour before the officer said he was arresting me for a traffic offence. He told me to sit on a chair facing the wall and he handcuffed my hand to the door before leaving the room.

"I sat in this position for at least 10 minutes before banging on the door with my free hand and demanding that I be

three men before being taken to John Vorster Square where

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by the ANC. details. press secretary, Brigadier Leon Mellet, said ... involved in any attack on an ANC member.

Archbishop accuses Joburg traffic cops

Mrs Tutu 'chained'

Cape Times 11/6/88

(28)

HANDCUFFED ... Mrs Tutu, who was allegedly handcuffed and chained by the foot by a Johannesburg traffic officer yesterday.

JOHANNESBURG. — Mrs Leah Tutu, wife of the Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev Desmond Tutu, was yesterday handcuffed and chained by the foot at the Traffic Department's offices here in connection with a traffic offence, Archbishop Tutu said last night.

Mrs Tutu was also handcuffed to a Traffic Department car while being taken to John Vorster Square police station, he said.

And when she protested, a traffic officer threatened to kick her in the mouth.

Archbishop Tutu said Mrs Tutu went to the traffic department to sort out a summons. "Once they had established her identity, they handcuffed her to a door."

He said that when her hand became numb, she hit the door. "The response of the officers was to chain her foot to the door."

When Mrs Tutu protested at not being allowed to make a telephone call, she was told by a traffic officer that if she complained any more, he would kick her in "jou bek" (your mouth).

"The traffic department then took her to John Vorster Square. On the way there she was handcuffed to the door of the car.

"At John Vorster Square she was held in handcuffs between two men who had also been taken there in connection with traffic offences."

Mrs Tutu was allowed to make a telephone call and was subsequently released on R200 bail.

An SAP spokesman said Mrs Tutu was brought to John Vorster Square at 1.45pm after being arrested by traffic police on a charge of contempt of court.

Captain J J Slabbert said that as far as he knew Mrs Tutu had not been handcuffed. "From the information I have after checking the allegations, Mrs Tutu was treated very nicely." He said she was locked in police cells and released on bail of R200 at 4pm.

A traffic police spokesman said there had been a warrant out for Mrs Tutu's arrest, but would not comment further. — Own Correspondent and Sapa

Style article | Man shot in ...

Cape Times 13/6/88

Tutu almost missed his Moscow flight

28

LONDON. — Archbishop Desmond Tutu made his Moscow-bound flight with seconds to spare yesterday morning after arriving more than 90 minutes late from Johannesburg.

Archbishop Tutu, who is flying to Moscow to join in ecumenical celebrations of the 1000th anniversary of Christianity in Russia, was picked up at the aircraft by a British Airways car which sped across the tarmac to the connecting Moscow flight.

Before he left Johannesburg on Saturday, chanting supporters and critics scuffled during rival demonstrations at Jan Smuts Airport.

It was the fourth airport protest against Archbishop Tutu since he returned three weeks ago from a trip to Europe and the US during which he called for tougher sanctions. — Sapa-AP

Churchmen oppose sanctions

13/6/88 (28) B/Day

ELSABÉ WESSELS

MORE than 60% of SA's population was against sanctions, church leaders opposed to sanctions claimed in Johannesburg on Friday.

Representatives from different churches, including the Zionist church which has more than four-million members, and the biggest white Afrikaans church, the Ned Geref Kerk, convened to voice opposition to sanctions.

About 970 church groups and organisations were represented by the estimated 300 representatives, Full Gospel Church of God Pastor Martin Badenhorst said.

There were also splinter groups from the Anglican and Methodist churches.

Spokesmen strongly opposed the call for sanctions on "Christian grounds," and criticised Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu for his strong sanctions stand.

The convocation issued a statement: "The grief and suffering that would be caused to innocent people through such measures cannot be justifed."

GMG Times 13/6/88 (28)

Jo'burg probes 'crude' arrest

JOHANNESBURG. — The Johannesburg management committee meets today to discuss Friday's "crude" incident in which Mrs Leah Tutu, wife of Archbishop Desmond Tutu, was arrested and allegedly handcuffed, chained, sworn at and threatened with violence by Johannesburg traffic police.

Mrs Tutu, 55, was arrested after a warrant for her arrest was issued after she failed to comply with a court summons for not paying an outstanding traffic fine.

The chairman of the management committee, Mr Francois Oberholzer, said a decision would be made today.

"I find it so unnecessary. The traffic officer might have been in his rights to arrest someone for contempt of court, but Mrs Tutu is not a person who would disappear.

"The steps taken are to be deplored. More responsible steps could have been taken. The whole incident was handled crudely," he said.

Archbishop Tutu, who arrived in Moscow yesterday to attend celebrations to mark the 1000th anniversary of christianity in Russia, said he would take the matter further.

He alleged his wife was handcuffed, chained by the foot, sworn at and threatened with violence by traffic officers. "I take very grave exception to the treatment she was given."

According to the police liaison officer for the Witwatersrand, Colonel Frans Malherbe, Mrs Tutu was given "royal" treatment during the two hours she was in police custody.

Mrs Tutu was not in handcuffs when she entered the charge office at John Vorster Square, as alleged, after being taken there by the traffic department officers, he said.

"Remarks by BBC News that she was thrown into a police cell are also untrue — we don't do that kind of thing. She was placed in a cell like we do with all other prisoners.

"In her case, bail of R200 was especially arranged for her because she is Mrs Tutu."

The traffic department had instituted an inquiry into the matter, spokesman Mr Eric Hill said yesterday. — Sapa

(28)

13/6/88

★ Cape Times, Monday,

Methodists say no to anti-violence proposal

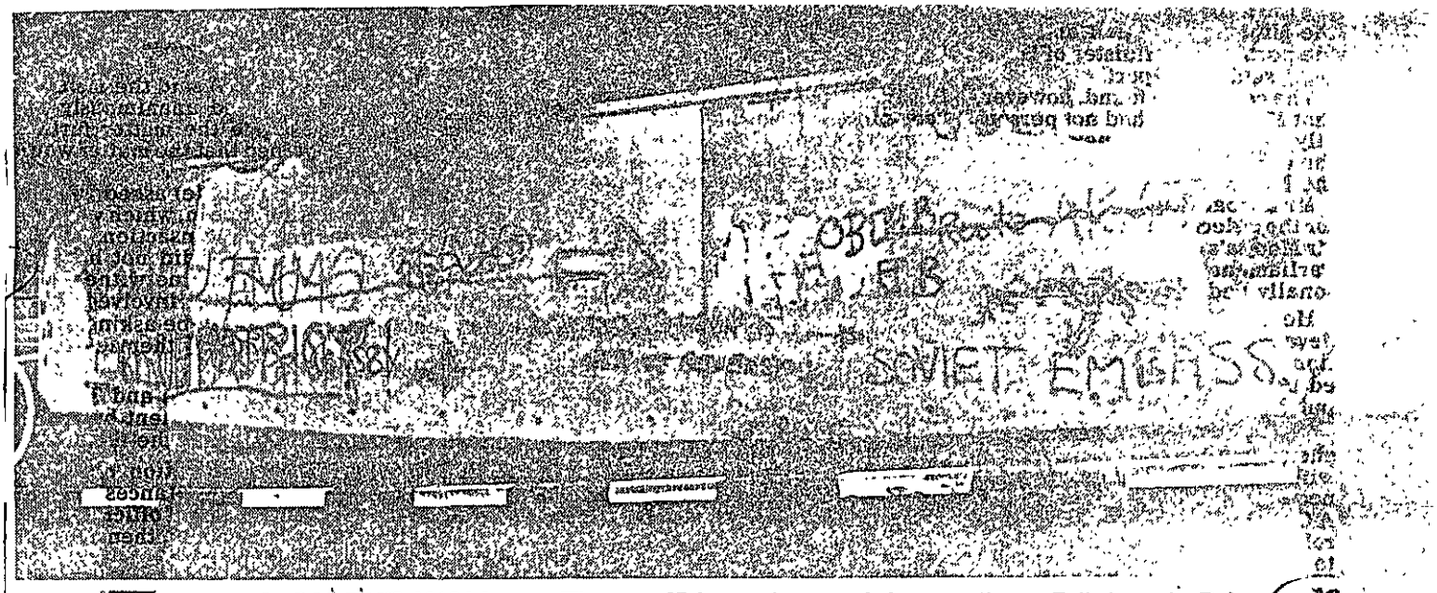
Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The largest circuit of the Methodist Church of SA at the weekend rejected a controversial proposal which, if accepted, would have put the church on a strong anti-violence path that would have included opposition to military service.

The annual Synod of the South-Western Transvaal District (SWTD), chaired by the Rev Dr Peter Storey, unanimously accepted an amendment to the resolution taken at last year's Conference for the church to become a Peace Church.

The amendment committed the church to further discussion of the same resolution because they were "not yet ready to commit themselves to becoming a peace church".

The acceptance of the resolution would have required the church to specifically state its rejection of violence, as well as to instruct its members not to participate in military service.



WRITING ON THE WALL . . . The graffiti on the retaining wall on Edinburgh Drive.

CAPE TIMES 14/6/88

Tutu cuffing: Joburg traffic authorities to probe incident

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The traffic department here is to hold an inquiry tomorrow into the incident in which a department official handcuffed Mrs Leah Tutu, wife of the Archbishop of Cape Town, at the licence office last week.

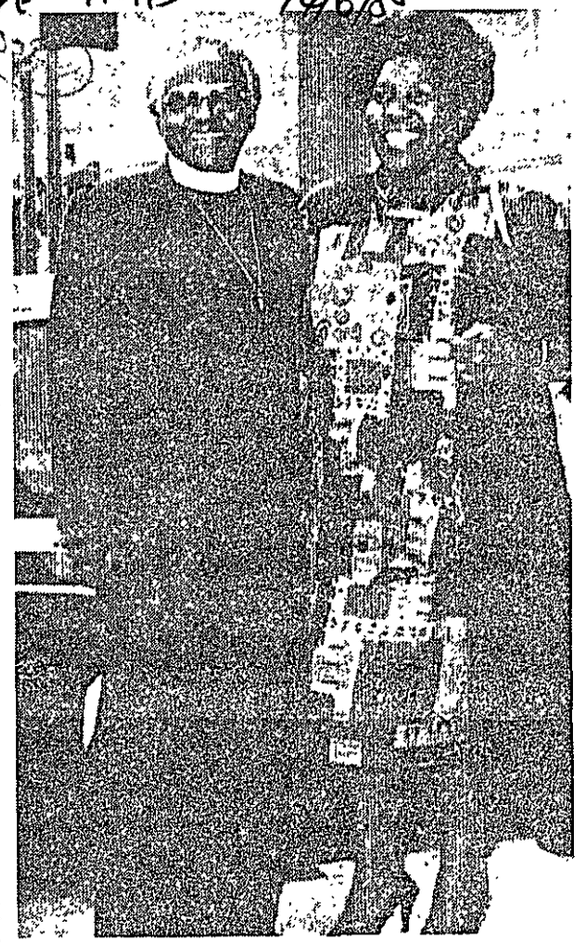
Mr Francois Oberholzer, chairman of Johannesburg's Management Committee, which held an urgent meeting on the matter yesterday, said no action could be taken against the officer until the inquiry had been heard.

A spokesman for the Johannesburg Municipal Employees' Association (JMEA) said the traffic officer concerned, who has not been named, had not approached them to represent him at the inquiry.

He said that before the union decided to represent an employee at an inquiry, it would have to investigate the matter.

The traffic officer has confirmed that he handcuffed Mrs Tutu when she came to renew a vehicle licence.

Mrs Tutu has alleged she was chained first by the arm and later by the foot while being held for nearly five hours, and was allegedly told by the officer she would be kicked in the mouth if she did not stop complaining.



TO MOSCOW . . . Archbishop Desmond Tutu and his wife Leah at Heathrow Airport en route to Moscow. Picture: REUTERS

Tutu factions do battle in graffiti on council wall

Staff Reporter

TWO factions, each with strong views on Archbishop Desmond Tutu, have been using a City Council retaining wall to air their views.

The wall, in a prime spot on the corner of Edinburgh Drive and Torquay Road, has been cleaned at least four times in the past few years. But the graffiti artists keep at it with spraycans and whitewash painting new graffiti and erasing opposition slogans.

The owner of the house, Mr Norman Snitcher, has resigned himself to the writing on the wall which he feels is a sign of the times.

However, he had it cleaned twice and admits that "I would rather not have this landmark there at all".

On two occasions the wall was cleaned by the municipality and yesterday the City Engineer, Mr Des Riley, said it would be given immediate attention.

He said the council would appreciate any information which could lead to the prosecution of the culprits because it took a lot of manpower to clean the walls.

"We would encourage people with the ability to create proper murals as these would discourage this type of graffiti," he said.

Tutu says thanks to Soviets

(28)

19/6/88

MOSCOW — Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu said yesterday the people of SA were grateful to the Soviet people for backing their fight against apartheid.

The official news agency Tass reported Tutu, speaking during a meeting with Soviet First Vice-President Pyotr Demichev, also accused the SA government of attempting to isolate part of the clergy to make it a "docile puppet".

Demichev reaffirmed the Soviet Union's determination to support national liberation in Africa, Tass said.

Tutu is in the Soviet Union for celebrations to mark the 1 000th anniversary of Russian Christianity.

● TUTU

□ In London, Anti-apartheid Movement (AAM) president Archbishop Trevor Huddlestone last night praised the Communist Party of SA (CPSA), saying proportionately its members had sacrificed more than all others in their commitment to end apartheid.

Huddlestone was speaking at function attended by more than 500 dignatories to celebrate his 75th birthday.

Mistake

Referring to an earlier speech by a CPSA member, Huddlestone said: "I salute the Communist Party of SA with all my heart. I was proud to stand on the same platform with them in SA and I still am proud to do so now.

"I have never been able to imagine how people can mistake integrity and truth and label it as ideology and dismiss it as terrorism."

As an Anglican clergyman, he said, he was proud to share the stage with ANC president Oliver Tambo and Swapo secretary general Hermann Toivo Ja Toivo. — Sapa-Reuter, Own Correspondent.

Tutu 'grateful' for Soviet support

Cape Times 15/6/88

(28)

MOSCOW. — The Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev Desmond Tutu, said yesterday the people of South Africa were grateful to the Soviet people for backing their fight against apartheid.

Archbishop Tutu said this during a meeting with Soviet First Vice-President Mr Pyotr Demichev.

"Desmond Tutu expressed gratitude to the Soviet people for their support of the South African people in their struggle for justice and freedom," the official Soviet news agency Tass said.

Archbishop Tutu also accused Pretoria of attempting to make part of the clergy into a "docile puppet".

Mr Demichev re-affirmed the Soviet Union's support for national liberation in Africa, Tass said.

Archbishop Tutu is in the Soviet Union for the celebrations to mark the 1 000th anniversary of Russian Christianity. — Sapa-Reuter

Cape Times 15/6/88 (28)

Archbishop praises SACP

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The president of the anti-apartheid movement, Archbishop Trevor Huddlestone, last night praised the South African Communist Party (SACP) saying that in proportion to their numbers its members had sacrificed more than all others in their commitment to end apartheid.

Archbishop Huddlestone was speaking at a function attended by more than 500 dignatories to celebrate his 75th birthday.

Messages praising him for his contribution to the fight against apartheid were received from more than 30 world leaders including the heads of state of Canada, Sweden, Australia, and United Nations secretary general Dr Perez de Cuellar.

Tutu thanks Soviets and raises storm

Star 16/6/88

Political Staff

28

CAPE TOWN — Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu's reported thanks to the Soviet Union for supporting the "liberation struggle" in South Africa has been criticised by politicians of all parties.

The archbishop, in Moscow for celebrations of the 1 000th anniversary of Christianity in the Soviet Union, was reported to have thanked First Vice-President Pjotr Demichev for his country's "support for the people of South Africa in their struggle for justice and freedom".

The statement was reported by Tass, the official Soviet news agency.

Archbishop Tutu also accused the South African Government of attempting to turn part of the clergy into a "docile puppet".

SHACKLES AND CHAINS

Yesterday Progressive Federal Party information spokesman Mr Peter Soal said he could understand that blacks pursuing freedom would seek help from whatever quarter.

"I don't think Bishop Tutu is committed to communism. But it will not do the cause of liberty any good to seek help from the Soviet Union.

"Do they want to exchange the shackles of apartheid for the chains of communism?"

Mr Con Botha, MP for Umlazi and National Party information officer, said it was strange for a church leader to thank and look for support from a country which is officially atheist.

Mr Clive Derby-Lewis of the Conservative Party said: "How do you react to somebody like that? What is he up to, and more importantly, what is the Government up to by letting him traipse round the world making statements like that?"

Govt urged to arrest Tutu

STAR 16/6/88

28

The United Christian Action group has urged the Government to consider arresting Archbishop Desmond Tutu for treason.

The church group, little known until recently but claiming four million members, yesterday attacked statements attributed to Archbishop Tutu thanking the Soviet people for backing the South African people in their freedom struggle.

The statements were quoted by Tass reporting on Tutu's visit to the USSR for celebrations on the 1 000th anniversary of Russian Christianity.

"Should the statement attributed to Archbishop Tutu be correct, United Christian Action urges your Government to consider arresting him upon his arrival back from the Soviet Union on account of treason," the group said in a statement sent to President Botha.

The statement said the only Soviet support for South Africans was for groups like the ANC. — Sapa-Reuter.

● See Page 15.

Govt urged to arrest Tutu

Star 16/6/88

28

The United Christian Action group has urged the Government to consider arresting Archbishop Desmond Tutu for treason.

The church group, little known until recently but claiming four million members, yesterday attacked statements attributed to Archbishop Tutu thanking the Soviet people for backing the South African people in their freedom struggle.

The statements were quoted by Tass reporting on Tutu's visit to the USSR for celebrations on the 1 000th anniversary of Russian Christianity.

"Should the statement attributed to Archbishop Tutu be correct, United Christian Action urges your Government to consider arresting him upon his arrival back from the Soviet Union on account of treason," the group said in a statement sent to President Botha.

The statement said the only Soviet support for South Africans was for groups like the ANC. — Sapa-Reuter.

● See Page 15.

(28) B/Day 17/6/88

SANCTIONS PROTEST HITS TUTU'S SOWETO HOME

ATTACKS on Archbishop Desmond Tutu, long a target of white anger in SA, spread to Johannesburg's black township of Soweto yesterday.

A black-painted graffito reading "Tutu we want jobs" was daubed on the garden wall of the cleric's Soweto home, apparently by opponents of his campaign for anti-SA trade sanctions.

It was later amended in red paint to read: "Tutu we do not want jobs under apartheid."

Tutu has repeatedly been criticised in SA for his globe-trotting campaign to persuade foreign governments to impose tighter sanctions because of apartheid.

The Anglican archbishop has acknowledged sanctions will exacerbate black unemployment but says blacks are prepared to pay the price to get rid of apartheid.

Tutu was under attack from whites again yesterday over a visit to the Soviet Union this week.

A commentary on the SABC accused him of cynicism and the pro-government newspaper The Citizen said Tutu was lucky Pretoria had not acted to silence him.

"Each country the archbishop visits gives him the chance to put across his poisonous message that the SA government is evil....

"Can you imagine the archbishop, if he were a priest in the Soviet Union, being allowed to blackguard the Soviet government?" the Citizen asked in an editorial. — Sapa-Reuter.

Cape Times 17/6/88

'We want jobs' graffiti at Tutu home

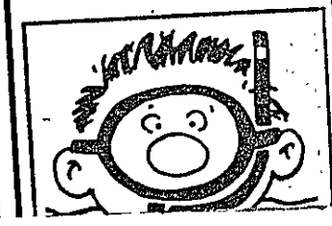
(28)

SOWETO. — Attacks on Archbishop Desmond Tutu spread to Soweto yesterday when graffiti reading "Tutu we want jobs" was daubed on the garden wall of his home here.

This was later amended to read "Tutu we do not want jobs under apartheid".

The Anglican archbishop has acknowledged that sanctions will exacerbate black unemployment but says blacks are prepared to pay the price to get rid of apartheid.

Bishop Tutu, who visited the Soviet Union this week, has been under fire from certain groups in South Africa because of his globe-trotting campaign to persuade foreign governments to impose tighter sanctions. — Sapa-Reuter



'Textbook case of tyranny' in SA

Argus 17/6/88

Staff Reporter

THE South African Government was a textbook case of tyranny, said theologian Professor Charles Villa-Vicencio to more than 250 people at a June 16 prayer service.

Clergy from various faiths and denominations and representatives of youth organisations spoke at the 2½-hour service in the Metropolitan Methodist Church on Greenmarket Square yesterday.

Professor Villa-Vicencio said the dictionary defined tyranny as the despotic or cruel exercise of power in an arbitrary and cruel manner.

"The South African Government is a textbook case," he said.

Christians, Muslims and all who believed in justice and freedom had to commit themselves to fighting for these ideals.

Church leaders at a convocation in Johannesburg last month had acknowledged that the Church had failed to provide "effective opposition to an unjust, tyrannical system".

But all Christians were obliged to regard the "suffering, victimisation and oppression of the people of God as a violation of the body of Christ," Professor Villa-Vicencio said.

The Rev Russell Botma of the Western Province Council of Churches said the service was a celebration of the courage of youth who had accepted the sacrifice for saying no to apartheid.

Moulana Faried Esack of the Call of Islam said even while the country was going through its darkest days the State was able to "conjure up measures even darker than before" and it was a price people would have to pay for freedom.

Remembering those who had died in the confrontations of 1976 and since, Mr Esack said the strength of the State and the enormous power it wielded could not be underestimated, but there were "limits to the depravity as they dehumanise us and themselves".

"We are determined to ensure that we are the last generation to suffer under apartheid. We will see freedom in our lifetime.

"We have a moral responsibility to oppose injustices. Our humanity depends on it."

Mrs Dorothy Pieterson, the mother of Zolile Hector Pieterson who was 12 when he was shot by police in Soweto in 1976, wept as she told the congregation of the day her son had died.

After the service police vans drew up in Greenmarket Square and broadcast a warning for people to disperse.

Picture: MIKE HUTCHINGS.

REMEMBRANCE: Mrs Dorothy Pieterson, mother of 12-year-old Zolile Hector Pieterson, who was shot by police in Soweto on June 16 1976, weeps as she tells how her son died.

People like Tutu don't deserve passports, says CP

Star 17/6/88

South Africa did not owe passports or travel documents to people who went abroad to undermine the country, the **Leader of the Opposition, Dr Andries Treurnicht,** said in the House of Assembly yesterday.

Referring specifically to Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, he said such travel documents were not due to people who went abroad to agitate for sanctions or praise organisations such as the ANC and the SACP for their intervention in the country's affairs.

"I want to allege that South Africa and its government does not owe any such person a passport," he said.

Archibishop Desmond Tutu had no right to speak in Moscow on behalf of South Africans, **Mr David Swanepoel (NP, Gazina)** said.

Speaking in the third reading debate on the Budget, he said Archbishop Tutu, who thanked the Russians for their support for non-whites in their battle to get rid of apartheid, was a man who did not like the truth. He said he only had the support of some whites and a very small percentage of blacks. — Sapa.

Cape Times 17/6/88 (28)

Why give Tutu a passport?

SOUTH AFRICA owed no passports or travel documents to people who went abroad to undermine the country, the Leader of the Opposition, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said yesterday.

Referring specifically to the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev Desmond Tutu, he said such travel documents were not due to persons who went abroad to agitate for sanctions or praise organizations such as the ANC and SACP for their intervention in the country's affairs.

He said he understood the government's careful handling of Archbishop Tutu, however, as one did not want to make a political martyr of the man unnecessarily.

Archibishop Tutu had no right to speak in Moscow on behalf of South Africans, Mr David Swanepoel (NP, Gezina) said in the Third Reading debate on the Budget yesterday. — Sapa

Man of immense conviction

W/E ARGUS 18/6/88 (28)

By ROBERT HOUWING
Weekend Argus Reporter

THE outgoing Anglican Dean of Cape Town, the Very Rev E L "Ted" King, will reflect on a colourful, eventful and sometimes stormy 30 years at his St George's Cathedral post.

In keeping with tradition, Dean King is obliged to step down from office this year at the compulsory age of 68.

The towering, outspoken and arrestingly articulate priest might be expected to put his feet up after three hectic decades at St George's Cathedral, but he has a temporary new challenge to face as a visiting professor at the Virginia Episcopalian Seminary in Washington DC.

He vacates his room in the cathedral at the end of August before leaving for the United States with his wife, Dr Helen King. They intend settling back in Cape Town, at a new home in Rondebosch East, before Christmas.

Memories

Dean King retires with no shortage of memories — some sour and others fond.

In his spell at the cathedral helm, the Dean — a man of immense conviction, never afraid to speak his mind — has been at loggerheads with an amazing cross-section of authorities and personalities, from prime ministers and police chiefs to rugby and television bosses.

An avid writer, who once considered a career in journalism, Dean King will be remembered as much for his frequent pieces in the monthly cathedral magazine as his willingness to address the broader media on immediate issues.

He has described James Bond as a "sub-human, atavistic character with a wearisome callousness and seemingly endless capacity for death and seduction" — while confessing a liking for detective stories and thrillers — and cautioned television watchers against "losing themselves" in popular "soaps" like Dallas and Dynasty.

He has caused a furore among rugby enthusiasts by likening "fanaticism" for the game in South Africa to spectacles in the Colosseum in the decaying Roman Empire, while acknowledging an interest in the sport and the fact that he played it at school and club level in his native Wales.

The Dean also ruffled feathers when he asserted that Sunday television "bombards viewers with a God trapped and domesticated on the small screen, to the extent that it strains credulity.

"Religion squirts out at us from the SABC and Sunday viewing can hardly be called compulsive watching," he added.

And there was a keen exchange of views in 1983 when Dean King expressed his personal tolerance towards homosexuality.

He is no stranger to the dock in city courtrooms, more often than not for resisting laws he considers unjust, and has had more than mere verbal threats to his life.

Five years ago a powerful explosive placed in his car was only discovered four days after Dean King had noticed "wires dangling from the dashboard".

The Cardiff-born clergyman has scores of detractors but many more friends, particularly among the underprivileged in South Africa. A vigorous champion of justice and civil liberties, it is not for nothing that he has been called "a priest of the people".

He reflected in an interview this week on "a very colourful time with many changes and challenges to the country and the church; a tremendous tangle of events.

"There have been some splendid occasions in the cathedral, culminating in the enthronement of our present Archbishop, when dozens of Bishops and Archbishops from all over the world visited us.

"We have had great musical and choral events, the incredible siege of 1972 when the cathedral reeked of teargas and police burst in to chase and beat students, a string of all-night vigils and protests, and squatters living in and around the premises.

"I have always tried to open the cathedral to the broad human family and human activities like plays, African dancing, ballet and poetry. A cathedral is a clinic for the exorcism of evil in the world.

"The church has become appallingly religious — we've separated it from the world in the wrong way; made people feel they have to be 'worthy' types to come in."

Dean King says he has never regretted any of his clashes with authority. "They are a very puny price to pay for trying to be part of the church's witness to the Gospel."

He remains deeply disturbed by the impact of television in South Africa. "Television is a terrifyingly powerful medium. I was amused when somebody recently termed it a 'glass teat'; so many people accept what is fed to them.

"Religion on the screen is so often pious and inhuman. We could have much more exciting discussions For instance, why not allow students who don't believe in God to let rip?

"Let's tell it like it is, not the way we pretend it is. The Church has not addressed young people and their lifestyles and personal problems.

"As for that programme on liberation theology . . what a shocking travesty.

"When do we ever see Archbishop Tutu say anything? Only when we see two minutes of Cliff Saunders, asking him a loaded question."

Dean King's impression of Archbishop Tutu? "A great man, a prophet. Those who know him are aware of the enormous width of his human feeling and love of all people.

"His knowledge of black suffering strains him to the uppermost at times, I think.

"He has tremendous support and loyalty. He often says that Desmond Tutu is not the Church and that he wants people to disagree with him, within the family.

"He doesn't expect loyalty to everything he says."

The Dean has mixed feelings about South Africa's future "I swing from pessimism to mild hope for change. When one thinks of the tremendous potential for this country and its resources, one has great hope in the long run.

"But I anticipate a rough ride in the short to medium term; the most frightening thing is the way whites are under the misapprehension that the clampdown means strong government and that problems have drifted away.

"I don't feel a terrible wrench over my departure. The Archbishop appointed me Dean Emeritus at my Diocesan farewell recently and I hope to remain useful to the church and the cathedral.

"I have no regrets about leaving the administrative work, the financial problems and the many synods!"

Dean King will be succeeded by Canon Colin Jones, 37, Anglican chaplain to the University of the Western Cape.

Advice

His advice to the new Dean? "You've got to have strong nerves, wide interests, an open heart and lots of patience. Also, a large sense of humour and the ability to laugh a lot. In these times, you need to have a sense of the absurd as well.

"Canon Jones is an excellent person to have here.

"People have remarked about the length on my spell, but I am not the longest-serving Dean, Dean Barnett-Clarke had an absolutely exceptional spell of 46 years, mostly in the later part of the 19th century

Dean King intends being "fairly active" in retirement. "I'll write and read a lot and I hope to learn to cook competently and attractively."

Mrs King has two more years to complete in her capacity as a radio therapist at Groote Schuur hospital.

Picture: DION TROMP, Weekend Argus

The Anglican Dean of Cape Town, the Rev E L King, and his wife, Helen, will soon be saying farewell to St George's Cathedral after a 30-year link.

19/6/86 S Times

Sacked mayor busses jobless to Tutu demo

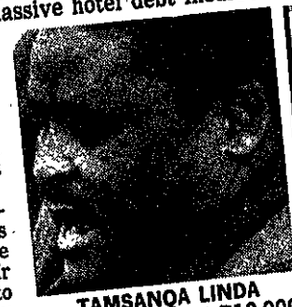
By BILL KRIGE

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu's chief tormentor is an out-of-work world traveller who is being sued for a massive hotel debt incurred before he fled to Transkei during the 1985 unrest.

Mr Tamsanqa Linda, co-president of the United Christian Conciliation Party, was on hand when the archbishop arrived in Port Elizabeth to a rowdy demonstration last week.

And when the controversial advocate of sanctions went to Johannesburg before flying to the Soviet Union, Mr Linda was again on hand to orchestrate opposition to him before the TV cameras.

Yesterday the one-time mayor of Ibhayi said he had bussed about 200 people to H F Verwoerd Airport from unemployment queues.



TAMSANQA LINDA
Owes hotel about R12 000

Suffering

While admitting he had hired two buses, he denied allegations that he had rented the crowd — which was allowed to demonstrate despite the state of emergency.

"We deliberately recruited unemployed people to show their displeasure at the archbishop's attitude towards sanctions," he said.

"Some of them have lost their jobs because of sanctions.

"They are the ones who suffer — not the likes of Tutu, whose children are at school in America."

Mr Linda fled Veeplaas in 1985 when his home was destroyed by arsonists.

"I lost everything during the unrest — my shop as well as my house."

He then moved to the Holiday Inn in Summerstrand, Port Elizabeth, before going to Transkei.

Last month the hotel applied to the Supreme Court for a default judgment of R11 286 plus interest against him for unpaid accommodation, food and entertainment bills.

Despite losing everything, Mr Linda has been overseas several times since 1985.

"I am going again later this month under the auspices of the UCCP," he said.

He lost his position as mayor for failing to attend four consecutive meetings.

But last December he was appointed "adviser" to Ibhayi's Administrator Barry Erasmus and given an allowance of R600.

now, held at Kirstenbosch at the weekend.
Picture: RICHARD BELL

'Russians want peaceful solution'

CAPE TIMES 20/6/88

SOWETO. — The Russians have no selfish interests in South Africa and think the political injustice should be solved non-violently, Archbishop Desmond Tutu told reporters at his home here on his return from Moscow.

Archbishop Tutu and his wife, Leah, arrived in South Africa on Saturday after attending the 1000th anniversary celebrations of the Russian Orthodox Church.

"The Russians do not know anything about the Cuban build-up. The Cubans are not their 'clients'," Archbishop Tutu said.

He said the Russians wanted the crisis in South Africa to be solved equitably and believed that when things deteriorated it was the people who suffered.

Asked about his attitude to sanctions, he said: "The monster is apartheid. When that goes, there won't be any justification for sanctions."

The archbishop, who was faced with a barrage of placard-waving anti-Tutu campaigners at Jan Smuts Airport, said he was tired of the campaign to discredit him.

"I ask those organized anti-Tutu demonstrators to stop before someone gets hurt.

"Who tells these people my travel schedule?"

He said he was angry about the "scandalous" conduct shown to his wife last week. — Sapa

Same numbers win lottery for twins

BOCA RATON, Florida. — Identical twin sisters came up winners in Florida's Cash Three lottery, unaware each had bet on identical numbers.

Karen Snyder — who won about R2 160 from her three one-dollar tickets with the numbers 2-4-6 — and her sister Kathy, whose single ticket paid about R580, agreed it was a strange coincidence. — Sapa-AP

Cape Times 22/6/88 (28)

Tutu protesters get 'tip-offs from press'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A group of demonstrators, co-ordinating airport protests against Archbishop Desmond Tutu's stand on sanctions, appears to have access to privileged information about the archbishop's travel movements.

The archbishop's spokesman, Mr John Allen, said the protesters had been at airports at times when only a small group within the church knew of his travel schedule.

Mr Mark Heaton of the National Student Federation (NSF) — one of the protesting bodies — said they had a contact in a press agency who told them of Bishop Tutu's arrivals and departures.

Other bodies in the protests were Inkatha's United Workers of SA, Victims against Terrorism, the United Christian Action Group and the United Christian Conciliation Party.

Mr Allen said that while the archbishop did not question people's right to protest, he had questioned the impartiality of the police in acting against demonstrators greeting several of his arrivals and departures.

He said it seemed that if any action was taken on these occasions, it was against pro-Tutu supporters while anti-Tutu supporters seemed to have unlimited right to protest in and outside the airports.

Mr Heaton denied this. He said that on Archbishop Tutu's departure for Moscow an NSF member was arrested for handing out press statements. Police could not confirm the arrest claimed by Mr Heaton.

south NEWS

'I won't be stopped'

Tutu throws down the gauntlet

Is a good thing suddenly bad because it is done by the Russians? Did the Allies become contaminated (with communism) because they fought with Russians against the Nazis? — Archbishop Desmond Tutu on his return from the Soviet Union

From MONO BADELA

JOHANNESBURG. — Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu is "totally unrepentant" of what he had said and done in the Soviet Union and those attempting to discredit him "can do their worst", he says in an interview.

He thanked the Russians for providing refugees from South Africa with succour and scholarships.

"I thanked the Russians for reducing the arms race. Is a good thing suddenly bad because it is done by the Russians? Did the Allies become contaminated (with communism) because they fought with Russians against the Nazis?"

Tutu and his wife Leah recently returned from the Soviet Union where they attended celebrations to mark the 1 000th anniversary of Christianity in Russia.

He said the Russian people were not nearly as regimented as he thought they would be. Laughing, he added: "They are just normal people. We saw young couples cuddling, fathers pushing prams and people walking their dogs.

"But they don't seem to laugh easily, although I've heard that is a characteristic of people who live in a very cold climate. They can't have a sunny outlook."

He was pleasantly surprised at how attractive Russian women television presenters were.

"Before going to Russia I thought they would be awfully dowdy and wouldn't have enough dress sense to put on a postage stamp."

The Russians had no selfish interests in South Africa and thought the problems of injustice should be solved non-violently.

"They do not know anything about the Cuban build-up. The Cubans are not their clients," Tutu says from him Soweto garden soon after his arrival.

The Russians wanted the crisis here to be solved equitably and believed when things deteriorate the people would suffer.

"They do not take the stance of 'the more things deteriorate the better'," he says.

Tutu lambasted those who criticised the statements he made during his trip, and deplored what he called the "rent-a-crowd" tactics — including the "shameful use of little children" — his opponents recently started using against him.

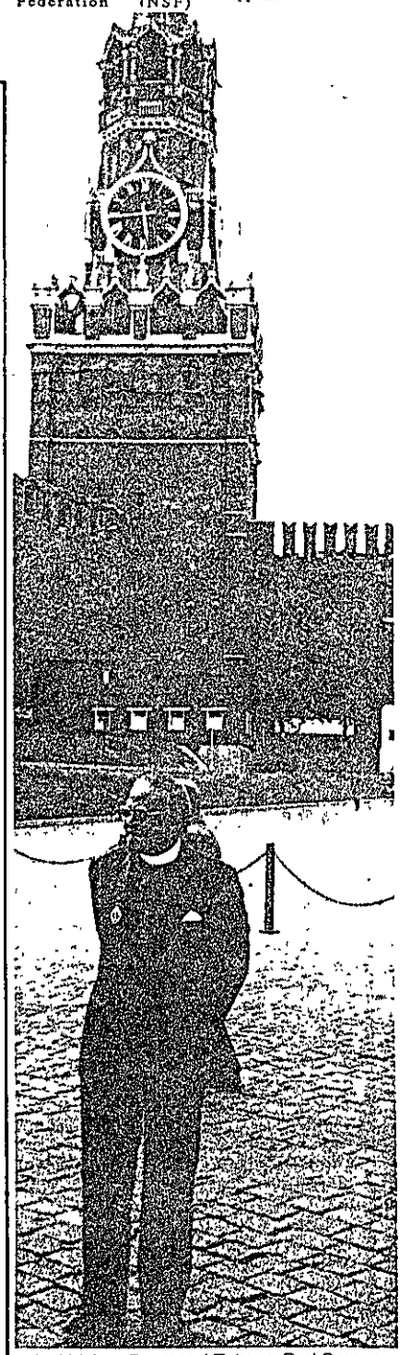
A potentially nasty scene was narrowly averted at Jan Smuts Airport on Saturday when Tutu's supporters clashed with demonstrators sporting tee-shirts of the Inkatha-backed United Workers Union of South Africa (Uwusa).

The shirts were handed out by a burly man wearing a crash helmet. Mingling with demonstrators were white members of the right-wing National Students Federation (NSF) distributing pamphlets attacking Tutu. Police did not break up the demonstration. Tutu's supporters formed a guard of honour at the exit and spoke quietly.

The 100 and more Uwusa supporters, including children holding placards asking for jobs, and NSF members milled outside the international arrivals hall more than an hour before the couple's arrival.

Tutu asked those who organised the demonstrations to stop before someone got hurt. He vowed not to be intimidated by what he termed "rented" protestors. Nothing would stop him from continuing with his present anti-apartheid campaign, and all efforts by the authorities to isolate him had failed, he said.

"Even if those who try to liquidate me succeed, it will not help. I will not stop until apartheid disappears."



Archbishop Desmond Tutu on Red Square

Transkei lifts church ban

Cape Times 23/6/88

(193)(29)

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — A 10-year rift between the Methodist Churches in Transkei and South Africa has been healed following Transkei's lifting of a ban on the church.

The ban was lifted by the ruling Military Council.

In 1978 the Methodist Church in Southern Africa was declared "undesirable" in Transkei. As a result, two breakaway Methodist churches were formed there.

office of Dr K K Mgojo, the president of the Methodist Church in Southern Africa, said an agreement had been reached that all the former members of the Methodist Church in the Transkei would be united again.

Desecration aimed at discrediting the Church

Star 24/6/88

28

Extracts from a sermon preached by the Rev. Peter Storey, superintendent minister of the Central Methodist Church in Johannesburg, after political slogans were found daubed on the church walls last week:

What makes it worse is that this was no act of sudden passion. If the walls of Central Church had been daubed with swastikas and racist symbols that would be no less a desecration but it would have been more easily understood.

But what happened on Thursday morning June 16 was a carefully premeditated act, planned quite coldly, not only to insult the Church but to discredit it — to smear us and some of the organisations we have sheltered and accommodated in their work for peaceful change and greater justice in South Africa.

ACT OF DECEPTION

It was done to make it look as if some of these organisations would stoop to defiling a house of God, and because most people who pass by do not think very deeply, many have probably been deceived into believing just that.

I have no doubt whatsoever that the perpetrators of this desecration were not just ordinary fanatics taking out their hate on our walls. Jesus warned that some people would act against the Church out of a twisted sense of duty and I believe that when we discover them, we will find that this is closer to the truth.

This act is part of a wider campaign launched at the highest levels in our land to bring churches such as our own into disrepute and to undermine and confuse the respect which people have for the moral authority of Christian witness in South Africa today.

THE REAL ENEMIES

Far more dangerous and evil than the people who did this are the forces that drive them: hatred, prejudice, fear and a twisted patriotism — these are the real enemies and these forces have taken up residence in the minds of too many South Africans...

If we identify and prosecute them (the desecrators), I shall ask the magistrate to sentence them to worship here every Sunday for six months; to sing with us, pray with us, pass the peace with us and break bread with us. In this way perhaps they will find their brothers and sisters and also find God.

ARGUS 24/6/88 28

Church in SA 'must step up opposition'

Staff Reporter

THE church would have to step up peaceful opposition to apartheid if it was to remain relevant, the Most Rev Denis Hurley, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Durban, said at the University of Cape Town's mid-year graduation ceremony today.

Addressing about 550 postgraduate students on whom degrees were conferred, Archbishop Hurley said the Catholic Church's decision earlier this year to get involved in direct peaceful action to oppose apartheid would "not be easy to implement without appropriate training".

However, social issues and problems were of far greater importance now than ever before.

Communication

"If the Christian Church is to remain relevant to society and play its part in humanising and Christianising the lives of people involved in situations of social tension and suffering, it must make the necessary adaptation in its work of religious education," he said.

It was not enough to theorise and proclaim.

"The hard work of promoting social ethics is in communicating and educating."

This required a good understanding and practice of the most suitable ways of doing so and "an abundance of conviction, enthusiasm and dedication to the cause", he said.

Archbishop Hurley was among four people on whom honorary doctorates were conferred.

The others were Witwatersrand University academics Professor Phillip Tobias and Emeritus Professor Frank Nabarro, and UCT council member Mr Hans Middelmann.

Among those who had degrees conferred today was the president of the UCT Students' Representative Council, Mr Cameron Dugmore, who was awarded his LLB.

SACC hopes to find way to end the crisis facing SA

28

Star 27/6/88 Religion Reporter

The "church in action in a South African crisis" is the theme for this year's national conference of the South African Council of Churches (SACC) which will be held at St Barnabas College in Bosmont, Johannesburg, from this evening until July 1.

The proceedings will open with a worship service and keynote address by the general secretary, the Reverend Frank Chikane, tonight.

Mr Chikane said in a statement that in the past the SACC had concentrated on an analysis of the crisis situation in the country and the pain and suffering of the people.

"This conference, however, comes at a time when the majority of the churches have moved beyond talking about the crisis and are concerned about the necessary action to bring this crisis to an end.

"The turning point was signified by the march of the church leaders in Cape Town in protest against the Government's latest round of repression. This need for non-violent action was considered at the recent national convocation of churches," he said.

SACC'S 'HEAVY LOAD'

Sowetan 27/6/88

28

SA PRESS ASSOCIATION

Rev Chikane tells of new role

REV. CHIKANE

THROUGH its service to the victims of apartheid, the South African Council of Churches has almost assumed the role of an alternative government, the general secretary of the SACC, the Reverend Frank Chikane, said in Johannesburg yesterday.

Delivering his annual report to the SACC national conference, he said the church group had assumed "abnormal responsibility" as other organistions which attempted to address the needs of the majority had been repressed and disrupted in their efforts.

He criticised the Government for having no interest in the lives of black South Africans, except in so far as the blacks served the white minority.

"While the council cannot and should never play the role of an alternative government, the abnormal situation the council finds itself in compels it to assume some of the responsibilities which under normal circumstances would be taken care of by the government."

Mr Chikane said the period since July, 1987 had seen a further deepening of the crisis in South Africa and an intensification of • To Page 4

MANY CHALLENGES FOR SACC

Sowetan 29/6/88

● From page 1

repression.

He was strongly averse to the tightening of the media curbs, saying the Government's ultimate goal was to create space for its own propaganda and programme of deception without being challenged.

This it did at the expense of the free flow of information and expression, he said.

"The Government wants to suppress the truth about what is happening in South Africa, particularly in relation to the brutal acts of the apartheid system.

"In a struggle not to allow the Government to control the church in preaching the gospel, both the SACC and the SACBC have refused to comply with the order of the Minister of Home Affairs to submit copies of the church publications, *Ecunews* and *Internos*. No action has as yet been taken by the Government."

Through the Government's bannings of 17 organisations and restrictions on Cosatu, the Government had indicated it was not prepared to allow any form of peaceful, non-violent resistance or protest against its apartheid policies, he said.

"In fact, the Government has confirmed its commitment to violence as the way of continuing to govern the majority of people against their will."

He said the Labour Relations Amendment Bill and the Orderly Internal Politics Bill were part of the strategy of control of resistance groups in South Africa.

The silencing of people's organisations, he said, had exposed the church and church workers to attacks by "the forces of apartheid".

"Attacks have been particularly directed against the SACC, some church leaders and staff of the council, regional councils and other ecumenical organisations."

Mr Chikane said attacks by conservative and right-wing church groups had intensified and were more co-ordinated than ever before.

"The Government has attacked the SACC and church leaders as agents of what they call an ANC/SACP alliance."

Government's intention, he said, was to use repression to create a "political wasteland" by removing the legitimate leaders of the people and promoting those who were prepared to co-operate and collaborate with the apartheid system.

Mr Chikane said he was concerned about the "2 500 detainees who remained in detention, 10 percent of whom were under 18 years old."

"Some of these detainees are entering a third year of detention turning them virtually into prisoners of war."

The "alarming" increase in the number of executions in South Africa was also of great concern to the SACC.

The SACC needed to campaign against capital punishment because he believed society was, "in the main, responsible for conditions which make people guilty of the offences punishable by the death sentence."

"There is also evidence that in South Afric race is a determinant for the gallows."

Mr Chikane called on the international community to apply sanctions against South Africa as he said they were "one of the most effective non-violent ways to force the Government to the negotiation table."

"Sanctions are the only way to avoid a bloody confrontation between the people of South Africa and the apartheid regime."

Miss BRIGALIA Hlophe, SACC incoming deputy general secretary, was among delegates who attend- the congress.

DELEGATES in high spirits at the SACC annual national conference in Johannesburg yesterday.

KEEP WARM WITH

Sanctions stand angers priests

By RYLAND FISHER

THE Full Gospel Church has been criticised by three of its leading members for its stand on sanctions.

This follows a Network programme on SABC recently in which Pastor Martin Badenhorst, president of the 500 000-member church, spoke out against sanctions.

"Now the public will see us as being in the government camp," said Pastor Alfred Jacobs, chairman of the National Youth and Sunday School Board.

"We want to be seen as a church that stands for righteousness."

Jacobs, evangelistic committee member Pastor Eddie Edson and Natal district superintendent Pastor Kevin Dempsey have dissociated themselves from a statement issued by Badenhorst and the general moderature of the church after a meeting in Durban.

Not condone

The statement said the church could not "condone or support any measures taken against our country by way of punitive sanctions, boycotts, or disinvestment".

"We find no scriptural authority for depriving persons of the means to earn a dignified livelihood or condemning them to starvation through no fault of their own."

The church condemned apartheid and believed that a just and equitable dispensation should be instituted in South Africa only by peaceful and non-violent means, the statement said.

The three priests said it was ironic that the church condemned apartheid while the church itself was divided into four racial groups.

Whites were normally in the majority at full conferences of the church although the church had mainly black members.

No mandate

They said the general conference of the church had not discussed the matter and their representatives had no mandate.

"The statement did not reflect the views of the majority of our church members and no theological investigation has been made by any commission into the matter.

"The whole exercise was an exploitative attempt to undermine church leaders who have the courage to address the injustices in our country," the clergy said.

Pastor H van der Vent, secretary general of the "coloured" department of the church, issued a statement objecting to the way the church's position was portrayed on TV.

"We do not support sanctions but that does not automatically mean that we support government policies. This was not put across sufficiently on television.

"We have been used by certain members of the church, SABC and the Nationalist government to provide credibility to a system that is heretic and totally unscriptural."

Badenhorst could not be contacted for comment.

Sowetan 6/7/88

Archbishop Desmond Tutu

ARGUS 1/7/88

Tutu lays a charge after 'verbal abuse'

By KAREN STANDER Religion Reporter

A SECOND charge is to be laid today following an incident in which Archbishop Desmond Tutu and his chaplain were allegedly verbally abused by a fellow passenger on a flight from Johannesburg to Cape Town.

Police confirmed that a charge of crimen injuria was laid at D F Malan Airport by Archbishop Tutu yesterday.

A 41-year-old man had made a statement to the police but no arrests had been made, a spokesman said. He said the docket would be forwarded to the senior public prosecutor in Bellville once the investigation had been completed.

Archbishop Tutu's chaplain, the Rev Chris Ahrends, who accompanied him on the aircraft, said Archbishop Tutu "was belittled and provoked by a fellow passenger" as he boarded the aircraft in Johannesburg.

When Mr Ahrends later tried to establish the man's identity, he threatened to "break" the priest's neck.

Mr Ahrends will lay a charge today.

Mr Ahrends said that as he and Archbishop Tutu walked up the aircraft steps behind the man "he turned around and said in a mocking tone, 'Hello Desmond'.

"His attitude was clearly provocative and belittling but the Archbishop ignored him.

"He persisted, baiting the Archbishop and saying in Afrikaans: 'I am greeting you. How are you?'

"When the Archbishop replied 'Yes?" the man continued aggressively: 'Why do you talk such a lot of ... overseas?'

Mr Ahrends said the matter was reported to the captain of the aircraft who said it would be reported to police at D F Malan Airport.

"However, when we disembarked it seemed as if nothing was going to be done. As we entered the airport building I tried to ascertain the man's identity. He refused to speak to me, then said: 'I'm going to break your bloody neck.'

"I called a police officer, who summoned his superior and we laid a complaint.

Argus 1/7/88

It's a ruti-tut-Tutu rock show!

The Argus Foreign Service (28)

NEW YORK. — A massive concert will be held at the 100 000-seat Colisseum in Los Angeles in September to raise funds for education for black South Africans.

Called the Archbishop Desmond Tutu Peace Concert, it is touted as the largest concert in history. It will last 11 hours and feature stars from every genre of contemporary music.

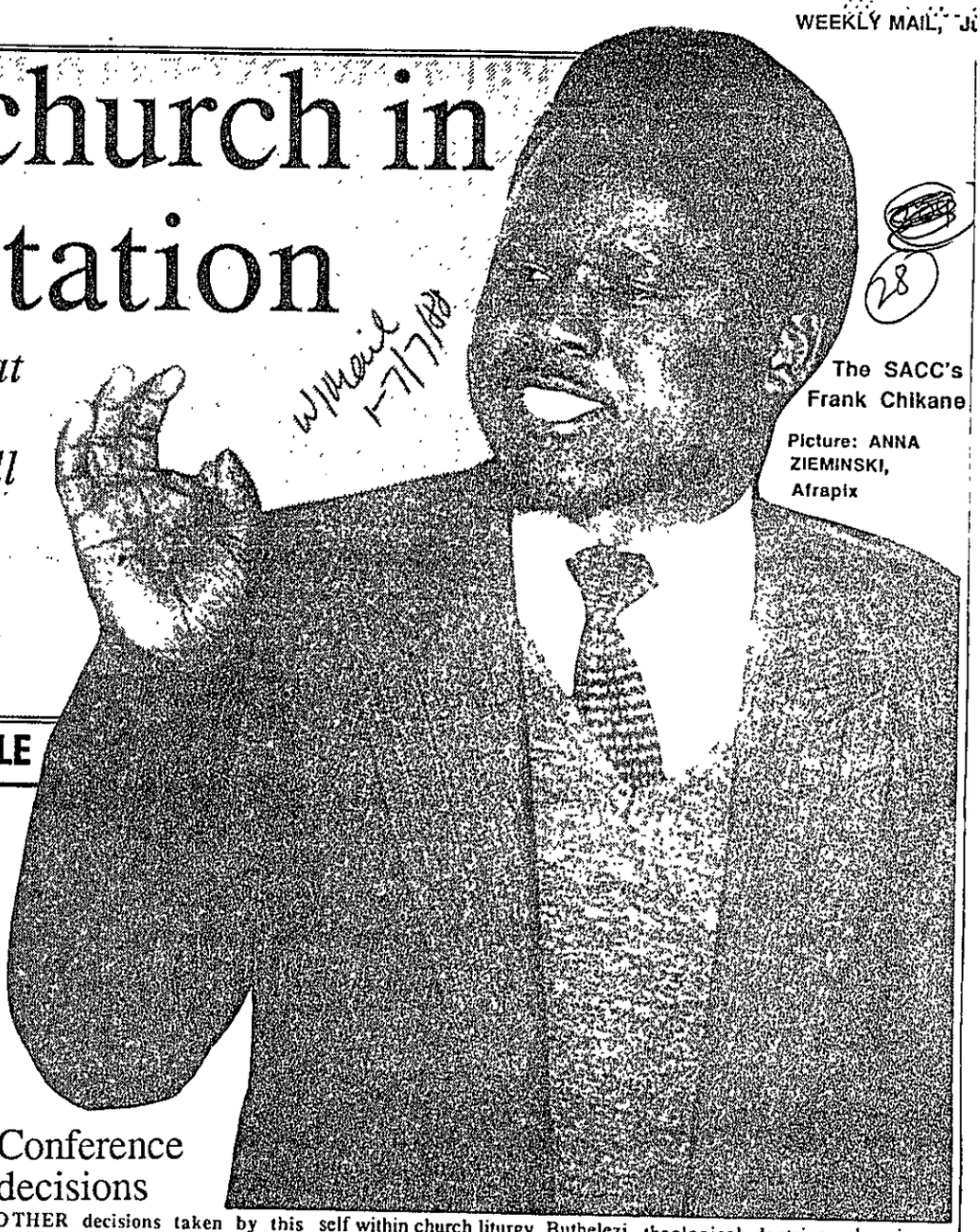
The executive producer is Mike Mitchell, the American impresario who arranged the Philadelphia leg of the Live Aid concert for African famine relief in 1985.

The concert will be held on Septemeber 11.There will be traditional rock, pop rock, gospel, rap, rhythm and blues, raggae, Latin and African music.

A special feature of the concert will be the 40-odd live theatre performances interspersed with the music sections. They will portray black [illegible] under apartheid.

The church in meditation

Two speeches at the SACC conference spell out the diverse approaches the church must reconcile



The SACC's Frank Chikane

Picture: ANNA ZIEMINSKI, Afrapix

W/Mail 1-7/7/88

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By THANDEKA GQUBULE

TWO differing theological approaches within the South African Council of Churches (SACC) could explain the group's difficulty in hammering out a programme of action against apartheid.

Addresses delivered by SACC general secretary Frank Chikane and president Manas Buthelezi at this week's conference in Johannesburg reflect the ecclesiastical and political dilemma confronting the church.

For some in the SACC, social reality will determine theology, while others hold that "theology must be purified" before it can be applied.

Great hopes were pinned on the conference. Influential church leaders were pressing for a move beyond moral condemnation, and urged the drafting of a concrete programme of non-violent action.

The emergency convocation of religious leaders held in May failed to produce such a programme, settling for the appointment of a committee to "take matters further".

In his keynote address, Chikane said the church was breaking new ground in confronting social realities. "In 1988, the church in South Africa reached a turning-point in its witness against apartheid and the intensified violence against the majority of people in this country," he told the conference.

He cited the march of church leaders in Cape Town on February 29 as an indication of this shift toward active protest. "There will be those who fear that we might be beginning to depart from the 'tested' tradition of the church, doing something that the church should not do.

"There will be those who are doubtful and who prefer not to try until they are sure about it (political involvement). This is natural and part of the struggle."

In a thoughtful speech, Buthelezi debated the theological implications of political action. He identified three ways of characterising the social role of the church. These were:

● The "state church", where a great overlap exists between organised religion and government, and where clerics are manipulated by the state. The Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) was in this position in South Africa, he said, and had been dubbed "the National Party at prayer".

● The "church state", in which political activism had established itself within church liturgy. Buthelezi referred to a "liturgical coup d'etat", represented most graphically by the politicisation of religious funerals. On some levels in South Africa, he said, the "people in the pews" had "gone beyond" theologians concerned with matters of doctrine and practice.

● The "church under the cross", which adhered rigidly to the Gospel. In this view "the church should and must take a stand publicly, even on controversial social questions, but only where it is empowered to do so by its special mandate".

At times in its history "the church was used as a pawn in political intrigues," said Buthelezi. "In gaining breathing space, the church lost its soul." He cautioned against the total politicisation of the church.

"It is important for us as the Church of Christ to assess continually not only where we are and where we should go, but also the extent of any undesirable drifting ... that may defeat our good intentions," he said.

Chikane eschewed the intricacies of theological doctrine, choosing to stress the political crisis at hand. The latest declaration of the State of Emergency, media restrictions, bannings and proposed labour and political legislation demanded a strong response from the church.

"In the face of the attacks from the state, various church groups and unknown forces of darkness, we (the SACC) are now called upon more than ever to reaffirm our commitment to the God of justice, peace and righteousness," he said. "Our obedience is to our God, and our God alone."

The two speeches demonstrated important differences in the approach of SACC leaders — not necessarily signalling conflict — but testifying to a period of intense self-examination within the church.

But it is accepted by all that a political role must be fulfilled, despite the differences. Some even feel that the ferment will benefit the SACC.

Said Buthelezi: "Show me a church that has not suffered, and I will show you a church that has not experienced what growth entails."

Conference decisions

OTHER decisions taken by this week's SA Council of Churches conference were:

● To urge the government to withdraw the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Amendment Bill presently before parliament.

● To send a letter of support to restricted church leader, Dr Simon Gqubule, and a letter to the State President asking for the lifting of his restrictions.

Church leaders decide on elections

Argus 1/7/88

28

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Twenty-six church leaders from 16 South African churches announced they had taken extra-ordinary decisions on the October elections and on the latest media restrictions.

In a statement yesterday, the church leaders noted that the emergency regulations would forbid publication of their resolutions and that they themselves were breaking the regulations in having published them in the statement.

The church leaders announced their opposition to Christians taking part — both as candidates and voters — in the local authorities' elections.

The resolution read: "We cannot participate in the elections."

Responsible decision

They also declared their intention to communicate this decision to their churches so as to "enable the fullest possible open debate so that people may arrive at an informed and responsible decision".

They also declared their intention to "ignore the emergency restrictions that require our church news network to register as news agencies and to use them and all other means at our disposal, to make these decisions known".

The decision was made after a declaration by the church leaders that the "truth cannot be bound by unjust laws".

"We have committed ourselves to non-violent direct action in order to bring about justice and peace and to work for the Kingdom of God," the statement said.

Church conference defies regulations

By THANDEKA GQUBULE

TWENTY-SIX South African church leaders yesterday defied Emergency regulations in a press conference called to discuss the October municipal elections.

The current regulations make it illegal to call for a boycott of the elections and prevent the *Weekly Mail* from reporting the contents of the press conference in full.

It can, however, be reported that the decision to defy the regulations was made on Wednesday night, at a closed meeting of 26 representatives of the mainstream churches, who are attending the annual general meeting of the South African Council of Churches (SACC) in Johannesburg.

The leaders — including Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Dr Allan Boesak, Dr Sam Buti, Dr Beyers Naude and Dr Manas Buthelezi — decided to take their stand after intensive discussion.

Speaking yesterday on behalf of the 26, Reverend Frank Chikane, general secretary of the SACC, said that it was "unjust" to have elections "in the face of the State of Emergency and all its regulations".

In the light of the church leaders' understanding of apartheid "as a heresy" and its structures as "sinful", they felt compelled to take their stand, Chikane said.

The decision did not come from the SACC but from individual leaders.

At a later press conference, however, the SACC "wholly endorsed" the church leaders' decision. The SACC also resolved to oppose the media restrictions and establish a "vigilance committee" to counteract misinformation about itself.

Chikane said the position of those who participated in apartheid structures was becoming "untenable in relation to the gospel".

Naude, a former SACC general secretary, said each of the 26 had taken into account "the implications of their actions and, despite possible state action, expressed obedience to the law of God."

The stand of the church leaders on the municipal elections was a "specific decision", Chikane said, but "implications could be drawn about the homelands and other apartheid structures."

The conference continues today when the SACC is expected to discuss resolutions dealing with the government's attempts to clamp down on foreign funding.

See PAGE 5

1-7/7/88 W/Mail

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Churches defy State

28

Star 1/7/88

Leaders of 16 South African churches have announced that they intend to defy certain emergency regulations and to oppose the coming municipal elections.

Elections under a State of Emergency cannot be free, fair or produce democratic councils, they say.

They say that the statement they have issued is in itself an offence in terms of the emergency regulations, and that 26 bishops, moderators and presidents of 16 churches have signed it.

The churches include The Church of the Province, the Methodist Church of Southern Africa, the Nederduits Gereformeerde Sending Kerk, the Presbyterian Church in Africa, the South African Catholic Bishops Conference and the South African Council of Churches.

● See Page 13.

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Cape Times 27/7/78

SACC defies govt on funds

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The National Conference of the SA Council of Churches (SACC) this week resolved not to co-operate with the government on the issue of foreign funding.

A spokesman said the conference had resolved at its national meeting here that the SACC would not register as a fund-raising organization and the question of foreign funding did not apply, as churchmen were not "foreigners" and the church was universal.

The SACC also called on the State President to halt executions in South Africa, decided not to submit its magazine, Ecunews, to the authorities and resolved to oppose the Labour Relations Amendment Bill.

Crossroads pamphlets attack Tutu

Cape Times 2/7/88

By CHRIS BATEMAN

HUNDREDS of pamphlets attacking Archbishop Desmond Tutu and several local union office-bearers — and accusing one union worker of being a police informer — were distributed in New Crossroads this week — allegedly from a Casspir.

Miss Moki Hans, 25, of Yanta Street, New Crossroads, said she was sitting in a car in her driveway about 1am on Thursday when she saw a Casspir drive past with a man throwing pamphlets from the top of the vehicle.

The pamphlets entitled "SA Trade Union Monthly Titbits" include a picture of Archbishop Tutu headlined "The Flying Bishop" and another of a emaciated woman begging with her hands cupped and the caption "give us this day our daily bread".

They say workers would lose jobs and service benefits and face starvation through the archbishop's calls for disinvestment and sanctions.

Office-bearers of the Food and Allied Workers' Union and the National Union of Food Workers are accused of stealing money, in one case R15 000 from union funds.

● The secretary-general of Fawu, Mr Jan Theron, said he had laid a complaint of crimen injuria at Woodstock police station after reading allegations concerning him in the pamphlet.

Robbery with

Church leaders warned: Don't abuse position

(28) Star 24/4/88

SATURDAY STAR REPORTERS

PROMINENT church leaders were last night heading for a bitter showdown with the Government, displaying defiance on major issues such as group areas, executions, detentions and participation in the municipal elections in October and the "wicked" Squatting Amendment Bill.

The Government repeated its warning that churchmen should not "abuse their position".

A statement issued on Thursday by 26 leaders of 16 major churches and another yesterday by the South African Council of Churches were in open opposition to the Government.

Yesterday, Security Police chief General Johan van der Merwe said that the 26 church leaders opposing participation in the October municipal elections seemed to have contravened the emergency media regulations.

"Taken at face value, it appears that the provisions of the emergency media regulations have been contravened — as the churchmen themselves stated — and the matter is being investigated."

In Thursday's statement, issued in Johannesburg at an extraordinary meeting held during the South Africa Council of Churches' annual conference, the leaders said they noted that the emergency regulations would forbid publication of their resolution and that they were breaking the regulations.

● TO PAGE 2.

P.T.O.

Govt warns churchmen

(28) ● FROM PAGE 1. STAR 27/7/88

The churchmen — including Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu and NG Sendingkerk head Dr Allan Boesak — said they could not participate in the elections as this would be asking people to implement their own oppression or the oppression of others.

They declared they would communicate this decision to their churches so as to "enable the fullest possible open debate, so that people may arrive at an informed and responsible decision".

They also declared they would "ignore the emergency restrictions that require our church news networks to register as news agencies and to use them and all other means at our disposal to make these decisions known".

The SACC yesterday called on the State President to halt executions.

It also resolved:

- To work "aggressively" against detentions.
- Not submit its magazine, *Ecunews* to the authorities.
- To oppose the Labour Relations Amendment Bill and government control of church funds.

The SACC reaffirmed its commitment not to accept the government's definitions of a church mission and resolved not to co-operate with it by complying with "unjust and unacceptable" requirements.

The SACC alleges that the Government seeks to define the work of the church as political, thereby opening the way for the control of church funds.

It called on the international community to consider the seriousness of the South African situation and to "exert the counter-pressure of sanctions".

Voicing concern about the death penalty, the SACC called for its abolition in the countries of Southern Africa where member churches are ministering, as well as requesting member churches to convey the SACC's concern to their heads of state.

The conference called on the State President, Mr P W Botha, to declare a moratorium on all executions in South Africa pending the establishment of an independent Commission of Inquiry into the abolition of the death penalty.

"We will fight"

Responding to "looming tension" felt by workers, the conference made a call to all its member churches to join with unions in doing all they could to oppose the Labour Relations Amnendment Bill.

"We will fight to the bitter end to stop the Bill from becoming law, as we believe the legislation would strip workers of rights which they have acquired after a lengthy struggle."

Church leaders should request churches to make their land and premises available to workers in times of crisis.

A training programme for clergy to equip them to respond to the needs of workers should also be devised.

The SACC expressed dismay over the unfavourable political climate at schools and called on the government to prevent security forces from using schools as their "hunting ground" and provoking students into disruptive action.

The Department of Education should also be called to create a climate conducive to learning.

Churches should also fight for academic freedom at the University of the North where security forces continue to patrol the campus.

The Rector and the Senate of the University of the North should be made to realise that education "cannot take place at gunpoint" the SACC said.

The SACC rejected the provisions in the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Bill presently before parliament.

"We pledge ourselves to work for the repeal of the land acts and the Group Areas Act so that all the people of this country may be free of the fear of sudden dispossession, and be free to choose where they will settle."

Churches set to clash with the State again

S/Times 3/7/88

By MANDLA TYALA

RELATIONS between the South African Council of Churches and the Government, already cool, are set to deteriorate even further after this week's decision by the church body to take radical action against apartheid.

The thrust of the planned action, which includes moves which may not be reported because of Government restrictions on the media, is that the SACC will refuse to comply with unjust laws.

Endorsed at the church body's annual conference in Johannesburg this week, the SACC's new programme of non-violent action is seen as a step further from the position taken at last year's conference. Then, the SACC stopped at questioning the legitimacy of the South African Government.

SACC leaders realise that the programme may touch off a crackdown by the Government, but insist that they are going ahead "regardless of the possible consequences".

THE REV FRANK CHIKANE
Taking sides on apartheid

In the words of SACC secretary general Frank Chikane: "The question is no longer whether the church can be involved in politics. The question now is what side one is on as regards the apartheid system."

Among major resolutions from this week's "Church Action in the South African Crisis" conference are:

- A call for national action on the October local authority elections. The action may not be reported
- A call for "practical church support" and close liaison with the trade union movement and asking members to oppose the contentious Labour Relations Amendment Bill
- A resolution alerting member churches to what the SACC says is the emergence of right-wing youth development groups inspired by the Joint Management Committees and allegedly backed by the SADF and the SABC
- Condemnation of the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Amendment Bill

"The intention in this (proposed) legislation is wicked"

- Endorsement of the refusal by the SACC to submit copies of its publication Ecunews to the Government's chief censor, Mr Stoffel Botha
- A call on President P W Botha to declare a moratorium on all executions in SA pending the establishment of an independent commission of inquiry into the abolition of the death penalty.

Tutu condemns Ellis Park blast, offers to host peace talks

Staff Reporter ARGUS 4/7/88

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu today condemned the Ellis Park bomb blast and expressed sympathy for the victims and the relatives of the dead and injured.

He also offered to do whatever he could to bring the Government, the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress together to negotiate a settlement of the country's crisis.

"All South Africans, black and white, want to be able to live without the constant fear of being victims of violence, whether it is violence from the Government or those opposed to it," Archbishop Tutu said.

"I deplore the bombing at Ellis Park and on behalf of the Church of the Province I extend our deepest sympathies to the victims of the explosion, the relatives of those who died and those who were injured.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu

"For how long are we in South Africa going to continue sitting under the threat of violence from this or that side, thrown into a state of shock by the horror of each new attack and counter-attack?"

Archbishop Tutu said no matter how draconian the Government made its security laws, it would not bring peace to South Africa as long as it failed to address the central issue of the crisis — political power-sharing.

He said until the authorities agreed to sit down and negotiate real power-sharing with the authentic leaders of the people, the "dreadful carnage" would not end.

Archbishop Tutu said although he made the offer to bring the Government, the ANC and the PAC together personally, he was sure all other church leaders would join him in his call.

OPPOSITION CONCERN

Opposition parties on the political left today strongly appealed to the Government to create an atmosphere for negotiations about the country's political future instead of violently hitting back at the African National Congress after the bombing.

Both the Progressive Federal Party and the Independent Party have expressed concern about Government sources' predictions of retaliatory measures against the ANC.

PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin appealed to the Government to release Nelson Mandela as an indication of its seriousness to enter into negotiation politics.

"If there is a genuine desire to talk, one of best signals would be to release Nelson Mandela. That would be a significant gesture not only to the ANC, but to moderate leaders like Captain Mangosuthu Buthelezi," Mr Eglin said.

Conservative Party spokesman on defence, Mr Moolman Mentz, welcomed possible Government counter-actions against the ANC.

Silence from govt on Tutu mediation offer

Cape Times 5/7/88

28

Political Staff

THE office of the State President yesterday declined to comment on an offer by Archbishop Desmond Tutu to act as a mediator between the government and the ANC and PAC.

Offering his condolences and sympathies on behalf of the Anglican Church to the families of those killed and those injured as a result of the explosion at Ellis Park, the archbishop said he deplored the act.

He asked: "How long are we in South Africa going to continue sitting under the threat of violence from this or that side, thrown into a state of shock by the horror of each new attack or counter-attack."

Archbishop Tutu said that no matter how draconian the government made its security laws "it will not bring peace to our country for as long as it fails to address the central issue of our crisis — political power-sharing".

Sapa reports that the president of the the Transvaal Rugby Football Union, Dr Louis Luyt, soundly condemned "the dastardly act" of those responsible for the car-bomb attack

Ellis Park had been made available to all forms of sport and to all races which made the car-bombing even more deplorable, he said in a statement.

Churchmen expect attacks

PAM SYKES

THE SA Council of Churches is not expecting official action against it following the statement last week by 26 church leaders regarding the October municipal elections.

Instead they expect further attacks on church leaders and attempts to "define them as being outside the church", SACC director of communications Saki Macozoma said yesterday.

Although no official government response to last week's statement has yet been made, a police spokesman said a possible transgression of the media regulations was being investigated and a docket would be forwarded to the Attorney-General.

5/7/88

south NEWS

Clergymen defy Emergency

From MONO BADELA

JOHANNESBURG. - Twenty-six church leaders last week defied the Emergency Regulations at a press conference called to discuss the October municipal elections.

The churchmen — including Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Dr Allan Boesak, the president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches — took a strong stand on the elections which cannot be reported in terms of the emergency regulations.

This week security police chief General Johan van der Merwe said the 26 church leaders' stand on the October municipal elections seemed to have contravened the Emergency Regulations. The matter was being investigated.

The press conference followed a five-day SACC conference

Apartheid

General secretary the Rev Frank Chikane set the tone for the SACC conference during the opening address when he said the churches had set themselves the aim of positive action against apartheid.

The churches, Chikane said, had declared apartheid a heresy and its structures evil.

The national conference endorsed a decision by the SACC executive to refuse to submit to Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha the council's monthly publication, Ecunews.

The conference decided not to disclose names of donor agencies and for what purposes the funds were being used.

It also resolved to oppose the media restrictions and establish a "vigilance committee" to counteract misinformation about itself.

Frank Chikane

Other resolutions dealt with the release of political prisoners and detainees.

The SACC also urged that the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Amendment Bill be dropped and that the Land and Group Areas Acts be scrapped, and praised trade union bodies' stand on the Labour Relations Amendment Bill.

It called on the government to spare the lives of the Sharpeville Six, and called for the abolition of capital punishment in the countries of Southern Africa where member churches were ministering.

8-14/7/88 W/Mail (28)

Defiant churches await state's response

By THANDEKA GQUBULE

SOUTH AFRICAN church leaders this week apprehensively awaited government response to their defiance last Thursday of Emergency regulations.

During a South African Council of Churches (SACC) annual conference last week, 26 church leaders called a press conference to discuss the October municipal elections. Speaking for the leaders, SACC General Secretary Frank Chikane said it was "unjust" to have elections "in the face of the State of Emergency".

Marge Brown, secretary to Chikane, said this week the matter was before Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok and there were "indications" from press reports that the government was investigating.

But neither the SACC nor the church leaders have received any communication from the government. An SACC official told the *Weekly Mail* "I sense the government will go for individual church leaders instead of as a group."

He said the SACC could anticipate an intensified propaganda campaign against the organisation. "The government may try to describe the act (defying Emergency regulations) as non-church, as going beyond the boundaries of church activity and describe church leaders as abusers of the church."

He said this would pave the way for intensified government action against individual church leaders.

Frank Chikane

Picture: Afrapix

Beyers Naude, ex-general secretary of the SACC and a signatory to the decision of church leaders, told the *Weekly Mail* "The state is taking the whole matter very seriously and is aware that the statement was made with deep concern for the situation in the country and a deep desire to promote the cause of justice."

He added that the church leaders were "equally serious about the opposing laws they find totally unexceptable in the light of the Gospel".

Francois Bill, an executive member of the SACC, speculated that the high public profile of some church leaders could be the reason why the government did not act immediately.

Asked what government action he anticipated, Stanley Mogoba, president-elect of the Methodist Church of South Africa, said, "If I were in their boots I would not act." He added that he hoped the government would not act in a way which would "enrage the people".

A Law and Order Ministry representative could not be reached for comment by the time the *Weekly Mail* went to press.

● It is illegal under Emergency regulations to call for a boycott of elections and for journalists to report such calls.

Union harassed by smear pamphlets

28

W/E ARGUS 9/7/88

by DICK USHER, Weekend Argus Labour Reporter

A LEADING union in the Western Cape has been hit by a sustained campaign of attack by spurious and often defamatory pamphlets.

The Food and Allied Workers' Union (Fawu), the largest affiliate of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) in the region has been hit by at least five pamphlets which have generally been distributed by the thousand at key points such as major bus and train stations or factories.

Fawu has 22 000 members in the region and 9 000 in Cape Town.

The latest pamphlet, distributed widely in the Peninsula, made allegations of financial corruption against union officials and also attacked Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu and his position on disinvestment.

Grain of truth

Fawu this week called a Press conference to discuss the attacks which, according to general secretary Jan Theron, often had a grain of truth behind them, but a grain which had been completely distorted to support the purposes of those behind their distribution.

He said the main danger was that they tended to erode members' confidence in the union and especially to undermine the confidence in unionism of unorganised workers.

The latest pamphlet came soon after a special Fawu national congress in Cape Town last month called to discuss financial problems in the union which had arisen last year after members employed at Spekenam in Bellville had gone on strike and been dismissed.

A concert organised to raise money to support them was a failure and lost thousands of rands.

Also, Fawu found that money given for their support had been misused and was not received by some workers who were supposed to get it.

Signatures had been forged to get the money and "there was an attempt to cover up the corruption that had taken place".

"Workers were misinformed. Workers were told that the problems did not concern corruption but instead that there were personal differences between the officials," said a pamphlet which Fawu had prepared for distribution to members.

The official concerned had been dismissed, said Mr Theron.

S.A. Trade Union Monthly Titbits.

WE BRING YOU NEWS AND STORIES EVERY MONTH, HOT OFF THE PRESS! ! ! !

THE FLYING BISHOP

TUTU IS CALLING FOR SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA.

TUTU IS CALLING FOR DISINVESTMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA.

TUTU IS CALLING FOR BOYCOTTS OF SOUTH AFRICAN GOODS.

FOR YOU, THE WORKER, IT MEANS THAT YOU WILL.

- Lose your job
- Lose your long-service benefits
- Starve together with your families
- Not be able to carry on with your regular payments of rent furniture and clothing
- Lose money for the education of your children

IF YOU LOSE YOUR JOB TUTU REMAINS EMPLOYED

IF YOU LOSE YOUR PENSION, TUTU IS ASSURED OF HIS

IF YOU STARVE TUTU WILL ENJOY HIS DAILY BREAD

IF YOUR PAYMENTS ARE IN ARREARS TUTU WILL NOT PAY FOR YOU

IF YOU LOSE, TUTU LOSES NOTHING

THINK OF YOUR JOB SECURITY! REJECT SANCTIONS!

THINK OF YOUR FURTURE!

FOOD AND ALLIED WORKERS UNION

After investigation it appears that Debra Kamosa, secretary and organiser of FAWU Border, whom also attended the COSATU meeting in Johannesburg, is actually a police-informer, and also responsible for the dissappearence of Union Funds

After a National FAWU meeting during which

- R JADA resigned,
- the president was accused of not being fit to hold his position
- and the assistant General Secretary accused of covering up corruption.

FAWU headoffice instructed all branches to forbid any voting by workers on the organisers/executives/Union — out of fear for a vote of no confidence FAWU s headoffice, furthermore, reported to COSATU that FAWU is falling apart because of internal corruption, and the resignation of R Jada

NATIONAL UNION OF FOOD WORKERS

Jan Theron apparently stole R15 000 of the Union Funds and Chris Diamini who seems to struggle to fight the corruption is becoming more unlavou-ed by the day

(Monthly Tibits can only wonder when Diamini is going to be caught with his hands in the till)

FOR THE WORKERS' INTEREST

IT appears that COSATU'S stay away actions in the Northern-Transvaal were a failure Hospitals and Municipals functioned normal School attendance was also normal and this is the best example to show how COSATU is losing support among the workers The black workers, obviously, don t need Indran Jay Naidoo to run their lives

★ DID YOU KNOW?

DESMOND TUTU spent 73 of the 151 days, during the first half of this year overseas campaingning for sanction's against SA Instead of praying for his congregation

STOP ENRICHING PEOPLE WHO DON'T CARE FOR YOU AS WORKERS!

One of the pamphlets which are being distributed.

PRESS, July 10, 1988

Bishops slam attack on the church

Cipers 28 10/7/88

Newsletter says clergy are 'fellow-radicals'

Desmond Tutu . . . under rightwing attack.

CP Correspondent

THE Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference has slammed the latest rightwing *Aida Parker's Newsletter's* "vitriolic campaign against the church" and its "particularly venomous attack" on various church leaders.

A 36-page special edition of the newsletter, titled *The Priests Take On Pretoria*, claims the "fortunately now heavily discredited" Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu is "forever raising his voice against SA, but remains nobly silent in the face of communism".

The newsletter, usually only printed on six to eight pages, traces the history and links with progressive organisations of various "fellow-radicals", including Rev Beyers Naude, former SACBC president Archbishop Denis Hurley and Dr Allan Boesak.

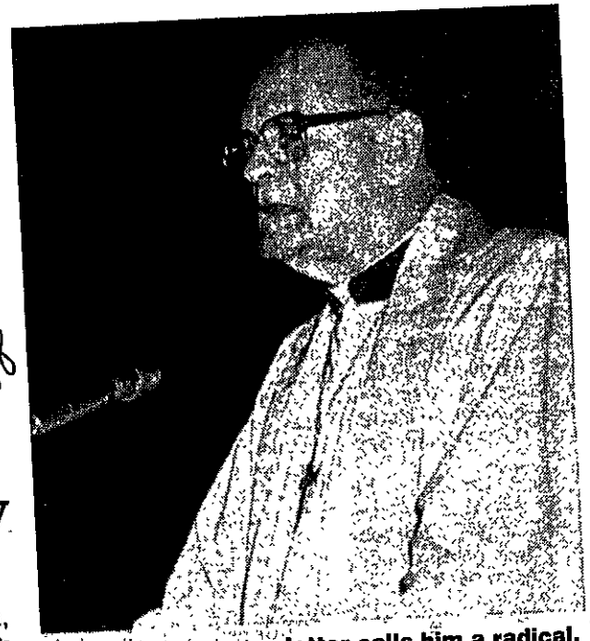
"Wordly and cynical, Tutu has persistently involved his church, to its vast cost, with those seeking revolution in SA," the newsletter said.

In a statement released this week, the SACBC referred to Aida Parker as an "extreme example of those who use the red herring that all who oppose apartheid are communists or Marxists or, at the least, the dupes of those ideologies".

The newsletter liberally quotes ANC "terror chieftain" Oliver Tambo.

"Is there some reason why she (Aida Parker) appears to be immune from government action?" the SACBC asked.

Aida Parker claims to be a non-profit organisation "dedicated to presenting a viewpoint of the South African dilemma alternative to that normally presented by the liberal South African and international Media".



Denis Hurley . . . newsletter calls him a radical.

Churches 'have no option'

MIKE ROBERTSON

LONDON — SA churches had no option but to adopt an overtly political role, SA Council of Churches general secretary Frank Chikane said.

He said in an interview with the BBC that "if the political structures became crudely evil, unjust and oppressive", the church was bound to take a prophetic stand against those structures and play a more active political role.

"If people govern a country in a relatively just manner then there is no need to argue with the government in public, but in this particular instance the injustices have reached levels where we have no alternative but to challenge them on those issues and that's what the calling of the church is all about.

"I would do the same even if there was a black government in the country. To me, it's a question of justice."

Pressed on how far the church could go in opposing government, Chikane said it should go as far as its traditions allowed.

The church could never be a liberation movement or political party, but it could be the conscience of government and the community.

Chikane said: "It has to go as far as it can in challenging the evil forces and once you have a more just society then it will have lesser role to fulfil."

Chikane is in London to deliver a lecture on the Crisis in South Africa to the Catholic Institute for International Relations.

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11/7/88 Bdy

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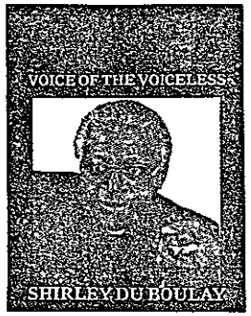
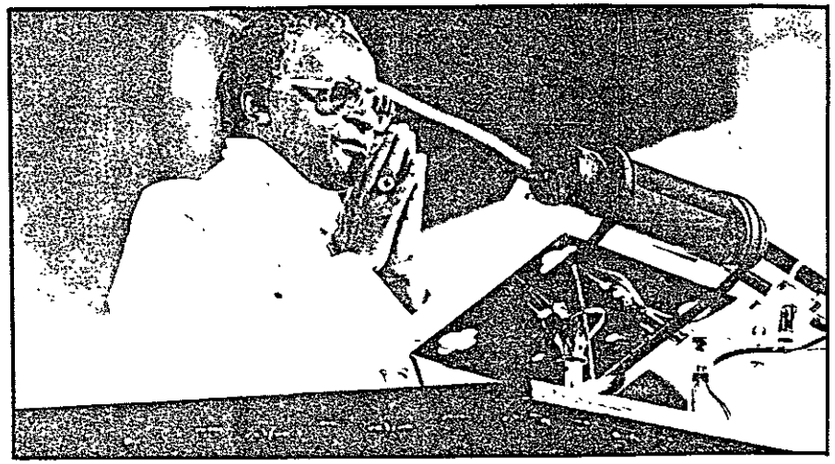
Tutu finds his faith



This is the first of five instalments on the career of Archbishop Desmond Tutu. They have been edited from a biography of the Archbishop, *Tutu — Voice Of The Voiceless*, by Shirley du Boulay and published by Hodder and Stoughton.



Archbishop Desmond Tutu at prayer.

Disciplined spiritual life began after hospital treatment for TB

DESMOND Mpilo Tutu was born on October 7, 1931.

His father, Zachariah, had profited from a mission school education and was at the time headmaster of the Methodist Primary School in Klerksdorp.

Many people remember Zachariah as a tall, thin, gaunt man — proud and impressive, very concerned that his children should be healthy and properly educated; a few knew that he sometimes drank too much and would then treat his wife in a way that deeply upset the young Desmond.

Aletha Matlhare was a domestic servant, educated only to primary school level and a gentle woman who had a deep and lasting effect on Desmond. The eldest child was Sylvia Funeka, then there was another girl who died young, Desmond Mpilo was next and finally Gloria Lindiwe, the youngest.

Zachariah was a Fingo, one of the Xhosa tribes from the Eastern Cape, Aletha a Motswana and Aletha's mother, Kuku, a Mosotho. So from an early age Desmond and his sisters spoke Xhosa, Tswana and Sotho

Were they, then, Xhosa or Motswana? Like many urban blacks they did not know or very much mind, though sometimes Zachariah would tease Aletha for being a Motswana.

But being black in South Africa is no way to be confident of your identity. One of the worst things about racial discrimination is that, as Desmond Tutu was to say years later:

You are brainwashed into an acquiescence of your oppression and exploitation You come to believe what others have determined about you, filling you with self-disgust, self-contempt and self-hatred, accepting a negative self-image and you need a lot of grace to have that demon of self-hatred exorcised, when you accept that only white races really matter and you allow the white person to set your standards and provide your role models.

When Desmond was about eight years old, Zachariah was transferred to Ventersdorp, to a school of Africans, so-called "coloureds" and Indians, who lived in town in the white areas.

Desmond was a pupil there, and this mixture (later to be lost in favour of segregation

Greek who ran the only cafe in town and who always gave him sweets, but he was to make more significant friendships in his early teens, when Zachariah's job took him to another town in the Western Transvaal, Roodepoort.

Roodepoort location was a slum area, the houses separated by dirty, dusty lanes and the air filled with the stench of overflowing night soil buckets. Here Desmond's mother worked at Ezenzeleni Blind School, the first school for blind people, which had been founded by the Rev Arthur Blaxall and his wife.

One day, in the early 1940s, Desmond was with his mother at Ezenzeleni when a white man wearing a cassock and a huge black hat passed them. As he passed, he raised his hat to Mrs Tutu in greeting.

Desmond was overwhelmed. He simply couldn't believe it — a white man raising his hat to a simple black labouring woman. The white man was Bishop Trevor Huddleston, then a parish priest in the black Johannesburg location of Sophiatown, who was to make such a big contribution to the struggle for justice in South Africa.

In 1943, when Desmond was 12, the Tutus moved yet again, this time to Munsieville, the black location in Krugersdorp. It was as sordid

Motjuwadi (who later became editor of the African magazine Drum) found him "bawling in the clutches of a towering cop who had mistaken him for a waif", but for the most part he enjoyed these early money-making adventures and was quite a good businessman.

One morning in 1945 a scrawny, spindly-legged Desmond, wearing shorts but no shoes, reported for his first day at Western High, the government secondary school in the old Western Native Township, near Sophiatown.

Black children had to go to different areas for different levels of education, at the time Western High was the only secondary school on the entire West Rand, serving several townships. It was a large school and pretty rough.

There were about 60 pupils to a class and not enough desks to go round; in fact, for the first six months the younger children had to write on their laps or kneeling on the floor. However, under the headship of Mr Madibane, the doyen of black educationists and a great Anglican churchman, it had become famous, turning out many black leaders and becoming known as "Madibane High".

Like any township urchin (as Tutu refers to himself in those days), the acquisition

And already his sense of humour was evident. For instance, he was once asked by the zoology master for a definition of heredity. "It is when your son looks like your neighbour or your best friend," he retorted.

Although in many ways Desmond was an ordinary, if exceptionally gifted, township boy — "no angel", according to Stanley, and not above taunting white officials on the trains — he was already showing impressive moral courage.

Joe Sibiya remembers him as "a very honest guy who used to put us to shame. For instance, if we went off to rob a peach tree he wouldn't come."

He was slow to anger, would not harbour grudges and would rather discuss than engage in fisticuffs. He had inherited his mother's gentle, caring temperament and would have nothing to do with anything that hurts others; when his friends joked and laughed at one another Desmond would say they should laugh with them, not at them.

When Desmond was 14 — although, according to Father Huddleston, he was so small he looked about 12 — his studies were interrupted for nearly two years by a serious illness. At the time he was stay

when he had a bad headache and needed to sit by the window to breathe. He was taken to Rietfontein Hospital, where tuberculosis was diagnosed. He was there for 20 months, receiving the treatment usually given in those days, pneumothorax.

Rietfontein Hospital, a State-run TB sanatorium, was a depressing place, full of burnt-out cases of TB and syphilis, but for Desmond this illness turned out to be a cloud with several silver linings.

First it was in hospital that his lifelong friendship with Father Huddleston developed. Every week, for all those 80-odd weeks, he would visit Desmond, not in any official capacity but because they took such pleasure in each other's company.

Father Huddleston found Desmond quite exceptionally bright, interested in everything and a marvellously optimistic patient. He in turn was the greatest single influence in the life of the youn

class and more besides — while Stanley, apart from keeping him abreast of what was happening in the world of sport, would bring his school notes.

Zachariah had always encouraged Desmond to read and he had a huge collection of comics — *Superman*, *Batman*, whatever he could get hold of — which were the rather surprising source of his love of English. In hospital he had time to read prodigiously so, far from falling behind, although admittedly he missed his Junior Certificate, Desmond became the best-read pupil at the school.

It was in hospital, too, that Desmond's Christianity became firmly embedded. The Tutus were a devout Christian family, more concerned with the essential message than with any particular denomination.

Zachariah's father had been a minister of the Ethiopian Church of South Africa. Desmond was baptised a Methodist. While they were living in Ventersdorp they followed Sylvia's lead into the African Methodist Church, then finally, in 1943, they all became Anglicans

In hospital everything seemed to come together. The devout background was there, the lon weeks brin st

He remembers on one occasion when he was very ill, haemorrhaging badly and coughing up a lot of blood, being overcome by a profound sense of calm and saying to God: "Well, if I have to die — okay." His Christianity had moved from outward observance to the depth of his soul.

When he left hospital he began the disciplined spiritual life that was to intensify as the years went by. He made his "first really good confession" to Father Huddleston in the Church of Christ the King in Sophiatown, he became a server at his parish church of St Paul's in Munsieville — later training other boys to be servers; he would often, to the surprise of his friends, slip quietly off to church and pray for an hour at a time.

At Ventersdorp there were the Blaxalls, whose names, says Desmond, "should be inscribed in letters of gold when a proper history of South Africa is written", and Ezekiel Mphahlele, who was to become a well-known writer and a professor at the University of the Witwatersrand.

He was then a clerk and driver to Arthur Blaxall, quietly studying for a degree in his spare time and becoming the first person of any race to obtain an MA in English with distinction at the University of South Africa.

To give Desmond more confidence to face up to the township bullies, Ezekiel taught him boxing.

When Desmond came out of hospital he was for a while isolated in his parents' bedroom and his friends had to talk to him through the window — Joe Sibiya was mystified at Aletha's wrath when she once found them sharing an orange. But eventually, apart from an atrophied right hand, he seemed to return to normal health.

Back at school he was very put out to find he had fallen behind Stanley Again "The Sharp" had pity on him and allowed him to join the "matric" class; again he was justified as Desmond continued to come top of his class.

Desmond was a pupil there, and this mixture (later to be lost in favour of segregation not only between black and white, but between all the different racial groups) did not seem strange to him or his friends. "Nobody then thought it was a potent or explosive mixture, nor curious that Indians should live cheek by jowl with whites

"The heavens did not seem to have fallen in."

Nevertheless, here Desmond met racial discrimination The black community spoke Setswana and Afrikaans, so he learnt the language hated by blacks as "the language of the oppressor" and was able to understand the white boys taunting him as he cycled into town to buy his father a newspaper.

Looking back from the 1980s, when relations between black and white had deteriorated even further, Tutu finds it incredible that he was able to spread his copy of the Star or the Rand Daily Mail on the pavement and kneel to read them. "Nobody walked over the pavement or jostled me."

Like small boys anywhere, he and his friends enjoyed playing soldiers and would rush to the side of the road to wave ecstatically to the troops going "up north" They did not know that many Afrikaners were opposed to South Africans joining the war effort; they did not mind that black soldiers were not trusted with guns.

What Desmond did mind was seeing his father humiliated. Sometimes when walking together they would be stopped and Zachariah would be asked to produce his passbook, that divisive and hated document.

As he saw more of the white areas, Desmond came across other things he could not understand. He was used to the children from the black locations scavenging for food, but sometimes he would go to town during school hours and see black children picking out fresh fruit and sandwiches from the dustbins of the white schools.

For the most part, Desmond was fortunate in his early contacts with whites. There was, for instance, the priest in the black Johannesburg location of Sophiatown, who was to make such a big contribution to the struggle for justice in South Africa.

In 1943, when Desmond was 12, the Tutus moved yet again, this time to Munsieville, the black location in Krugersdorp. It was as sordid and run-down as most of the locations, its houses row upon row of identical boxes, but it had a certain vitality, was smaller than many of the townships, and people were fond of it.

The Tutus lived in a typically crowded house. They had three rooms — Desmond's bedroom doubled as a sitting room and a dining room — there was no electricity, no sewerage, and the dirt street in front of the house had rocky outcrops.

Desmond's younger sister lives there now and the area is still, 40 years later, in the same deplorable condition. But they did have running water and a bathroom and Aletha was a skilful housewife, visitors remember it was a very sweet home, where they always received a warm welcome.

In true African style, the Tutus shared what they had. Zachariah would always notice if one of his pupils was late for school because he had so far to walk and would take him in to live with his family; many boys were rescued by the Tutus in this way.

Although the Tutus were better off than most, times were often hard Desmond used to go to the white suburbs to collect and return laundry for his mother to wash; she would be paid two shillings, a princely sum, which went a long way in those days. Indeed, during the school holidays, when Zachariah was not working, it had to cover all their needs.

Desmond remembers his childhood as quite a happy time. He was loved — and probably rather spoilt — by his sisters and, though there was no money to spare, fun was derived from very simple things.

Nobody had toys, but when the house was being cleaned they would put all the chairs on the stoep and soon they would become a train, they would make cars out of odd pieces of wire and play football with an old tennis ball.

To earn a bit of pocket money Desmond would walk five kilometres to the market with his friend Joe Sibiya; they would bring back bags of oranges and sell them at a small profit.

Later he sold peanuts at suburban railway stations and caddied at the Killarney golf course in Johannesburg. There was one occasion when another close friend, Stanley

headship of Mr Madibane, the doyen of black educationists and a great Anglican churchman, it had become famous, turning out many black leaders and becoming known as "Madibane High"

Like any township urchin (as Tutu refers to himself in those days), the acquisition and spending of pocket money was a continuing challenge in their life of poverty Stanley and Desmond used to travel the 24 kilometres to school on the train, where they became famous as card sharps

As Stanley explains. "We would take on workers commuting with us and never lost. A deft scratching of the heart was a hint to Des to call hearts A scooping with the open hand was spades, and three outstretched fingers meant clubs.

According to strict ethics this was cheating, but deprived boys had to survive. The workers they were fleecing did not seem to mind it In fact they admired Desmond's prowess and nicknamed him "professor".

Desmond was hard-working and bright, but he was not good at arithmetic; in fact, failing arithmetic nearly prevented him passing standard six and qualifying for his first-year Junior Certificate.

However, "The Sharp", as Mr Madibane was known to his pupils, did not live up to his nickname and allowed Desmond to move up His trust was justified, for in the first half-yearly exams Desmond came top, on aggregate, of all 250 pupils in Form 1.

That Desmond was unusually intelligent was willingly accepted by his contemporaries.

Joe Sibiya recalls the speed of his thought. "He was streets ahead of me. We would read something together and he would apply it in all sorts of ways. I couldn't follow him. I hobbled along; it was so strenuous trying to keep up with him."

Joe was also impressed at the way he would take nothing for granted: "Let's read this verse," he would say, "and see what it really means."

His photographic memory enabled him to answer a classmate's question with: "Your answer is on page 179 of Duggan, three lines from the top of the page."

laughed at one another Desmond would say they should laugh with them, not at them.

When Desmond was 14 — although, according to Father Huddleston, he was so small he looked about 12 — his studies were interrupted for nearly two years by a serious illness. At the time he was staying at a new hostel run by the Fathers of the Community of the Resurrection in Sophiatown, as commuting from Munsieville was proving too expensive.

He hadn't been eating well, but that had not seemed particularly unusual, as the pupils in the hostel prepared their own food, tending to live on a diet of fish and chips and bread.

However, one day Desmond was driving through Sophiatown with one of the Fathers, Desmond, not in any official capacity but because they took such pleasure in each other's company.

Father Huddleston found Desmond quite exceptionally bright, interested in everything and a marvellously optimistic patient. He in turn was the greatest single influence in the life of the young Desmond, who still wonders at Father Huddleston's pastoral care and love.

Although he was a cheerful patient, never sliding into depression, the one thing that really distressed Desmond was the fear that he might drop behind at school.

He was always anxious to know what he was missing, so Father Huddleston brought books — *Treasure Island*, *Oliver Twist*, whatever they were currently reading in

mond was baptised a Methodist While they were living in Ventersdorp they followed Sylvia's lead into the African Methodist Church, then finally, in 1943, they all became Anglicans

In hospital everything seemed to come together The devout background was there, the long weeks lying still gave time for reflection and Father Huddleston acted as the catalyst. Desmond did not then understand the white priest's political views, but was convinced that everything he did stemmed from his prayers and his faith.

So in hospital he made a great friend, he laid the foundation on which his wide-ranging knowledge was to be built and he found a faith which quite surprised him by its intensity

Back at school he was very put out to find he had fallen behind Stanley Again "The Sharp" had pity on him and allowed him to join the "matric" class; again he was justified as Desmond continued to come top of his class.

At the end of 1950, once more commuting from Munsieville and studying long hours after dark by candlelight, he passed the Joint Matriculation Board of the University of South Africa; his subjects were English, Afrikaans, mathematics, zoology, history and Zulu

His schooldays were over. Now he had to decide what do do.

TOMORROW: Dean of Johannesburg and the Soweto explosion of 1976.

Mother Teresa coming to city

ARGUS 12/7/88 (28)

By BRONWYN DAVIDS
Staff Reporter

NOBEL Peace Prize winner Mother Teresa, head of the Missionaries of Charity, Calcutta, is to start a convent in Khayelitsha this year.

She is to visit Cape Town before August 15 for this purpose.

Mother Teresa announced her plans earlier this year at the Paris Chapter of the International Association of Co-workers, which is affiliated to the Missionaries of Charity, said a co-worker, Mrs Margaret Cullis of Durban.

"Mother Teresa said that because my husband, David, and I had agreed to accept the responsibility of becoming the international links (chairmen) of three-million co-workers of every race, colour and creed, she would reward us by starting a foundation in this country.

"She is a close friend of Archbishop Stephen Naidoo and he suggested Khayelitsha."

Mother Teresa will be bringing about five of her sisters to "minister to the destitute" from the convent at Khayelitsha, Mrs Cullis said.

"Presently the 10 000 co-workers in South Africa do the job for Mother Teresa by working with refugees, rehabilitatimg alcoholics and drug dependants and by running soup kitchens."

Mother Teresa, who is 77, was born of Albanian parents in Skopje, Yugoslavia, and was baptised Agnes Conxha Bojaxhiu. In December 1948 she began her welfare work among the poor, dying, sick and destitute of Calcutta.

She was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1979, the Kennedy International Award "for outstanding service to mankind" and a peace award from the Soviet Peace Committee last year, among others.

Many young South African co-workers have gone overseas to join the order of the Missionaries of Charity, started by Mother Teresa in 1948, and have become nuns, priests or brothers.

In addition to Cape Town, Mother Teresa will visit Johannesburg, Pretoria, Durban and Port Elizabeth.

In recent years she has had to cancel a number of trips to other countries, including one to South Africa, because she was needed to do relief work in places struck by natural disasters, Mrs Cullis said.

Owen Cardinal McCann, retired Archbishop of the Cape Town Archdiocese, confirmed that Mother Teresa would be visiting South Africa soon.

Archbishop Stephen Naidoo was accompanying a delegation from the Vatican on a visit to Cape Town and was not available for comment.

IT'S INSIDE TODAY

The Tutu Story starts on page 11

(28) B/Day 12/7/88

Tutu appeals for more pressure on SA

BRADFORD — Archbishop Desmond Tutu has appealed to the British people to put pressure on Margaret Thatcher's government to adopt tougher measures to force the SA government to the negotiating table.

Tutu said after a service at Bradford Cathedral on Sunday that he welcomed a statement by Michael Dukakis that if he was elected US President he hoped to persuade Thatcher to drop her opposition to stronger sanctions.

Tutu spent the weekend in Britain preaching at churches in Hampshire and Yorkshire. He and other bishops from Southern Africa are in the country for the Lambeth Conference, the 10-yearly meeting of Anglican bishops from throughout the world.

Tutu said: "Help us so that your government will not want to collaborate with the perpetrators of apartheid."

He also appealed for help in campaigns to reprieve the Sharpeville Six and to free Nelson Mandela and others. — Sapa.

Spectrum

Tutu's nightmare a reality

This is the second of five instalments on the life and career of Archbishop Desmond Tutu. The instalments have been extracted from a new biography of the Archbishop, *Tutu — Voice of the Voiceless*, by Shirley du Boulay and published by Hodder and Stoughton. Tomorrow's instalment deals with his work on the South African Council of Churches.

WHILE Desmond was in his last two years at school the political face of South Africa was changing; life for the blacks was to become worse, far worse.

In 1948 the National Party won the general election by promising apartheid to the white electorate.

Parliament was busy in 1950. In that same year it also passed the Group Areas Act.

So how, in the increasingly restricted life of the 1950s, was Tutu going to earn his living? He gained a place at the Witwatersrand Medical School, but could not get a bursary. There was no other source of finance so ... he decided to follow in his father's footsteps and become a teacher. In 1951 he went to the new government college outside Pretoria, the Bantu Normal College, to study for a Teacher's Diploma.

It was one of the first Bantu Education institutions, all the lecturers being appointed by the Nationalist government. The standard of teaching was quite good, but it was impossible to escape the persistent reminders of racial segregation.

Conditions at Munsieville High School (Desmond Tutu's old school where he became a teacher) were not easy. There were often as many as 60 to a class, with an age range from 14 to 27.

Desmond Tutu had barely begun teaching when the government struck again: On March 31, 1955, the Bantu Education Act was implemented.

Archbishop Tutu visiting Bongolethu township outside Oudtshoorn

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IT was the most deliberately vicious of all the legislation of the 1950s, seeking as it did, to ensure that black people remained for ever in a position of servitude.

Primarily for this reason Desmond Tutu began to question what the point was of remaining a teacher. The anguishing decision to leave the work he so enjoyed caused Desmond Tutu to ask himself very radical questions about what he should do with his life. During his time at Munsieville High School he thought long and hard and made his decision: he offered himself to the Bishop of Johannesburg to train for the priesthood and was accepted.

In August, 1971, after only 18 months at Roma (in Lesotho), temptation was once again put in Tutu's path. He was asked by Dr Walter Cason, the acting Director of the Theological Education Fund, to allow his name to be shortlisted for the post of Associate Director responsible for Africa.

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IT was an attractive offer. The job was challenging and reasonably well-paid; he would be contributing to the very organisation which had made it possible for him to go to King's College; the idea of moving back to England, where the TEF was based, appealed to the rest of the family.

Never happy without a pastoral role, Tutu was licensed as an Honorary Curate at St Augustine's, Bromley; whenever he could, he would preach or celebrate the Eucharist.

In 1974, Leslie Stradling, for many years Bishop of Johannesburg, retired, so the search was on for his successor. Many people were realising that it was time the church had another African Diocesan Bishop — the only one at the time was Bishop Alpheus Zulu, who was forced by white prejudice to wait long years for his bishopric. Father Aelred Stubbs and Father Leo Rakale, a much respected black priest, led a powerful lobby for Tutu, who was thought to be the only African competent to be a Diocesan Bishop, as opposed to a Suffragan or Assistant.

The proceedings of an elective assembly are confidential, but it is widely reported that Tutu's share of the vote increased steadily, indeed, that he finally came within 19 votes of being elected. However, after six inconclusive ballots a group of whites lobbied the Dean, Timothy Bavin, feeling that he would be acceptable to a wide cross-section of people: the Dean, who had in the earlier ballots consistently voted for Tutu, eventually accepted nomination. Despite continued pressure from the Tutu lobby, before the day was out Dean Bavin had been elected Bishop. As soon as he was consecrated he invited Tutu to become his Dean.

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THE Tutu family was thrown into turmoil. Leah quite simply did not want to go.

It was a traumatic decision, but he made it. Despite his enjoyment of life in England, despite the wishes of his wife, despite his contract and the annoyance that would be felt by some of his colleagues at the Theological Education Fund, though with the support of his children he would go back to South Africa as the first black Dean of Johannesburg and Rector of the St Mary's cathedral parish.

He was welcomed home with joy. For the first time in the history of the Anglican Church in South Africa a black man was to occupy high office in the large, wealthy and vibrant diocese of Johannesburg; better still, he was no token black, but someone eminently qualified to hold the position. He would be able to demonstrate that a black man is not inferior to anyone.

There was barely standing room at his installation, an ecumenical occasion witnessed by 3 000 people of all races, including most of South Africa's church leaders and Archbishop Sirkassian of the Armenian Orthodox Church, a member of the World Council of Churches who was representing the Theological Education Fund. At the end of the service the new Dean astonished everyone by his confidence, as he stood at the West door being hugged and kissed, even — unbelievably in the Johannesburg of the 1970s — by white women.

One of the consequences of his appointment that drew considerable attention was the question of where the Tutus should live. As all the previous Deans had been white, the deanery was in a white suburb, the affluent area of Houghton. Despite the Group Areas Act the Tutus were invited to move into the official residence, but they adamantly refused to become "honorary whites", electing instead to share the conditions of their fellow blacks by living in Soweto.

The Tutus had to be "influxed" into Johannesburg, as apartheid declared that no black could live in the city without special permission from the authorities.

Outside St Mary's Cathedral there is a large notice, proclaiming in four languages (English, Afrikaans, Zulu and Sotho) that the church is open to all races. Of the five priests on Dean Tutu's staff, two others were black, three were white; the choir, servers' guild and team of sacristans were racially mixed, as were the congregation, the majority of whom, attracted by the multi-racial mix, came from outside the parish. For Tutu, who remembered when black people had to sit on a bench at the back of the church, not coming up to the communion rail until after the whites, this was a microcosm of the South Africa that could be.

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WHEREVER Desmond Tutu goes he makes his mark; it was not long before St Mary's cathedral felt the impact of his personality. In worship, for instance. When he arrived St Mary's was still using the 1662 version of the communion service. Within weeks he introduced the new "Liturgy '75". He encouraged his congregation ro move about the church, insisted on including the Kiss of Peace, and even wanted them to hug and kiss one another.

He brought a liberal, world-wide perspective, allowing members of the congregation to put on experimental services, appealing to many by being in favour of the ordination of women and by making a point of using non-sexist language, always changing "men" to "people' — at the time one of the few priests in the country consistently to show this particular sensitivity. The parish was going through a bad time financially and some provident members of the parish council dreaded finance meetings under Dean Tutu, never being quite sure "what madcap scheme he would come up with next". They were worried by the ease with which he spent money and disturbed by some of his impulsive ideas. For instance he was keen to link Soweto formally with the cathedral.

While people from the townships had always been free to come, he wanted to ensure they received a warm welcome. He suggested that the cathedral should send a bus round Soweto to bring worshippers to St Mary's. He saw it as a way of saving them the long and awkward journey; the parish council was not only horrified at the expense but saw it as stealing sheep from other priests' pastures.

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EXPECTATIONS had been polarised, some people hoping Dean Tutu would be like Dean ffrench-Beytagh, some hoping he would be more conservative. For everyone who criticised his extravagance, several rejoiced in the activity he stimulated. But his greatest contribution as Dean was the confidence he gave to black members of the congregation, the way he involved them in the running of the cathedral.

Reconciliation is in every part of a man or it is nowhere; Dean Tutu showed himself as a reconciliator in every dimension of his life — including humour. He could joke, for instance, about white fears of black retaliation. In 1975 there was still total apartheid on the beaches and Tutu would say, "The whites think the black people want to drive them into the sea. What they forget is, with apartheid on the beaches — we can't even get to the sea".

In sermons, addresses, at conferences and in articles, he put his case. Reconciliation is only possible between equals. If society is ordered in such a way that one section of the community is denied its humanity, with all its obligations and responsibilities, the other side is also enslaved — whites cannot be truly free until blacks are free.

In taking this stance, in insisting that the problem belongs as much to the oppressor as to the oppressed and placing himself firmly in the role of a reconciler, he was taking the first step along the political tightrope on which he has balanced ever since. And if it was a balance that sometimes, from the outside, might look slightly precarious, it is in reality a poise very firmly held, infused with an inner confidence, a "centredness" that can only belong to someone deeply rooted in something beyond the changing world of outer events.

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WHEN Desmond Tutu became Dean of Johannesburg he was, considering his 44 years and his South African background, less politically aware than one would have expected.

Father Aelred Stubbs, while admiring the strength of Tutu's Christian faith and witness, felt strongly that now that his old pupil was in a leadership position he should be more in touch with the current political climate. He encouraged him see a group of young activists centred on the Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko.

With an eagerness and humility that impressed Father Stubbs, Tutu took up the suggestion, and though unfortunately Steve Biko was in detention at the time, he spent a couple of days with the group.

It was not difficult for Tutu to appreciate the new South African reality. Meeting Biko's group, talking to respected leaders of the Soweto community like Dr Motlana and Tom Manthata, above all living in Soweto, where every day he was in touch with the people, sharing their lives, he soon filled in any gaps in his understanding caused by his time abroad.

After five years out of South Africa he was shocked at the increasing tension he found in the black community, especially among the young; he was filled with a sense of foreboding and alarm. He warned a local synod that the church must concern itself, immediately, with the needs of the youth.

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AGAIN and again he appealed to people's humanity. In January 1976, in an address to one of the regional groups of the South African Institute of Race Relations, he pleaded with his audience to come out of their fool's paradise and listen to one another; to face reality and resist the temptation to say only what people wanted to hear.

He reminded his audience that whites are human beings: "They laugh, they love, they cuddle babies, they weep, they eat, they sleep — they are human.

But if they are human, why, oh why, can't they see that we laugh too, we love too, we weep too, we cuddle babies too, we eat, we sleep — why can't they see that it is impossible for things to go on like this?"

But he found grounds for hope. He wondered at black people's capacity to forgive, admitting that the seeds of bitterness and hatred are sown early in a black person's life, yet, after all he has endured at the hands of whites, he is still ready to extend the hand of friendship.

He found hope in the Black Consciousness movement, that was giving blacks a sense of their own worth.

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DESMOND Tutu is a man of action, his theology needed to be incarnated. What he should do came to him a few weeks later, during a three-day clergy retreat in Johannesburg; on May 6, 1976, in his first public political initiative, he sent an open letter to the then Prime Minister, John Vorster.

Archbishop Tutu and his wife, Leah, during a visit to the UN headquarters in New York

It is a remarkable letter, heartfelt yet statesmanlike, direct yet never failing to be tactful and courteous, eloquent, informed and precise in its suggestions:

I am writing to you, Sir, as one who is passionately devoted to a happy and stable family life as the indispensable foundation of a sound and healthy society. You have flung out your arms to embrace and hug your children and your grandchildren, to smother them with your kisses, you have loved, you have wept, you have watched by the bed of a sick one whom you loved, you have watched by the deathbed of a beloved relative, you have been a proud father at the wedding of your children, you have shed tears by the graveside of one for whom your heart has been broken.

With great restraint and politeness, Tutu objects to the power given to the army and the security police without making them accountable to the courts; he appealed for the detainees — that they should be released or punished if found guilty of indictable offences; he reminded the Prime Minister that freedom is indivisible and that the whites would not be free until the whole community was free; most crucially, he warned that there was a limit to the blatant injustice and suffering that a people can take. "I have a growing and nightmarish fear that unless something drastic is done very soon then bloodshed and violence are going to happen in South Africa most inevitably."

The letter suggested three ways in which the Government could demonstrate that it was sincere in saying it wanted peaceful change. It should accept urban blacks as permanent inhabitants of "white" South Africa, with consequent freehold rights; it should repeal the pass laws and it should call a National Convention of recognised leaders.

Three weeks later the Prime Minister answered, questioning Dean Tutu's motives in writing and suggesting he was merely trying to put out political propaganda. When the Dean asked for permission to publish the reply he received a curt rejection.

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TUTU'S nightmare was to become reality, sooner and more tragically than even he had feared. On June 16, 15 000 children from Soweto organised themselves into a mass protest, objecting to separate Bantu education and in particular to the use of Afrikaans, the language of the hated oppressor, as a medium of instruction.

Singing, they marched from school to school, determined but peaceful, armed only with their placards; they were met with police gunfire. Hector Peterson, just 12 years old, was the first of over 600 people to die in the next few weeks, most of them schoolchildren and students.

Tutu spent most of the day in Soweto, talking to children and parents, trying not to show anger, trying less successfully to conceal his tears.

As trouble flared all over the country and the toll of deaths and injuries mounted, Tutu was suffering a particular personal anguish. Earlier in the year, even before he wrote to John Vorster, he had agreed to become Bishop of Lesotho.

With the anger and frustration in the townships reaching fever pitch he had, once again, to leave the country.

US church backs Tutu call

13/7/88

(28) RICHARD WALKER B/day

DETROIT — The Episcopal Church in the US has endorsed a boycott of oil companies operating in SA after black church leaders called for support for Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu's sanctions campaign.

The oil boycott vote was taken in the last session of the church's 10-day convention — the top policy-making meeting for 2,5-million US Episcopalians.

It came one day after the boycott call was rejected by lay representatives of US dioceses, some of whom said a church campaign against Shell and other oil companies could harm the economy in states like Texas and Louisiana.

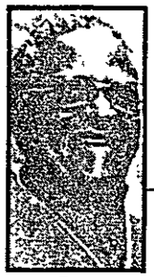
Lay deputy Emil Piel of Caldwell told the convention: "Archbishop Desmond Tutu is desperately in need of our support for the Shell oil boycott."

He said Tutu had been in constant touch by telephone with black church leaders at the Detroit convention.

"Tell them I love them and I need them to show their support of this boycott for my people and for my credibility ... the groundwork is clearly being laid for my assassination," he quoted Tutu as saying. — Sapa-Reuter.

This is the third of five instalments on the career of Archbishop Desmond Tutu. They have been edited from a biography of the archbishop, Tutu — Voice Of The Voiceless, by Shirley du Boulay and published by Hodder and Stoughton.

Tutu puts his stamp on churches' council

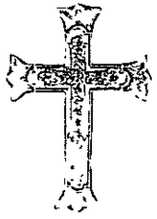


Tutu

ON March 1, 1978, when Bishop Tutu started work as the general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, he was taking on a formidable task, demanding formidable qualities. The work was to involve him at many levels.

Inside the council itself there was the delicate matter of keeping a harmonious balance among the 16 departments and judging the relative claims of long-range and short-term programmes: he would also have to involve himself in the often emotional relationships with the constituent churches.

At a national level he knew there would be many people, from committed Christians to those with no claims to religious belief, who would question his integrity. Most crucially, there was the question of the increasing polarisation between Church and State and the harassment both the council and Tutu personally were to receive from the Government.



Finally, he was soon to become an international spokesman for millions of black South Africans.

Sometimes, undeterred by the limited value of such communications, Tutu's concern took the form of letters, statements and telegrams.

In 1982, for instance, he cabled the Prime Minister of Israel, appealing to him to stop bombing Beirut: "Be true to great Jewish tradition and don't let Jews be cause of untold suffering for others." A simultaneous telegram to Yasser Arafat called for "greater realism about Israel's existence".

A third assured the people of Lebanon of "our fervent prayers and God's strength in these horrible days".

On behalf of the SACC, he wrote to the prime ministers of Zimbabwe, Lesotho and Swaziland and the presidents of Botswana and Mozambique, thanking them for giving hospitality to South African refugees and appealing to them not to send any refugee back to South Africa against his will.

Occasionally his intervention brought success: his appeal to the president of the Seychelles for the release of Martin Dolinschek, one of five South Africans who had been sentenced to death, brought him a grateful letter saying that he was the only person of stature to intercede — most of the letters sent to the president were appeals to save the turtles.

And always Tutu remembered the international community in prayer, both private and public. It was a parish with no boundaries, but it had a centre, a beating

Dan Vaughan, a senior and much respected colleague, once questioned the wisdom of one of his public statements. Tutu swung on him saying: "I make my own decisions — no one is going to tell me what to say."

Though they were travelling together, it was not until the next day that a smile and a hand on the shoulder indicated that Dan was forgiven.

Another colleague who had the temerity to disagree with him was told: "You're a silly child. Get out of my office. I'm not going to talk to you again until you've come to your senses." And for three weeks Tutu was as good as his word.

Just as he is easily hurt, so both laughter and tears are as close as breathing. He is a man of passionate emotions, sometimes laughing when the only alternative would be to cry.

Like most honest people — and he is honest to a fault — he trusts his staff not only in their work, but in their integrity. The possibility of informers is something that has always to be taken into account, but when there were convincing rumours that an informer was on the staff of the SACC, he called a meeting, saying he could not and would not operate on a basis of suspicion: he would rather be decieved. It was eight years before he discovered that the rumours had been true.

On another occasion he

each other life. He, far from finding yet more work the last straw after a busy week, was excited by the challenge.

The parishioners were given a new dignity, a new peace. He persuaded them to paint the church, found a carpet to replace the worn old lino, took Bible study classes and encouraged them to visit one another, street by street.

But his pastoral role is not confined to parish or congregation: its mantle embraces everyone he meets. His own need for affirmation is mirrored in his ability to affirm others. People feel better just for being with him.

The tributes are endless: "He has this amazing capacity to make people relax and help them to be freer. He really manages to bring God so close to you."

Nor is this sensitive attention given only when it is convenient. He was so determined to support the Anglican priest David Russell when he was on trial for breaking his banning order to attend synod that he cancelled an important meeting and went back to Cape Town, from where, incidentally, he had just returned.

Similarly, he found time to be present for a few minutes at the funeral of a friend's father on, of all days, June 16, 1976, the day of the Soweto killings.

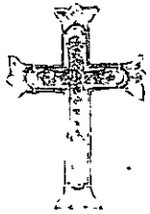
This concern for people, whether in matters great or small, also finds regular expression in his correspondence. Given the weight of his

too moderate, a few who, uncomfortable because they are not playing their part in working for justice and peace in their country, are irritated by his constant calls for change — those who dislike him are mostly white and politically conservative.

So from all sides the arrows flew. Within months of his return to Johannesburg the Sunday Express was dismissing him as "Tutu of the trendy specs and trendier hairdo, so sure that justice will be done"; headlines screamed: "Belt up, Tutu"; a statement was greeted as "the latest Tutu-muchism"; he was referred to as "that insect in dark glasses" and accused of "boring people with his mixture of syrupy promises and petty politicking".

It is hard to believe that these angry people are talking about the same man. The real person bears so little relation to the public image, as people who hear him for themselves find out.

A young Afrikaner wrote to



him in amazement after listening to him speak: "How the newspapers must have distorted you — or how you

ple, black and white alike, of their value as human beings, telling audiences they are "princes and princesses" or "masterpieces" — sometimes making hundreds of people say with him: "We are masterpieces".

One of Tutu's great contributions to the SACC, something he gave from the very centre of his being, was his emphasis on the spiritual foundation of its work. On a formal level he introduced daily prayers, insisting that the entire staff come together as a community from 8.30 to 9.30 every morning.

Once a month there was a Eucharist, taken by the various denominations in rotation. During these periods everything, from staff birthdays to the most recent national or international event, was considered in the light of the Gospel, prayed about, placed before God.

In keeping with Gospel teaching, this included a concern for people who might be considered enemies. In spite of continual pressure — even from fellow Christians — he steadfastly refuses to stop praying for President P W Botha. When praying for friends in prison he prays also for the jailors and the police "because they are God's children too".

Extrovert though Tutu is, he also has a deeply private, introvert side. Anyone who has spent even a short time alone with him will have sensed an indefinable quality, an undercurrent throbbing beneath the quick responses

preceded by a short prayer. However busy he is, whatever his current concerns, once a month he goes to a nearby convent for a "quiet day" and occasionally he fasts and holds vigils; at least once a year he goes on a retreat of three days or longer.

This pattern of prayer evolved over many years, but during his time as Bishop of Lesotho another element was added when a Franciscan monk, Brother Geoffrey, came to his house in Maseru to hold a meeting about the Third Order of the Franciscans. Tutu was captivated, saying that this was what he had been searching for and asking if he might test his vocation as a Tertiary.

Tutu's devotion to the Community of the Resurrection is such that one might have expected him to join their Third Order, rather than the Franciscans. What drew him away from his old family?

Perhaps the answer lies partially in the very closeness of this tie. The CR were his spiritual parents, their influence was, and still is, immeasurable. In taking this new step he needed to go forward rather than back, to be independent of these treasured parents. There is, too, much that is Franciscan in his spirituality.

In the CR he found a toughness and a courage that appealed to him. He met men who were not sitting on the fence, but whose Christianity constrained them to join the fight for a just South Africa. This strengthened and inspired

Finally, he was soon to become an international spokesman for millions of black South Africans.

What were the qualities he brought to this exposed position? It is time to consider the nature of the man who for six years ocupied a post known as "the hottest ecclesiastical seat in the country".

He immediately brought his own style to bear on the council. In spite of the tensions inherent in any such disparate body of people — there were more than 30 different members and groups affiliated to the council and the racial mix was accompanied by inevitable diversities of temperament — and in spite of the national issues that tend to preoccupy South Africans, he insisted on seeing the council's problems from a world perspective, resisting insularity, whether black or white.

Tutu's reports, whether at the national conferences or the quarterly executive meetings, were masterly surveys of contemporary world affairs.

Peter Storey, general secretary of the SACC, would tease him for taking them on "Cooke's tours" as he castigated the puppet regime established in Afghanistan by the Russians or condemned United States support of the Contras in Nicaragua, spelt out the broad outlines of international debt, reacted to a recent change of government, lamented the unresolved strife in Ulster or internecine war in the Middle East or urban terrorism in Italy.

Smaller fish were caught in this net as he worried that Belgium might split up over the issue of language or wondered how the latest Springbok rugby tour was going to affect the meeting of Commonwealth finance ministers.

He would welcome good news, praising the peace movement, rejoicing in the exchange of ambassadors between Israel and Egypt or in the independence of Zimbabwe and the extraordinary news that on independence night former Rhodesian soldiers paraded with former guerrillas.

ident were appeals to save the turtles.

And always Tutu remembered the international community in prayer, both private and public. It was a parish with no boundaries, but it had a centre, a beating heart — the offices of the SACC.

From the day he arrived his relationship with the staff was encapsulated in his response to the question greeting any new boss: "What shall we call you?" He replied. "Father." Apart from formal occasions when he was addressed as "bishop" and a few close friends who called him "Desmond", "Father" or "Baba" (the African equivalent) he remained.

Like any father, he could be strict. When a member of staff who had been on sabbatical leave failed to return in time for the national conference, as she had promised, she received a memo saying: "I will have to come back and discuss this matter with you sternly, because this is not how I want to operate."

And even his greatest admirers were critical of him in his role of authoritarian bishop; some were curious that he donned full episcopal regalia for the office Mass, others felt threatened by his insistence that they all went on yearly retreats, whether or not it was in their tradition.

He was loved, feared, respected, indulged, occasionally resented and to a great extent understood.

They came to know his tastes — his love of "fat cakes", samoosas, dates, marshmallows and Yogi Sip, his passion for cricket and music, his habit of early-morning jogging and midday naps, his loathing of bad language. More importantly, they learnt to cope with his sensitivity, to realise how very easily he could be hurt.

Tutu makes no secret of his wish to be loved, something he regards as "a horrible weakness"; he is perhaps less aware of his vulnerability, which can cause trouble out of all proportion to the cause. Anyone failing to acknowledge an increment, or who is late for prayers and does not come up to his office to apologise, anyone who does not thank him, even for a small thing, risks giving him offence.

would not operate on a basis of suspicion: he would rather be decieved. It was eight years before he discovered that the rumours had been true.

On another occasion he found that a junior secretary had for months been stashing away letters, cheques and receipts instead of posting or filing them. When he eventually became aware of what was going on he did not discipline her, he was not even angry. He said that his heart bled for her, that he could not "throw her to the wolves" and simply moved her to another department.

The essence of fatherhood, paternalism at its best, is found in the role of Pastor, the Shepherd of the Flock. It is in this sphere that Tutu feels most at home, most sure that he is doing God's will.

His concept of priesthood demands faithfulness rather than success, a faithfulness that should be manifested in a disciplined rule of life with regular saying of the office, study of the Scriptures, prayer, meditation and — too often neglected — pastoral visiting.

Valuing priesthood so highly, rejoicing in his calling, it is no surprise that as soon as he had agreed to resign his see and take a secular job, he wrote to the Bishop of Johannesburg, Timothy Bavin, asking if he could help in a parish.

Bishop Bavin suggested that until the demands of his time were known he should be content to work as a member of the relieving staff, so it was not until the beginning of 1981 that, in addition to his work at the SACC, Tutu became rector of a church in Soweto — St Augustine's, Orlando West.

It was in an area poor even by Soweto standards and the parish had been full of argument and quarrelling, but St Augustine's and Tutu gave

1976, the day of the Soweto killings.

This concern for people, whether in matters great or small, also finds regular expression in his correspondence. Given the weight of his commitments he is prompt in answering his letters, at length if the occasion demands, nearly always with charity and gentleness.

Among the official letters, the stream of requests that he should recommend people for posts or vice versa, the requests to preach, speak at conferences, sit on commissions, attend ambassadorial functions, dine with businessmen, the occasional brush with authority — a traffic offence or an unpaid bill — his postbag discloses a glorious cross-section of humanity in all its richness.

A browse through his files shows, for instance, an invitation from the Kwazakhele Rugby Union to attend the opening of the Dan Qeqe Stadium, where he was to kick off the match, a letter asking him to speak at the Ikageng Women's Club, a card from a small boy, sick in bed, thanking him for the cartons of fruit juice.

From his first months at the SACC, Tutu began to receive critical letters. When they were couched in reasonable, positive terms he would invite the writer to come and talk to him; when they were offensive — and they frequently were — he was capable of retaliating.

A letter accusing him of "bearing false witness" and ending "look to your conscience if you have such a thing" received a stern reply: "I expect a full apology forthwith for your scurrilous attack and if not given within a week I will place your letter in the hands of our solicitors." (He duly received an apology.)

Mostly, though, his reaction was to ignore them, taking St Paul's advice to "rejoice, inasmuch as ye are partakers of Christ's sufferings". Significantly, one of his favourite texts is: "If God is for us, who can be against us?"

There are many possible reasons why Tutu should attract such venom; strong people evoke strong emotions. Though he has his critics among the black community — the radicals who find him

him in amazement after listening to him speak: "How the newspapers must have distorted you — or how you must have changed ... it was the Spirit of Love, Patience and Reconciliation more than anything else that stirred me. Even more so because of the image I have which made me expect something different."

When the real Desmond Tutu is met he is loved, and one of the reasons he is loved is because of the love he feels — really feels, it is not just some priestly role he dons — for every man, woman and child. He sees and honours what the Quakers call "that of God in every man".

He constantly reminds peo-

extrovert though Tutu is, he also has a deeply private, introvert side. Anyone who has spent even a short time alone with him will have sensed an indefinable quality, an undercurrent throbbing beneath the quick responses and easy jokes. Centredness? Peace? Communion with God? Whatever one calls it, there is no doubt that it is the fruit of his inner life.

His life is shot through with prayer. He rises early in the morning, sometimes as early as 3.30, to be sure of a full hour's prayer before his daily job; then, after a quick breakfast, he goes to Mass or, if it is not possible to go to church, he celebrates it at home, with Leah as his single congregant.

During the working day every interview and meeting is

ness and a courage that appealed to him. He met men who were not sitting on the fence, but whose Christianity constrained them to join the fight for a just South Africa. This strenghened and inspired him, eventually encouraging and confirming his political commitment, but there was something else he needed.

Bishop John Taylor suggests that "he wanted his lightheartedness endorsed, that peculiar thing in Desmond that is carefree, a kind of troubadour fighter". He found it with the Franciscans.

TOMORROW: The Nobel Peace Prize, Bishop of Johannesburg, his role in the visit of Senator Edward Kennedy and the first state of emergency ...

Honours, riots, rows — spotlight on Tutu

This is the fourth of five instalments on the career of Archbishop Desmond Tutu. They have been edited from a biography of the archbishop, Tutu — Voice Of The Voiceless, by Shirley du Boulay and published by Hodder and Stoughton.

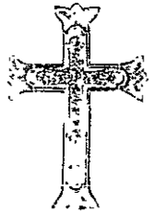
THE award of the Nobel Peace Prize kept Tutu's name in both international and domestic news headlines for weeks. In fact, since that day (October 15, 1984) he has rarely been far from the limelight.

On November 13 fuel was added to the media flames by his election as Bishop of Johannesburg. It was the first time that a black man had occupied this post, after the archbishopric of Cape Town the most influential position in the Anglican Church in South Africa.

Nobody doubted Tutu's ability to fill the post, few questioned his qualities as a Christian leader, but his supporters had to fight his case against fierce arguments from his opponents.

There were suggestions that his international responsibilities would lead to his spending more time outside the diocese than in it, accusations of ambition, hints that he wanted to be Bishop of Johannesburg only as a stepping stone to the top job, Archbishop of Cape Town.

The appointment received, predictably, a mixed reaction.



The black clergy were jubilant — the Johannesburg dio-

As they have climbed the clerical ladder, the Tutus have had to endure many taunts about personal extravagance. In fact, becoming a bishop did not mean an increase in salary — far from it: Tutu took a considerable drop, though of course there was an allowance for official duties.

Previous white bishops had their own furniture, while what little the Tutus owned was to remain in their Soweto house (they were determined to keep a base in the townships), so the diocese had to cover the expenses involved in furnishing and redecorating the bishop's official residence in Westcliff.

However, the man who should know best, the diocesan secretary, considered that Tutu was not extravagant and had not cost the diocese very much. Though the Tutus like to live comfortably and perhaps feel a certain duty towards the black community to prove that blacks can succeed and be seen to succeed, and while they have a certain casualness in their attitude to money, they give as freely as they receive and many who know them well will vouch for their generosity in matters great and small.

The way he dealt with the diocesan financial problems is typical. There were some white parishes which withdrew their diocesan quota in protest at his appointment and this, in addition to the continuing financial hardship of the diocese, led to fears of bankruptcy.

In fact, it was a minority who acted in this way and Tutu actually left the Johan-

in the presidential campaign, he tried to organise a forum to draw attention to the subject.

An important debate on nuclear arms control forced the cancellation of this meeting, but it so happened that both Tutu and Dr Allan Boesak, the president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, were in the United States at the time and on October 4 a lunch was organised with the two South Africans, Senator Kennedy, Frank Ferrari, of the African-American Foundation, and Gregory Craig, Senator Kennedy's national security Adviser.

Both Tutu and Boesak spoke powerfully about the position of the blacks and about how the level of deprivation was increasing both politically and economically. At the end of the lunch, when Senator Kennedy asked what he could do to help, they asked him to come to South Africa.

The invitation was, by pure chance, well timed. Only days later the Nobel Peace Prize was announced and the whole of America learned something of what Senator Kennedy had been told.

It was an invitation extended and accepted in goodwill. However, many South Africans, including members of the Azanian People's Organisation, thought otherwise.

However, among the crowds were about 100 Azapo supporters, bearing placards, saying "Socialist Azapo v capitalist Kennedy" and "Away with CIA, Kennedy, oppression and capitalism".

Azapo had taken its stand against Kennedy before it knew of Tutu and Dr Boesak's involvement. Its members opposed, to the depths of their being, America's role in Cuba, Vietnam, Nicaragua and Grenada and, however, unjustly, regarded the senator, who at the time was standing for President, as a symbol of United States imperialism.

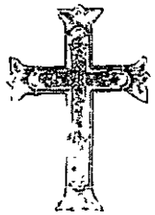
Further, they were convinced that he was using South Africa to help his election chances. Even though he represented the Democrats, to them he was part of the system; they felt it was impossible that a Kennedy could be welcomed by black people.

Desmond Tutu has never sought a position of leadership in the secular world, insisting that he is only "a leader by default", due to the actions taken by the Government against black leaders such as Nelson Mandela. Still less does he seek a political role. Nevertheless, in August, 1985 a poll declared that 24 percent of the black population considered him the best potential president of South Africa and he is never out of the political limelight, his every word and deed acquiring political overtones.

Only 10 days later Duduza was the scene of one of South Africa's most horrific killings. Maki Shosana, a young woman living with her mother and five-year-old son, was suspected of collaborating with the police. At another funeral, in full view of the television cameras, a screaming crowd turned on her shouting, "Informer" and set her on fire.

Only July 20, 1985 — just 10 days after Tutu had rescued the alleged police informer in Duduza and on the same day that Maki Shosana was murdered — the Government declared a state of emergency in 36 magisterial districts.

Tutu, with many others,



was surprised that the Government felt it necessary to add to its already draconian powers. He warned that any calm to which it might lead would be only a surface calm and that there could be "an almighty explosion". Within days restrictions were imposed on funerals of "unrest victims" in areas where the state of emergency was in force.

was met by a chaotic reception of journalists, plain-clothed and uniformed police and placards reading "Tutu — no jobs, no food" and "Tutu — down with the ANC".

He was ashamed of nothing and made no denials, but such had been the attacks on him in his absence that he called a Press conference in which he stood by everything he had said. Unrepentant, he wished the "lickspittle sycophants" of the South African Press and television would prepare whites for the inevitable, as the country was not going to be run by a minority for ever.

At the national level Bishop Tutu tried, frequently and in vain, to relate to the State President, Mr P W Botha. His reaction to the state of emergency was not only to condemn it and to defy its restrictions, but to try to bring about some sort of reconciliation, so he offered himself as a broker to start negotiations with the President.

On July 29, with the state of emergency just over a week old, with 18 blacks killed and more than 1 000 people arrested, he sent a telegram to Mr Botha asking for an urgent meeting to discuss the situation.

Mr Botha's private secretary said he would arrange a meeting at the President's earliest possible convenience. But Tutu received a telephone call informing him that President Botha refused to see him: he would not meet anyone who did not denounce violence (which Bishop Tutu had repeatedly done) and renounce civil disobedience (which he had not).

The bishop was fo

Shops were petrol-bombed, the streets were scarred with barricades and burnt-out cars, scores of people had been injured and 22 killed, 16 them by the police (other reports put the figure much higher).

On February 18, during an executive meeting of the SACC at which Tutu was present, news came that a large crowd had assembled in the township's football stadium. A group of senior churchmen, including Mr Beyers Naudé and Dr Boesak, went to Alexandra and tried to pass through the roadblocks to speak to the people. At first they were refused entry, but Tutu, after arguing for more than an hour with the security forces, was eventually allowed through to the stadium.

He managed to diffuse the tension and bring some calm to the enraged residents. He told them not to discredit their cause by violent behaviour and promised that God saw what was happening to them.

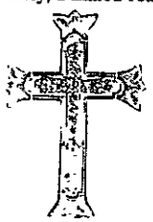
He undertook to put three of their demands to the local police chief: that the security forces should be withdrawn, that township residents should be released from detention and that the state of emergency should be lifted. The crowd dispersed and Tutu went to see the local brigadier.

He did more. He and a small delegation of churchmen representing several denominations travelled to Cape Town to try to see Mr P W Botha. He was given an interview with Mr Adriaan Vlok, then Deputy Minister of Law,

against fierce arguments from his opponents.

There were suggestions that his international responsibilities would lead to his spending more time outside the diocese than in it, accusations of ambition, hints that he wanted to be Bishop of Johannesburg only as a stepping stone to the top job, Archbishop of Cape Town.

The appointment received, predictably, a mixed reaction.



The black clergy were jubilant — the Johannesburg diocese was now, with its Suffragan Bishops Simeon Nkoane, based in Kwathema, and Sigisbert Ndwande on the West Rand — entirely run by Africans. Was the era of black church leadership in the Christian community in sight?

The Roman Catholic Church and the Methodists welcomed the appointment and the Rev T M Swart, general secretary of the Baptist Union, said: "This new posting can only be for the ultimate good of the Church as there are so few black church leaders in this country."

Once again the white Press was less than enthusiastic; once again there were harsh statements from right-wing religious organisations. United Christian Action declared that Tutu's appointment was a potential cause of further division and criticised the bishops for succumbing to world pressure.

In his charge, delivered at his enthronement on February 3, 1985, he sympathised with those who felt he had been "foisted on an unwilling diocese" and admitted he would have loved to have been chosen by the elective assembly. He allowed himself to indulge in a little self-justification, citing occasions where he had initiated moves towards reconciliation or congratulated Government Ministers when he felt they deserved credit.

san secretary, considered that Tutu was not extravagant and had not cost the diocese very much. Though the Tutus like to live comfortably and perhaps feel a certain duty towards the black community to prove that blacks can succeed and be seen to succeed, and while they have a certain casualness in their attitude to money, they give as freely as they receive and many who know them well will vouch for their generosity in matters great and small.

The way he dealt with the diocesan financial problems is typical. There were some white parishes which withdrew their diocesan quota in protest at his appointment and this, in addition to the continuing financial hardship of the diocese, led to fears of bankruptcy.

In fact, it was a minority who acted in this way and Tutu actually left the Johannesburg diocese considerably better off than he found it, not through financial caution — in fact, staff accustomed to thrifty bishops were at first alarmed by his easy spending — but because he himself brought in so much money from his overseas travels. He is an exceptional administrator, able to place his trust in those to whom he has delegated responsibility. He also has an astonishing memory for detail.

Of all his meetings with national and international figures, the one which was to have the most significant repercussions, which indeed was regarded by Tutu as a watershed, took place in his own country in January, 1985, just a month before he was enthroned as Bishop of Johannesburg. It was the visit of Senator Edward Kennedy.

The Kennedy family had been concerned with South Africa for a long time. They had known a number of young, mostly white, anti-apartheid activists associated with the National Union of South African Students and Robert Kennedy had visited the country in 1966.

Throughout his 25 years in the Senate, Edward Kennedy has focused on abuses of human rights wherever they have occurred and in October, 1984, distressed that American policy towards South Africa had played so little part

[illegible] and Gregory Craig, Senator Kennedy's national security Adviser.

Both Tutu and Boesak spoke powerfully about the position of the blacks and about how the level of deprivation was increasing both politically and economically. At the end of the lunch, when Senator Kennedy asked what he could do to help, they asked him to come to South Africa.

The invitation was, by pure chance, well timed Only days later the Nobel Peace Prize was announced and the whole of America learned something of what Senator Kennedy had been told.

It was an invitation extended and accepted in goodwill. However, many South Africans, including members of the Azanian People's Organisation, thought otherwise.

When Senator Kennedy and his entourage arrived at Jan Smuts Airport on January 5, they were welcomed by Bishop Tutu, Dr Boesak and the Rev Beyers Naudé, but jeered by about 40 Azapo demonstrators. On his way to Brandfort to see Winnie Mandela, Kennedy passed graffiti bearing the words "Kennedy go home — and take Tutu with you".

As he flew to Durban to see Archbishop Hurley, there were demonstrators from Azapo at the airport. Nevertheless, though there were conflicting reports about Kennedy's handling of the delicate situations with which he was faced, much of the visit was, at least in the opinion of his aides, a spectacular success. Most telling of all was a letter from Winnie Mandela assuring him of the good wishes of her people.

This letter must have afforded the senator much comfort, for his visit ended in chaos, when on his last day, he was due to make a major speech at Regina Mundi Cathedral in Soweto. It was to have been the climax of his visit and up to 4 000 people were assembled to hear him.

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Desmond Tutu has never sought a position of leadership in the secular world, insisting that he is only "a leader by default", due to the actions taken by the Government against black leaders such as Nelson Mandela. Still less does he seek a political role. Nevertheless, in August, 1985 a poll declared that 24 percent of the black population considered him the best potential president of South Africa and he is never out of the political limelight, his every word and deed acquiring political overtones.

One of the clergy's constant and tragic duties was to conduct the funerals of those who had died, funerals which became occasions not only of mourning, but of political demonstration. They also became occasions where Tutu made some of his most outspoken and publicised statements and where his courage took the form of risking his life.

One such occasion was in Duduza, a township on the East Rand.

During the funeral of four young men who had died in an explosion, Tutu had urged the mourners to forego violence and to change apartheid by peaceful means.

The young men were barely in their graves when the crowd turned on a black onlooker, accusing him of being a police spy. Crying "Let the dog die", enraged youths attacked the man, overturning his car and set it alight "to provide his funeral pyre". Tutu tried arguing with them.

"Why don't we use methods of which we will be proud when our liberation is attained? This undermines the struggle." "No, it encourages the struggle," was the unheeding reply. Words were no use. Bishop Simeon Nkoane and Bishop Kenneth Oram, a senior white Anglican cleric, somehow created a diversion and Tutu dragged the terrified, bleeding man into a car.

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was surprised that the Government felt it necessary to add to its already draconian powers. He warned that any calm to which it might lead would be only a surface calm and that there could be "an almighty explosion". Within days restrictions were imposed on funerals of "unrest victims" in areas where the state of emergency was in force.

All eyes were on Tutu. How would he react to this latest crackdown? There should not have been much doubt. During a funeral service at Tumahole (which was not one of the 36 districts under the state of emergency), he called on the Minister of Law and Order to reconsider the regulations and announced that he would defy them, saying: "I will not be told by any secular authorities what gospel I must preach."

His outspoken defiance overseas reached a climax when he went to the United States for two weeks in January, 1986 under the auspices of the Adelphia Foundation and Mrs Lia Belli.

Apart from the fact that he also received four more honorary degrees, three gold medallions and the freedom of the city of Baltimore, he was ecstatically received by capacity crowds, eminent people queued up to meet him and he was entertained at endless prayer breakfasts, civic gatherings, small private meetings and huge formal banquets.

His fund-raising for political prisoners, refugees and the Anglican Church was rewarded with contributions and pledges amounting to R1-million. But his statements about living under an apartheid society incurred the wrath of white South Africa.

On his return home Tutu

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The bishop was told that President Botha had agreed to see Archbishop Russell and a small delegation on August 19, but that his schedule made a separate meeting with Bishop Tutu quite impossible.

The refusal left Tutu with a difficult decision to make: should he join the other churchmen on August 19? The archbishop had said he would be welcome, a spokesman from the President's office had said it was possible he could be included

But to join this separate delegation might jeopardise the chances of the one-to-one meeting that Tutu felt would be more valuable; in any case he was not prepared to renounce civil disobedience. At the last minute, exposing himself to accusations of pique, he decided to pull out. This earned him a fresh stream of criticism.

Eventually, nearly a year later, Tutu and President Botha did meet. They had talks on June 13 just after the reimposition of the state of emergency and again in July. Both meetings hurt Tutu politically and neither achieved very much. The first he described as "frank and cordial" and of the second, which lasted for two hours, all the bishop could say was: "We agreed that we are both Christian."

In February, 1986, feelings were running high and Alexandra township was seeing its worst rioting in months.

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He did more. He and a small delegation of churchmen representing several denominations travelled to Cape Town to try to see Mr P W Botha. He was given an interview with Mr Adriaan Vlok, then Deputy Minister of Law, Order and Defence. Tutu refused to tell the Press what had passed between them. First he had to report back to Alexandra.

The expectant crowd gathered, more than 40 000 of

them; the public-address system was fixed. In a 40-minute address in Xhosa he told the residents that the Government had granted none of their requests, but promised to "look into them".

The crowd was sullen and angry, some of the younger people taunting and booing, others arguing with him and refusing to let him leave. He pleaded with them to be patient, to stop confronting the police: "A man does not go up to a lion and say 'Hullo lion' and jump into its mouth. We have to work at other ways of catching the lion."

Eventually, sadly with head bowed, he managed to leave, admitting to Peter Storey, who was with him: "They are not going to listen to me much longer."

TOMORROW: Archbishop of Cape Town.

CAPE TIMES 15/7/88 (28)

Tutu an Anglican of the finest ilk'

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — On the eve of the Anglican Church's Lambeth Conference, Archbishop Desmond Tutu has received fulsome praise for typifying the best qualities of the church.

In a Spectator article which is highly critical of the Church of England, distinguished author and critic A N Wilson said the arrival here of clergy from other parts of the world "might remind us that Anglicism has very positive qualities of its own".

In South Africa, he said, "one sees very distinctively Anglican qualities of decency, and they do not look wet or weak in the least.

"Archbishop Desmond Tutu's courage, like (Bishop) Samir Kaffity's in Jerusalem, is manifested precisely in those qualities which, were he a bishop in England, the newspapers would most distort or despise.

"When one saw news film of Tutu restraining violent mobs with his own hands, removing burning tyres from people's necks, and risking imprisonment by confronting the South African police with their own brutality, you saw there was a great strength in 'keeping the mean between the two extremes'.

"Tutu has many enemies among right-wing journalists in England. But he has never budged from a twin position of demanding that his people be treated like people, while abhorring the anarchy and violence which the regime in South Africa has provoked.

"All his values manifestly derive from the Bible and the prayer book," Wilson wrote.

BISHOP STEPS IN ON ROW OVER TUTU

w/E ARGUS 16/7/88 28

by SUE LEEMAN
Weekend Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — The Bishop of Aston, the Right Rev Colin Buchanan, has stepped in to try to end a war of words which has broken out in the letters column of the Birmingham Post over Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

In Thursday's edition of the Post, Bishop Buchanan hit out at a number of readers who claimed Archbishop Tutu supported violence and the African National Congress.

Readers were responding to the announcement that Archbishop Tutu had accepted an invitation from Bishop Buchanan to lead a Christian festival in Birmingham next April.

One correspondent accused the archbishop of being an avid supporter of "the communist-dominated African National Congress".

The Right Reverend Colin Buchanan, who has stepped in to try and placate parishioners angry at Archbishop Tutu's views on the ANC.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who has run into flak from angry readers in Birmingham over his relations with the ANC.

Talks to ANC

Another said his speeches encouraged violence, while a third condemned him for equating politics and religion.

Bishop Buchanan countered that the archbishop had been misrepresented.

Archbishop Tutu, he said, "does not support the ANC, but he does talk to its leaders, just as he has talked face-to-face with the South African President".

Far from advocating violence, Archbishop Tutu was looking for peaceful ways to bring about peace and justice.

Bishop Buchanan said he endorsed the archbishop's belief that politics and religion could not be divorced.

Bishop Buchanan said some of the Archbishop's critics "appear to see apartheid as simply another political system".

"I do not. I see it as an evil in which something like six million whites deprive 27 million non-whites of their rights by the use of force."

He insisted that Archbishop Tutu was coming to Birmingham to minister to the Anglican community, not to lecture on South African politics.

Weekend FOCUS 4

Tutu becomes Archbishop

This is the last of five instalments on the career of Archbishop Desmond Tutu. They have been edited from a biography of the archbishop, Tutu — Voice of the Voiceless, by Shirley du Boulay and published by Hodder and Stoughton.

IN November 1985, when Philip Russell announced that he intended to retire as Archbishop of Cape Town the following August, speculation as to who his successor would be began to mount.

Tutu, nominated when elections were last held in 1981, was an obvious front-runner for the post, but there were objections.

The months preceding the Elective Assembly had seen Tutu polarising opinion even more than he had for the past decade. He was constantly in the eye of the storm, reviled and loved, buffeted from every direction. Should so controversial a man occupy the highest position in the Anglican Church in South Africa? There were plenty of people who thought he should not.

Among blacks, he was, as ever, loved as a man and honoured both as a religious leader and as a symbol of black achievement, but some of his actions — his meetings with the President, his threat to leave the country if the "black-on-black" violence did not stop, the confusion over his call for a day of prayer and his doomed effort to negotiate with the Government on behalf of the people of Alexandra — had lessened his influence, particularly over the young people, and diminished his credibility.

But, this was not something to be decided by the country at large, it was a matter for the Anglican Church. Whatever his political standing, whether the graph of his credibility was moving up or down, there was no question in the minds of the majority of the clerics and lay people concerned that, when they met to make their choice, Bishop Tutu's name should be included among the nominees.

AGAINST his will and in spite of his wife's strong reservations, he was persuaded to stand. If it were God's will that he should stay in Johannesburg, he argued (as he had done a decade earlier before he became Bishop of Lesotho), then he would not be elected.

So, on April 14, the Advisory Committee duly submitted

Archbishop Tutu greets people gathered outside St George's Cathedral to watch his enthronement as Archbishop.

Proceedings are held behind locked doors and are confidential, but it is widely thought that only two or three ballots were necessary; certainly they had achieved a clear two-thirds majority and the choice was unanimously approved by the bishops.

THE speed and unanimity of the decision baffled and, at least temporarily, muted his critics. Although the initial reaction among local white Anglicans was cool, a surprisingly large section of the Press welcomed his appointment, recognising that it marked a historic moment in

was not only the second state of emergency, with its ever-increasing expansion of official power and even fiercer restrictions on Press freedom, but the accompanying detentions reached horrific proportions.

THE political divide widened even further with the upsurge of the rightwing, as Eugene Terre'Blanche's followers, complete with swastika-type flags and nazi salutes, gained momentum; black despair reached a new pitch.

Tutu was involved at every level, defiant and outspoken,

He received so much flak for this remark that he did concede that his anger was unnecessary, because he should have known not to expect any better from President Reagan; and, yes, perhaps he could have used "less salty language". But, for the most part, he was unapologetic. It was good for people to know how deeply blacks felt, he claimed, good for them to be reminded that South Africans were not just engaged in academic discussions.

At the end of July, Tutu bade his formal farewell to the diocese of Johannesburg.

The farewell ceremony was an emotional occasion, as 2 000 members of the community gathered at the Ellis Park tennis stadium in a service for unity and peace. Tutu took the Christian family and the importance of sharing as his themes.

Using one of his favourite sayings, "A person is a person through other persons", he reminded his audience that Christians could not find salvation in isolation and that freedom was not something any person or group of people could have on their own.

"Freedom has to be shared, otherwise those who have it have no time to enjoy their separate freedom — they are too busy guarding it with guns and guard dogs and states of emergency. We all share in each other's glory — and equally in each other's shame."

DEFYING the Government's ban on naming people in detention and warning once again that all that was legal was not necessarily moral, he urged people not to be intimidated, but to pray regularly for detainees by name.

He also suggested that they devote one day a week to prayer and fasting for justice and peace and that they ring the church bells every day at noon until the state of emergency was lifted. By using the

ernment, even as a slap in the face for Pretoria, was published well in advance of the enthronement. The 165 invitations were issued to churchmen from all over the world, to politicians including Senator Edward Kennedy, Gary Hart and Congressman William Gray and to entertainers such as Harry Belafonte, Lionel Ritchie and Stevie Wonder.

Tutu asked the Government for an assurance that his guests — who were, in fact, all personally known to him — would be granted visas, a request they refused. The normal demands on the time of busy people saved them some embarrassment, as did the unwillingness of some of the more-controversial figures to give the Government the gratification of refusing them entry.

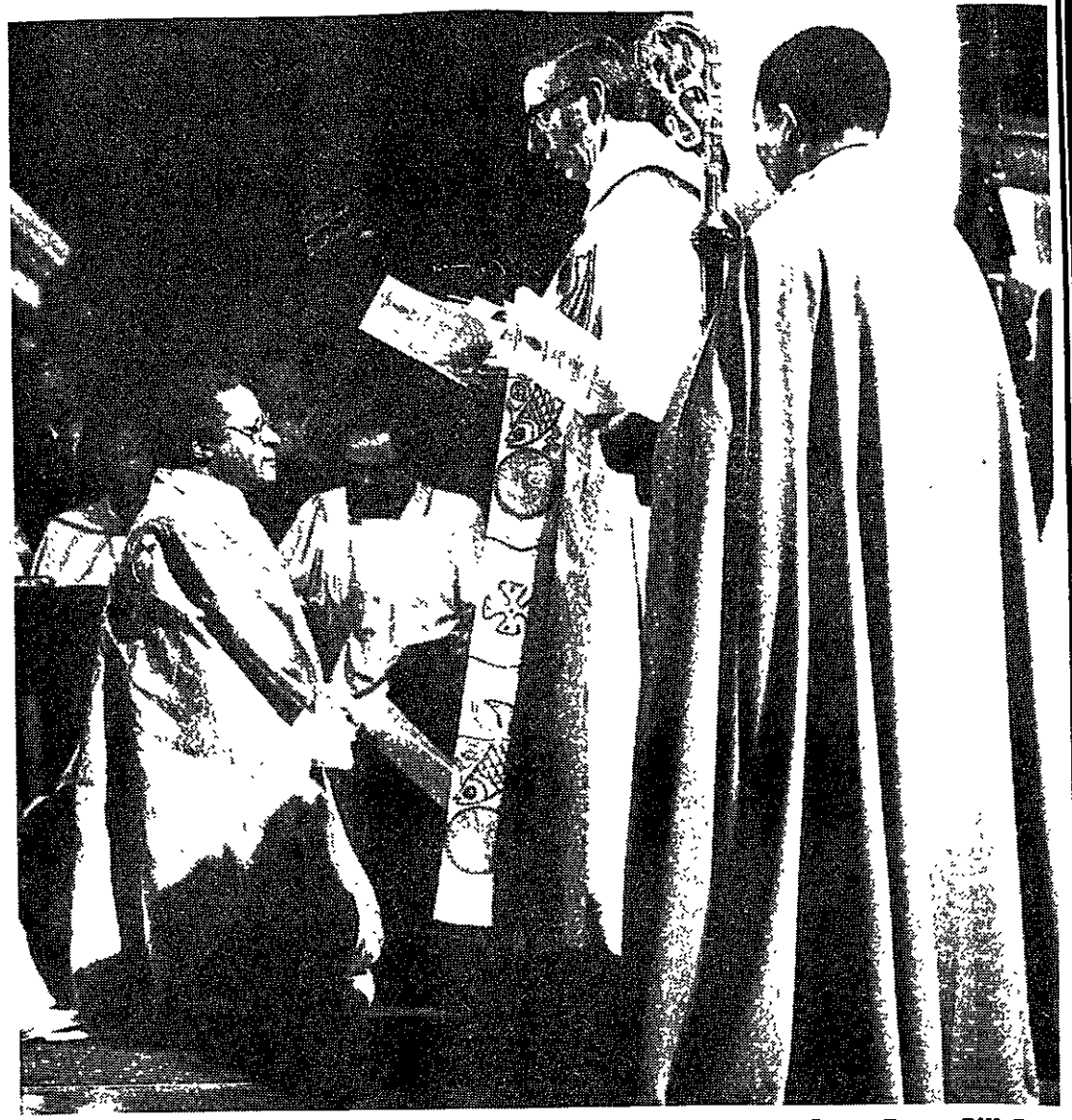
Nevertheless, the sixty requests for visas that were received placed the authorities in an awkward predicament. Could they refuse visas to such distinguished guests? On the other hand, how could they give their blessing to a major gathering of anti-apartheid campaigners?

Political observers forecast that visas for churchmen and less controversial figures would be approved, while action on most requests would be delayed until after the ceremony. In fact, even some churchmen had difficulty obtaining entry.

On Sunday morning, Tutu was up early, praying. For hours he prayed, then he had a glass of orange juice and he and Leah left for the cathedral.

Cape Town had known controversial archbishops, indeed Tutu was inheriting a mantle worn by uncompromising critics of apartheid such as Geoffrey Clayton, Joost de Blank and Robert Selby Taylor, all thorns in the flesh of the various governments of their time.

POLITICS and religion



Archbishop Tutu kneels before former Archbishop of Cape Town Bill Burnett during the ceremony at St Mary's Cathdral in Johannesburg at which he was consecrated Bishop of Lesotho.

The key points of the ancient ritual, from the three knocks on the door to the presentation of the diamond-studded Kimberley Cross and the shout of the people "We welcome you in the name of the Lord", were firmly in the Anglican tradition, but an Anglican church has seldom resounded to such an uninhibited shout of "Viva Tutu".

No music could echo Anglican sentiments more truly than Sir Hubert Parry's "I was glad when they said unto me", the hymn "Praise to the holiest in the heights" or, by special request of Archbishop [illegible] Day of Man's De-

mentioned literally scores of people by name, ending with thanking his mother-in-law for providing Leah for him.

The central part of his address was vintage Tutu. Although it contained little that keen Tutu-watchers had not heard before, it was a complete summary of his views as he has ever given at one hearing. In stressing the centrality of the spiritual he offered praise "to God that our God is such a God" — a God for whom no one is a nonentity and whose existence makes all life religious. He compared the family of the Church with the human fam-

The Archbishop of Canterbury gave a brave and impressive sermon, setting the tone of his call for peace with the sombre words, "as I stand here, on the tip of Africa, I cannot escape the sense of history — the sense that here, on what was once the Dark Continent, there is the threat of greater darkness still."

Tutu has never forgotten the way his election as Bishop of Johannesburg was ignored by that city. The evening celebrations, then, when the Mayor of Cape Town hosted a reception in his honour in the Banqueting Hall, were balm

strong Elective Assembly, consisting of all the clergy of Cape Town Province, the elected lay representatives and one priest and one layman from every other diocese of the Province, met in Cape Town to consider each nominee in turn, put the arguments and vote for their choice.

Although there were several strong contenders, notably the Right Rev Michael Nuttall, Bishop of Natal, attention was concentrated on Bishop Tutu and there is a sense in which the questions the Assembly had to consider were the very same issues which had bedevilled Tutu for so long.

What would the effect of Tutu's appointment be on the already-worsening relations between Church and State? Although recent holders of the post — Archbishops Robert Selby-Taylor, Bill Burnett and Philip Russell — were all resolutely opposed to the Government, none were so controversial, none so vociferous, none had so high a profile. If they chose Tutu, would there be white defections from the Church, with all the resulting financial as well as spiritual consequences? Might there even be a split in the Anglican Church?

The very next day, the Press blazed out the news: Tutu chosen. Tutu to lead Anglicans. Choice of Tutu is hailed. Election of Tutu won't please all. Tutu: choice will renew controversy. Far from being a battle, the delegates had reached their conclusion in a matter of hours rather than days.

Church. They acknowledged the daunting task ahead of the Archbishop-elect, asserting that he was "an invaluable bridge across the racial gulf", referring to him as "a man of godliness and great courage" and welcoming the even greater spiritual authority he would now have.

Tutu's critics in the Press mostly restrained themselves to admonishment, hoping that the new archbishop would "learn humility and greater understanding", that he "would moderate his political activities and viewpoints".

Many individual voices were raised in opposition to his election, in tones ranging from the tentative to the downright hostile. Alan Paton expressed his wish that Tutu would do well, but admitted that he would rather have seen the Bishop of Natal elected; the-then Deputy Minister of Information, Louis Nel, showing a curious ignorance of the Archbishop's views, urged him to reject violence as a means of change and to try to reconcile the different communities in the country; President Botha declined to comment.

The rage of the rightwing knew no bounds. Dr Andries Treurnicht, the leader of the Conservative Party, said the election of Bishop Tutu did not bode well, as he had distinguished himself more as a political agitator than as a church leader.

The five months between Tutu's election as Archbishop of Cape Town and his enthronement in September saw the situation in South Africa deteriorate yet further. There

ed seeming y s gnif cant changes to apartheid, such as the dropping of the pass laws, with a warm welcome, but warned of the sting in the tail: "One has to be very careful that they are not going to find another way of harassing blacks through 'orderly urbanisation' or other means." (He was right. Although blacks were no longer liable to immediate arrest if found in white areas, there were still rigid controls over where they could live and work.)

He repeated that he was not interested in incremental change — he encouraged whites to be more involved in peaceful demonstrations and again urged Christians to be prepared to disobey unjust laws non-violently.

It was also during this period that his reaction to President Reagan's speech on July 22, 1986, caused people all over the world, even his admirers, to wonder if this time the Bishop had not gone too far.

In this speech, Reagan had, once again, declared his outright opposition to sanctions against South Africa and Tutu had responded by saying that the President, along with Britain's Margaret Thatcher and West Germany's Chancellor Helmut Kohl, were in effect saying to blacks "You are utterly dispensable".

PRESIDENT Reagan's speech he found "nauseating", it was "the pits" and for his part "America and the West can go to hell". Should a bishop, even an admittedly angry bishop, consign fellow human beings to hell?

strated yet again the close interrelation between religion and politics.

As September 7, the day of Tutu's enthronement as Archbishop of Cape Town, drew near, so did controversy mount. There were conflicting reports about disgruntled white conservatives leaving the Anglican Church.

The Church of England in South Africa, from which the Church of the Province of South Africa had split in 1870, claimed that it was opening up new churches as defectors from the Church of the Province joined it; another breakaway Church, the Christian Fellowship, also boasted of growing congregations.

A church in Natal found that so many supporters had withdrawn in the wake of Tutu's appointment to Cape Town that it was unable to pay its assessment to the diocese; conservative farming communities reported that their churches were "virtually empty". Yet, most Anglican priests considered it was the casual attenders, not the regular churchgoers, who were leaving and the Very Rev E L King, the Anglican Dean of Cape Town, felt that in Cape Town congregations had, if anything, increased.

One issue that, however, improbably, commanded international headlines was Tutu's guest list. Should he have invited members of the Government? Should he be allowed to invite anyone he wished?

THE star-studded guest list, considered as Tutu's latest challenge to the Gov-

y o
thedral to the House of Assembly, were to be drawn even closer in the person of the Eleventh Bishop of Cape Town; even with this heritage, the enthronement of the provocative Bishp Tutu was an event that was creating world-wide interest.

There were claims that 200-million people would be watching on television, even that on a television event it would come a close second to the recent royal wedding in Great Britain.

The South African authorities ensured that this would not be so by forbidding any live transmission of the ceremony and barring all film crews, save a small independent production company, from the cathedral; the event was completely ignored in the South African Broadcasting Corporation's morning radio broadcasts. So, although Press coverage the following day was lavish, with full pages of colour pictures, immediate appreciation of the event was limited to those fortunate enough to be present at the cathedral.

At this, the highest moment of Tutu's ecclesiastical career, the polarised reactions he provokes were in evidence on the very steps of St George's Cathedral. As he prepared to strike the great west door three times with his silver crook, a scuffle broke out: his supporters were trying to remove a wreath of white and purple flowers laid provocativerly in his path by a white woman in black mourning dress acting in the name of United Christian Action and intended to mark "the death of the Anglican Church".

Just as the ceremony took place in a context of conflicting praise and protest, so, inside the cathedral, some 1 700 people, including 150 bishops, were gathered for a service which, in a curiously-unerring way, reflected the rich diversity of the Archbishop's nature.

It was both formal and informal, dignified and intimate. Deeply Anglican, it held African elements in an easy embrace; deeply spiritual, it was imbued with a spirit of festivity. Its high seriousness did not exclude humour.

IT was a glittering affair, with the Tutu family in the front row, gaily dressed in bold African prints, the chancel a sea of priests wearing embroidered vestments in red, green, gold, silver, purple and white and the cathedral burnished and garlanded with flowers.

The musical high point was the singing of the 80-strong group from Soweto, Imilonji ka Ntu, the black choir taking their turn with the cathedral choir.

Archbishop Tutu's charge ranged over God and Man, religion and politics, the spiritual and the secular, the humorous and the profoundly serious, while remaining rooted securely in its central unifying depths.

He began by quoting a sermon given by Trevor Huddleston which started "In the beginning, God" and finished "In the end, God"; then, speaking in English, Sotho and Afrikaans, he spent some time in welcomes and thanks.

More in the fashion of a good after-dinner speaker than a preacher, he amused his audience by greeting his "brother . . . er . . . primates... a somewhat unfortunate name, that", his valued friend, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and "the utterly inconspicuous Terry Waite". He

not destroy unity and whose members receive in relation to their need, not their contribution. Members of a family care for one another.

HE reflected sadly that "the fundamental attitude that "blacks are human, but ..." has not changed and that God wants to enlist us as his agents of transformation.

As Archbishop Tutu left the cathedral to the tolling of bells, blessing the people and the city, the day was far from over: 10 000 people were already assembling at the Goodwood Stadium for a Eucharist, one of the largest ever held in South Africa.

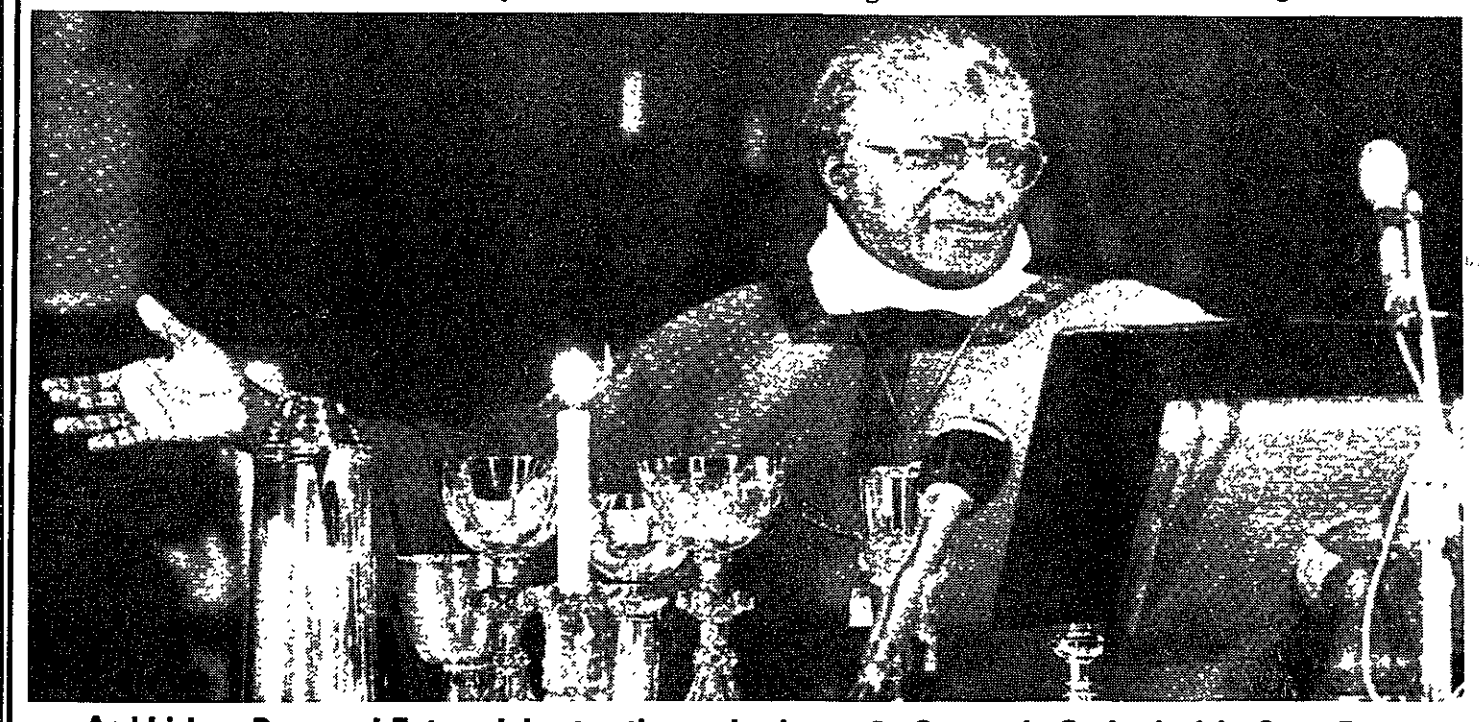
There were greetings to the new Archbishop from the UDF and, through Dr Allan Boesak, from 45 heads of state and the exiled ANC President Oliver Tambo. There were massed choirs and marimba bands, the singing of Anglican and African hymns, including of course *Nkosi Sikele' iAfrika*.

tered the City Hall he had to pass white youths bearing placards saying "Our children starve while Tutus eat", once inside, he was among friends, not only those who had travelled to be with him for his enthronement, but his new friends in Cape Town.

At last, he had received an official welcome and, as he moved among the guests, at one stage climbing on to the stage to dance with the group who had come from Soweto, his delight shone from him.

It had been a great day, a day heralding a new era in the history of Christianity in South Africa.

What lay ahead? The Dean of Cape Town, the Very Rev E L King, summarised many people's feelings of excitement and apprehension as he said to the parish council at their first meeting after the enthronement: "Hold on to your seat belts and enjoy the ride."



Archbishop Desmond Tutu celebrates the eucharist at St George's Cathedral in Cape Town.

Archbishop Tutu is congratulated by colleagues on his enthronement.

Church denounces civilian bombings

THE Anglican Church in Pretoria has expressed its abhorrence of the use of bombs in public places in an open letter to "those tempted to use or condone the use of violence".

The church said it had made its total abhorrence of apartheid "crystal clear".

"We have also consistently and publicly expressed our abhorrence of violence and force when used as a political instrument, whether in our townships, where many of us live, or beyond our border."

To make innocent passersby the target of bomb attacks was immoral, the letter said.

The new strategy of civil violence was "tragically mistaken" in South Africa, it said, and was rapidly eroding the growing sympathy among Christians in the Afrikaans and English churches for the rightful claims of the black people of Southern Africa. — Sapa

Pik appeals to Pope

POPE John Paul II

THE South African Government has sent an urgent message to Pope John Paul asking him to include a visit to South Africa during his September pilgrimage to five neighbouring states — even if this would mean just a whistle-stop touchdown at Jan Smuts Airport to celebrate Mass.

The appeal was made this week by Mr Pik Botha, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, to a highly-placed French-speaking cardinal who has been on a short visit to this country.

He is Cardinal Roger Etchegaray, chairman of the Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace, which is regarded generally as the political arm of the Catholic Church.

SAPA

According to informed sources, Mr Botha and Cardinal Etchegaray discussed the possibility of a papal visit to South Africa at a private meeting on Friday, shortly before the cardinal flew back to the Vatican.

Although the outcome of the talks was not disclosed, sources said Mr Botha told Cardinal Etchegaray, who had been on a brief fact-finding tour, the Pope was welcome to visit South Africa any time he wished.

Mr Botha is understood to have said that if the Pontiff was invited for a short visit by the South African Catholic Bishops' Conference (SACBC) and accepted, thousands of Catholics here would have the chance of attending a commemorative service in their own country.

This would also help relieve congestion in Lesotho where more than one million pilgrims, mostly from South Africa, are expected during the Pope's visit.

Doubted

Cardinal Etchegaray undertook to convey Mr Botha's request to the Pope, though he doubted if the invitation would be accepted.

Mr Botha's argument, said sources, was that there was a perception that the Pope was excluding South Africa because he believed the Government would not welcome a visit. Mr Botha said this was not correct.

The SACBC also rejected allegations that it had refused to invite the Pope or that the Pope had been advised not to come for political reasons.

Cardinal Etchegaray apparently assured Mr Botha that, contrary to Vatican reports, the Pope was, in fact, eager to come, but at a later and more appropriate stage.

Mr Botha countered by saying that the South African public — Catholic and Protestant — would find this difficult to accept, especially as the Pontiff intended to visit several neighbouring states.

Mr Botha said it appeared to him that people would regard it as a snub, or a punishment reflecting the Vatican's attitude toward the South African Government, if the Pope did not visit South Africa.

Mr Botha declined to comment on his talks with Cardinal Etchegaray.

However, 90 000 South Africans are expected to pack into the Ellis Park rugby ground to watch a live relay of the Pope's beatification ceremony in Lesotho.

Snowy lawyer denies claim

A LAWYER testified in the Johannesburg Regional Court on Friday that he did not interfere with Snowy Moshoeshoe, the key witness in the trial of Zola Mahobe, while she was still under oath, with a view to influence her to change her evidence.

Mr Elio Rovetti, who was Snowy Moshoeshoe's lawyer, was called to testify in the trial of Mr Zola Mahobe, former Mamelodi Sundowns' boss charged with stealing R6 million from the Standard Bank. Mr

and I can be able to say whatever is in there," she said.

Cross examined by the defence counsel, Mr Dikgang Moseneke, Mr Rovetti said the only reason he went to see Moshoeshoe was because he had read it in a daily newspaper that she had testified that she was pressurised by her family and lawyer. He only went there to clear his name, he said.

Mr Moseneke, after obtaining copies of the said paper and finding there was no such reference to the lawyer, asked him if there was any other reason he could have gone to see Moshoeshoe, who then, was still under oath.

Mr Rovetti said he might have heard it from someone. He also denied making remarks that Moshoeshoe was destroying herself and her family.

The case was postponed to August 25.

Bang

• From Page 1

bang and the next moment I was on the floor," she said.

A Sofasonke Party member who wished not to be named, said members "were not intimidated by such acts." "We will rather die, because we have a challenge ahead of us," he reiterated.

CLERGYMEN HIT OUT

THE continued incarceration of Mr Nelson Mandela was a "crime against humanity" according to a statement read at the multi-denominational service at St Francis Church, Langa, to mark Mr Mandela's 70th birthday.

About 150 clergymen, church layworkers and theologians signed the statement. They "emphatically rejected the propaganda" which portrayed the ANC as a terrorist organisation.

Addressing Mr Mandela, the statement said: "We understand the motivations which led you and other imprisoned and exiled leaders to embark on an armed struggle to enable the liberation of your people."

28

No chance of papal visit to SA — SACBC

(28)

B/day 19/7/88.

PRETORIA — Although a visit by the Pope to SA during his tour of southern African countries in September was "possibly discussed" at a meeting between Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha and Roger Cardinal Etchegaray, the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference (SACBC) has ruled out any possibility of a papal visit, however short.

A Department of Foreign Affairs spokesman in Pretoria confirmed yesterday that Botha had met Cardinal Etchegaray, chairman of the Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace — reported to be the the political arm of the Catholic Church — while the cardinal was in SA recently.

The spokesman said a visit by the Pope was "possibly discussed" but that it was not possible for the government to persuade the Pope to visit SA. Nothing could be read into the meeting, he said. Botha would have met with the cardinal as a visiting dignitory anyway. The government would, however, "adopt a constructive attitude" to a papal visit, the spokesman said.

Brother Jude Pieterse, SACBC secretary-general, said that it wished to end all speculation surrounding the Pope's visit and to rule out the possibility of the Pope making even a short stop on SA soil.

"The Pope's very tight programme does not physically allow for a visit to SA," Pieterse said.

The SACBC had not invited the Pope to visit SA but had also not advised him not to visit the country. There was, in fact, every possibility that the SACBC would invite the Pope at a later stage, but definitely not during his September tour.

SACBC president Bishop Wilfred Napier would issue a statement within the next day or two "to end all speculation", said Pieterse.

The Pope's programme for his September tour of southern African countries, released yesterday in Pretoria, does not include any reference to a stop in South Africa.

Apostolic delegate in Pretoria, Archbishop Depaoli, confirmed that the Pope's busy schedule did not allow for a change in the programme to facilitate for a stopover here. — Sapa.

Pope refuses Pik's invitation to stop off in SA

28

Argus 19/7/88

The Argus Foreign Service

ROME. — The Vatican has snubbed an appeal by South African Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha for the Pope to make a brief stopover in South Africa during his visit to five Southern African states.

"The Holy Father has no intention of setting foot in South Africa while the present situation there lasts," a Vatican official said yesterday.

The Pope

The appeal was reported to have been made by Mr Botha last week during a meeting with Vatican-based Cardinal Roger Etchegaray during his fact-finding mission to South Africa.

He is said to have asked the cardinal, head of the Pontifical Justice and Peace Commission, to pass on to the Pope an invitation to visit South Africa during his pastoral journey to Zimbabwe, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique and Swaziland, which starts on September 10.

He reportedly suggested a brief stopover at Jan Smuts Airport, where the Pope could celebrate Mass.

"The time is certainly not ripe," said a Vatican official, who added that Catholic bishops in South Africa had repeatedly said the Pope should not visit the country.

A spokeswoman at the Vatican said: "It is obvious that Cardinal Etchegaray personally passed on the invitation to the Pope. Cardinals always brief him when they return from important missions."

Cape Times 20/7/88

Pope snubs Pik's appeal on SA visit

28

Own Correspondent

ROME. — The Pope has snubbed a top-level appeal to make even just a brief whistle-stop touchdown in South Africa during his forthcoming visit to five neighbouring states.

"The Holy Father has no intention of setting foot in South Africa while the present situation there lasts," a Vatican official said. "It's absolutely impossible."

The plea was made last week by Foreign Minister Pik Botha during a meeting with the powerful Vatican based Cardinal Roger Etchegaray who was on a short fact-finding mission to South Africa.

Mr Botha invited the French-born Cardinal — head of the "pontifical justice and peace commission" — to visit South Africa during his pastoral journey to Zimbabwe, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique and Swaziland which starts on September 10.

He reportedly went so far as to suggest a brief stopover in Johannesburg where John Paul II could celebrate mass at the city's Jan Smuts Airport.

It is understood that Mr Botha added that failing that, the Pope is welcome to visit South Africa any time he wishes.

Churchmen to shun council polls

CONGREGATIONS in the Presbyterian Black Leadership Consultation are being told their church does not support October's municipal elections.

The executive committee yesterday described the poll as entrenchment of the apartheid system.

The church body added that, at a meeting in Sharpville on July 15, it unanimously endorsed a statement on the election issued by church leaders earlier this year.

"We are quite aware that the Moderator of our Assembly declined to sign the church leaders' statement, and that he felt it was a matter for the general assembly," the organisation said in Johannesburg.

It added: "But we blacks strongly feel that it is a matter of urgency for decision and action as other church leaders of the Presbyterian denominations signed it."

The PBLC said the demands of the Gospel called for justice to be done to all.

'Sinful'

"Justice is not done in South Africa," it said.

"The general assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa endorsed the Ottawa Declaration which emphatically declared that apartheid was, and still is, sinful and inconsistent with the Gospel of Christ.

"To us, this coming election is the entrenchment of the apartheid system."

The PBLC called on all ministers to read the statement from the pulpit before September. — Sapa.

21/7/86 (58) B/day

October elections 'entrench apartheid'

Star 21/7/88

(28)

Religion Reporter

A group of black Presbyterians has added its support to that of 26 church leaders who recently announced controversial decisions on the October municipal elections. The Presbyterian Black Leadership Consultation (PBLC) said in a statement issued yesterday that it did not support the coming elections because they "entrenched the apartheid system".

It unanimously endorsed the church leaders' statement on the elections issued early this month. The statement made by the church leaders was in contravention of the emergency regulations.

A spokesman for the Ministry of Law and Order, Brigadier Leon Mellet, said earlier this month the ministry would give the statement "the necessary attention" and warned church leaders not to "abuse their positions".

MATTER OF URGENCY

The PBLC said: "We are quite aware that the moderator of our assembly declined to sign the church leaders' statement and that he felt it was a matter for the general assembly.

"But we blacks strongly feel that it is a matter of urgency for decision and action as other church leaders of the Presbyterian denominations signed it."

The PBLC statement said the demands of the Gospel called for justice to be done to all.

"Justice is not done in South Africa," it said.

The PBLC urged ministers to read its statement to their congregations from the pulpit.

Israel 'enemy' of SA blacks, claims Chikane

Cape Times 2/7/88

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JOHANNESBURG. — The general secretary of the SA Council of Churches, the Rev Frank Chikane, said yesterday black South Africans regarded Israel as an enemy state and this view will remain as long as Israel collaborated economically and militarily with the government.

In a statement sent from Geneva, Mr Chikane, who has just completed a seven-day tour of the Middle East, said Israel would have to choose between "collaborating with apartheid, and the struggle for a just, non-racist, democratic society in South Africa".

He said the attitudes of black South Africans and "all progressive, democratic organizations" towards Israel depended on the SA-Israeli relationship and how Israel dealt with the Palestinian question".

"If no significant moves are made on these issues, the negative image of Israel in South Africa will remain."

Calling on Israel to end all forms of "co-operation with apartheid", Mr Chikane said by supplying arms Israel was "helping the racist government to continue murdering our people".

"Our call to the Israeli government, public and private bodies, is to end all forms of military, scientific, agricultural, economic, commercial, cultural, sport and political co-operation with apartheid. Collaboration with the racist apartheid system is collaboration in our continued oppression, pain, suffering and death."

Mr Chikane visited Jordan, the occupied territories and Jerusalem at the invitation of the Middle East Council of Churches. — Sapa

Cape Times 22/7/88

Chikane's mum gets a grenade

JOHANNESBURG. — A hand grenade was detonated early yesterday by police after being found wrapped and wedged in a letter box at the home of Mrs Erinian Chikane, mother of the Rev Frank Chikane, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches (SACC).

Mr Chikane said that whoever planted the grenade at his 61-year-old mother's Soweto home had intentions of "killing or maiming" her.

"Whoever placed the hand grenade must have known that the likeliest person to collect the mail during the day is my mother."

He said his mother found a plastic packet containing the grenade tightly wedged in a letter box at 11am. After experiencing difficulty in prising the packet loose, she called on builder Mr Eric Hallo, 29, who was busy renovating her home.

Mr Hallo said last night that on prising the packet loose, he opened it and saw an "oval green object with a pin and a ring on top of it".

"I showed it to Mr Chikane's mother, who asked me to take it away. I took it to a stream about 2km away and then contacted the police."

Police directorate spokesman Colonel Steve van Rooyen said police detonated an RGD 5 hand grenade at 2pm. He said an investigation was under way.

An SACC statement said the family called the police at 11.30am, but when Mr Chikane phoned his mother's home at 1.30pm police had not yet arrived.

After Mr Chikane had contacted his lawyers, police arrived at the house at 2pm, the statement said.

Mr Chikane said it was clear that "a war has been declared" against his family. — Own Correspondent and Sapa

Weekend FOCUS 1

Willing to visit but . .

The exclusion of South Africa from the September visit of Pope John Paul II to Southern Africa, in spite of an urgent appeal by the Government, has caused confusion. It has been interpreted as a snub and Vatican spokesmen have been quoted as saying the Pope has no intention of "setting foot" in the country "while the present situation there lasts". However, three years ago, he received President Botha in Rome. Will apartheid prevent the Pope from visiting South Africa? Weekend Argus Reporter KAREN STANDER asked Archbishop Stephen Naidoo . . .

A WHISTLE-stop in South Africa during the Pope's September visit to five neighbouring states would be "totally inadequate" because the problems facing the country are too important, Cape Town's Catholic Archbishop Stephen Naidoo said.

Interviewed this week on the controversy surrounding the pilgrimage of Pope John Paul II to Southern Africa, Archbishop Naidoo said the Pope had never excluded coming to South Africa.

"It is exactly the kind of situation that he would come into.

"The Pope coming here in no way implies he is supporting the Government in power.

"I don't know who is saying that he won't set foot in this country, but I don't believe it gives a fair picture of the way the Pope embarks upon a pastoral visit.

"My personal opinion is that he will come to South Africa and when he does come he will spend time in our country because our issues are so important.

"The Pope is not afraid to go to countries where there is great political turmoil. He has done this in Nicaragua, he went to the Philipines when Marcos was in power, he has done it recently in Chile and in Paraguay.

"So he is not afraid to go into a country that is politically sensitive.

"The Pope goes into these countries not as a poiltical figure but as a religious figure. He goes in as a father to talk to members of his family and to others who will listen. He tries to address himself to the problems that they face.

"He goes in on the understanding that he has complete freedom to speak his mind on the problems that are there.

"He speaks to the situation from a religious point of view because this is the basis of his whole life and ministry and he gives direction how the people can work through these problems.

"FOR example, when Marcos was in power in the Philipines I was there at the time of the Pope's visit. He went into one of the worst slums in Manilla, Tondo. I remember how the Government tried to improve that slum overnight, but the Pope still saw through it. And when he was there the Pope spoke very clearly about the injustice of the conditions that he found in Tondo.

"He also spoke to Marcos about the violation of human rights. He has done the same thing in Chile and in Paraguay. He is unequivocal about this.

"He has done this even behind the Iron Curtain. In his native Poland he has spoken very clearly about the violation of human rights. He has spoken about the question of violence in Ireland.

"The Pope coming here in no way implies that he is supporting the government in power. I think one must be very clear about that.

"On the September trip there is only so much that he can do because he can only be away from Rome for eight to ten days.

"He has accepted two invitations. He is to talk to all the bishops of the Southern region of Africa at our three-yearly conference in Harare and secondly, he's been invited to Lesotho where Father Joseph Gerard, an early French missionary is to be beatified,

"He hasn't got time to do much more and I think it's quite clear that a whistle-stop in South Africa at the present time would not be adequate.

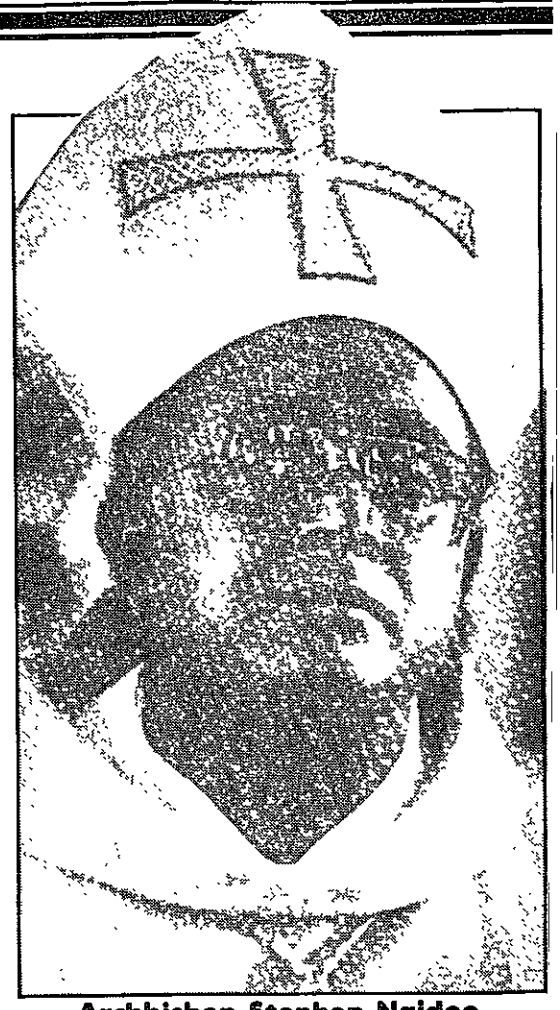
"If he did come to South Africa, since it is such an important country and since we do have very big problems, he would like to do it justice.

"IT would be inappropriate to have a mass at Jan Smuts Airport.

"The Government should give us the reasons why they are so keen for the Pope to visit South Africa in September.

"It is supposed to be a democratically elected Government and aren't they answerable to the people who elected them? So if the people who elected them want to know why they invited the Pope, then the Government should be prepared to give reasons.

"There is no way in which the Government can go into the future without negotiating very seriously with recognised black leaders who are respected by the majority. There is no way that white South Africa can continue to completely dominate black South Africa with this appalling system of apartheid."



Archbishop Stephen Naidoo

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D/Ts ARGUS 23/7/88

NEWS

Pope speaks out on Mandela and SA

LORENZAGO (Italy). — Pope John Paul II yesterday praised jailed African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela and said that he had suffered much for the rights of his people.

The Pontiff said also he would like to visit South Africa some day, but that he would not stop there during his September 10 to 20 tour of Southern Africa.

The Pope, talking to reporters at the end of a 10-day holiday in the Dolomite Alps, said the Roman Catholic bishops of South Africa did not believe the time was ripe for such a visit.

However, he added that he hoped "perhaps, one day" he could also visit South Africa.

In September the Pope is scheduled to visit Botswana, Mozambique, Lesotho, Zimbabwe and Swaziland.

He was scheduled to fly back to Rome and go immediately to his summer vacation palace in Castel Gandolfo in the Alban Hills, south of the capital.

He was expected to stay there through August, returning to the Vatican for his weekly audiences.

Pope John Paul hoped that the Gulf war would end soon and spoke pensively as he expressed admiration for Mr Mandela, serving a life sentence in prison for plotting to overthrow white rule.

The Pope said: "He is a man who suffers so much for the rights of his people. He suffers and, with this suffering, he offers a testimony to his people, even to the South African Government and to the entire world.

"This testimony, naturally, has a high price, which rouses appreciation from all who are concerned about the rights of man, about problems of race."

The Pope added: "All men are equal, regardless of their race. In this way, one can see the greatness of the testimony of this (Mandela's) personality. These days I have thought of him in a special way."

At the advice of South Africa's Roman Catholic bishops, the Pope is omitting South Africa from his September trip. — Sapa-Reuter-AP.

■ See page 15.

Bishops' wives write to Thatcher on SA

Cape Times 25/7/88 (28)

CANTERBURY, England. — Two South African women plan to join a delegation to 10 Downing Street tomorrow to deliver a letter calling on the British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, to distance herself further from the South African government.

More than 200 wives of Anglican bishops from around the world have signed the letter and Mrs Leah Tutu, wife of Archbishop Desmond Tutu, and Mrs Joan Evans of Port Elizabeth will be among the eight women to hand the letter in at Mrs Thatcher's office.

The bishops' wives are holding meetings in Canterbury coinciding with the Lambeth Conference, the 10-yearly meeting of all Anglican diocesan bishops. They decided to send the letter after resolving — during discussion on family life — that racism was one of the most disruptive influences on the family, according to a conference news release.

The women appealed to Mrs Thatcher "from our hearts to your mother's heart" to use her influence. They called on her to "sit down and talk with those who represent the majority of South Africans".

The letter will be taken to 10 Downing Street after a special Lambeth Conference service in St Paul's Cathedral in London tomorrow morning.

Mrs Anne Booth-Clibborn of Manchester will lead the delegation. It will also include Mrs Jane Hatendi of Harare and women from New Zealand, the United States and Nigeria. — Sapa

Woman takes on bowling bishops

CANTERBURY. — Anglican bishops took a break from debate here, over the ordination of women, to play cricket on Saturday — with a woman.

The Rev Sheila McLachlan, chaplain of Kent University — where the three-week international Lambeth Conference is being held, batted against the bishops.

"Maybe I'm helping to break the stereotype picture of the woman in holy orders," said the woman deacon, one of the first ordained in England.

Archbishop of Canterbury Dr Robert Runcie shared umpiring duties with former Sussex and England player David Sheppard, now Bishop of Liverpool.

The match had to be abandoned because of pouring rain. — Sapa-Reuter

CAPE TIMES 29/7/88

28

Church 'part of revolution' — minister

PRETORIA. — If churchmen entered the political arena they should expect opposition on a political level, the Minister of Information, the SABC and the Film Industry, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, said yesterday.

Dr Van der Merwe told a news conference that it seemed various churches were taking a position against the October 26 municipal elections.

It was part of revolutionary strategy to use the church and educational institutions, and it would be very surprising if the churches were not being used for this purpose in South Africa, he said.

But when church leaders entered the political arena they could no longer claim the privileges of the cloth.

Dr Van der Merwe said the government's prohibition on boycott campaigns was the lesser of two evils when compared to the problem of intimidation. — Sapa

Bishops debate SA sanctions

2/8/86 B/Day (28)

CANTERBURY — The Lambeth Conference of Anglican bishops will debate a draft proposal this week calling on governments to impose sanctions on SA.

A statement from Cape Town's Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu said yesterday that it also suggested governments should take steps to ensure the military protection of Frontline states against SA raids.

The proposals include a call for "direct aid to anti-apartheid organisations in SA ... with a view to assisting the unemployed and persecuted".

This proposal is one of several directed at human rights abuses in Africa. One condemning human rights violations singles out Uganda, Kenya and Sudan.

Another calls on SA to withdraw from Angola and implement UN resolution 435 on Namibian independence.

The proposals are subject to discussion and amendment.

The draft proposal on SA calls on the conference to reaffirm its belief that "the system of apartheid ... is evil and especially repugnant because of the cruel way a tyrannical racist system is being upheld in the name of the Christian faith".

It goes on to condemn the detention of children "without just cause" and calls, among other things, on Anglican churches around the world to press their governments to:

- ☐ Institute forms of sanction calculated to bring an end the "evil dispensation" and establish a just peace among all citizens;
- ☐ Push for the release of ANC leader Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners and detainees;
- ☐ Push for the unbanning of organisations such as the ANC and PAC. — Sapa.

Anglican bishops slam Pretoria over Namibia

CANTERBURY. — Anglican leaders called on South Africa yesterday to pull out of Namibia and grant it its independence.

The 525 bishops attending the Lambeth Conference here unanimously passed an emergency resolution urging Pretoria do withdraw its troops from Angola and implement UN Resolution 435.

The conference also asked the Anglican churches in Canada, the US and Britain to put pressure on their governments.

The Bishop of Namibia, Bishop James Kauluma, welcomed the move but warned that previous peace efforts had failed.

The Bishop of Grahamstown, Bishop David Russell, seconded the motion, proposed by the Bishop of Stepney, England, Bishop Jim Thompson.

Archbishop Robert Runcie, Archbishop of Canterbury, said he would send a message of support to the talks. — Sapa-Reuter

CREDIT DEMAND

Black power

Confirmation that credit demand was resilient in July, after a hesitation in June following the May credit restrictions, comes from Information Trust Corp (ITC, formerly Dun & Bradstreet).

ITC, which processes 90% of credit checks on new client applications referred by retailers and financial institutions, handled on average 11 406 applications each working day last month — up marginally on 11 282 applications daily in June, and well up on the daily 9 162 last July.

Turning point, after three years of almost static demand, came in December, says MD Paul Edwards. "That month, inquiries were up 22% on the previous December. They dropped back in January and then rose to a peak of 11 665 in May."

Contributing to the increase was a large number of applications from black consumers. At present 1,6m of the 5,2m on ITC's records are black — "a significant increase in the past three years" says Edwards.

"Applications by blacks have risen 13% since March while inquiries about white, Asian and coloured consumers have increased less than 2%." He attributes this "to the black population being comparatively undersold on credit as well as to relatively larger increases in black earning power as the earnings gap closes."

Lack of previous exposure to the interest rate cycle may also be a factor, making black consumers less wary of long-term commitments to variable interest rate contracts.

The outlook is uncertain, following last week's rise in interest rates.

"I wouldn't say the replacement phase has run its normal course," says Edwards, "but it may be curtailed now that the cost of incurring credit has increased. What is likely to have the most depressing effect on consumer demand is rising mortgage rates, as the increased cost of paying for a home has a ripple effect on consumer purchasing." ■

Pacifism indefensible, says Heyns

Cape Times 6/8/88

THE declaration by the Anglican bishops at Lambeth that it understood those who chose armed struggle when they had exhausted all other means of overthrowing unjust systems was in accordance with Christian principle, the moderator of the NG Kerk, Professor Johan Heyns, said yesterday.

However, he emphasized that civil disobedience and war had to be the very last resort.

"I don't think the stance of pacificism is defensible on Christian grounds," he said.

Prof Heyns, the head of the largest of the Dutch Reformed Churches in South Africa, also emphasized that he was commenting on the Christian position "in principle", and was not speaking about any factual situation, such as in South Africa and Ireland.

Indeed, he said he did not believe civil disobedience was justifiable in South Africa at present.

"That position has definitely not been reached in South Africa because all doors are still open for negotiation."

Professor Charles Villa-Vicencio of the Department of Religious Studies at the University of Cape Town said of the Anglican statement: "I see it in continuity with the Harare declaration and the Lusaka statement.

"There is nothing at all new in the statement.

"It is in fact an indication that the church in this time of crisis is seeing the need to affirm its own testimony in contradiction to the compromising position which the institutional churches been inclined to take in more recent history."

Cape Times 8/8/88 (28)

Tutu condemns violence

LONDON. — The leaders of the Anglican churches of South Africa and Ireland appeared together on TV here at the weekend to condemn the use of violence.

The appearance of Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Archbishop Robin Eames of Armagh followed controversy in the British press about a resolution on "war, violence and justice" passed by the world's Anglican bishops at the Lambeth conference.

The Lambeth conference said it "understood" the feelings of those who, "after exhausting all other ways, choose the way of armed struggle as the only way to justice ... "

It was charged by some newspapers with "blessing terror". When it passed a second resolution condemning all violence in Northern Ireland, the conference was accused of inconsistency.

In numerous interviews in the past three days, Archbishop Tutu has made clear that he has not changed his personal belief, which is that he condemns all violence, whether employed by those who want to overthrow an unjust system or those who defend it. But he has repeatedly stated that he understands the motivations of those who, as a last resort, have turned to violence against an unjust government.

The conference resolution said war was "incompatible with the teaching and example of Our Lord Jesus Christ". It added "there is no true peace without justice" and that reforming unjust systems was "an essential element of our biblical hope ... " The bishops gave explicit support for "the way of non-violence", including direct non-violent action, civil disobedience and conscientious objection. They described non-violent action as "the way of our Lord".

In a joint interview with Archbishop Eames, Archbishop Tutu said that condemnation of violence "is the basis of everything we say".

"I say times without number until I have driven people to distraction that I am opposed to all forms of violence. That is why I have said I support the ANC insofar as it aims to bring about a new kind of society in South Africa, but I do not support its methods.

"Yet I would say again without any sense of contradiction that I understand (them when) they say they have exhausted all options and that is why they have chosen the way of the armed struggle."

He said he accepted the view that in Northern Ireland, unlike South Africa, people have access to the ballot box.

Archbishop Tutu added: "The church has certain criteria that it uses whenever the matter of violence comes in. The church says it would be justifiable if (certain) criteria are satisfied for Christians to go to war. Although war is evil and nazism is evil, going to war is the lesser evil."

● At the Holy Communion service yesterday, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Robert Runcie, was flanked at the altar by Archbishop Tutu and Bishop Isaiah Jesudasan, retiring Moderator of the Church of South India. — Sapa

Tutu supports ANC but not its methods

8/8/88 B/Day (28)

Anglican leaders condemn violence

LONDON — SA and Irish Anglican church leaders appeared together on British TV at the weekend to condemn the use of violence.

The appearance of Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Archbishop Robin Eames, of Armagh, came after controversy in the British media about a resolution on "war, violence and justice" passed by Anglican bishops at the Lambeth Conference.

The conference said it "understood" the feelings of those who, "after exhausting all other ways, choose the way of armed struggle as the only way to justice".

It was charged by some newspapers with "blessing terror". When it passed a second resolution condemning all violence in Ulster, the conference was accused of inconsistency.

In numerous interviews in the past three days, Tutu has made it clear he has not changed his personal belief, which is that he condemns all violence, whether employed by those who want to overthrow an unjust system or those who defend it. But, he has repeatedly stated, he understands the motivations of those who, as a last resort, have turned to violence against an unjust government.

The conference resolution said war was "incompatible with the teaching and example of Our Lord Jesus Christ" and that "there is no true peace without justice" and that reforming unjust systems was "an essential element of our biblical hope".

The bishops gave explicit support for "the way of non-violence", including direct non-violent action, civil disobedience and conscientious objection. They described non-violent action as "the way of our Lord".

And Tutu said on TV that condemnation of violence "is the basis of everything we say.

"I say times without number until I have driven people to distraction that I am opposed to all forms of violence. That is why I have said I support the ANC insofar as it aims to bring about a new kind of society in SA, but I do not support its methods." — Sapa.

● Comment Page 6

Govt urged to act to

Couple in car

There's no absolute right or wrong . . .

ARGUS 8/8/88

Don't take sides, churches warned

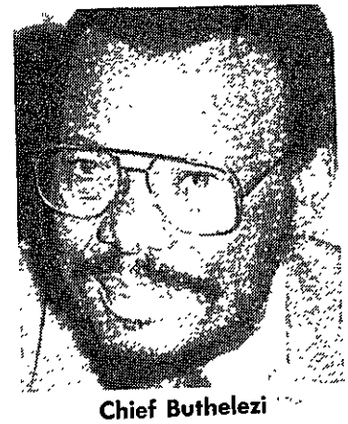
28

DALLAS. — The Chief Minister of Kwazulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has warned of the dangers of churches taking sides in a South African situation in which there were no exclusively right or wrong sides.

The church would err if it was not there on every side, encouraging all to do what they could in their own particular circumstances, he told ministers of the United Methodist Church yesterday.

"The church errs when it abandons ordinary folk to a fate of dying in a prematurely called 'just war' which cannot be won," he said.

There was not one organisation which could bring about the liberation of South Africa on its own. Apartheid was an evil which had to be fought on every level at all times.



Chief Buthelezi

Black unity

For him this spelt out the need for black unity based on a common acceptance of the need for a multi-strategy approach.

He told the Methodists: "I cannot say that Christ is not there across our borders where revolutionaries are being trained. I cannot say that He is not there on our borders where soldiers are deployed against the revolutionaries.

"South Africa is a deeply polarised society and I know that Christ is there on both sides of every conflict. He is therefore in every organisation because no organisation is totally right and none is totally evil."

For their part, he and Inkatha rejected the notion that reform could not take place in his country. He believed that, on the contrary, violent revolutionaries were actually delaying the end of apartheid.

This was because they attacked the South African government where it was strongest and in so doing they dissipated the strength that should be going into the struggle.

Dr Buthelezi said that as leader of Inkatha what he did was approved by many millions of black South Africans. Yet, because of what he did, he was ostracised by the councils of Christendom.

"I and my people are rejected by major international donor organisations. They pay in the coinage of hunger and deepening destitution. I say we can yet bring about a negotiated future in South Africa." — Sapa.

Bishops call for more pressure on SA

RMGUS 28/8/88 (28)

CANTERBURY. — Bishops at the Lambeth Conference have called on Anglican churches to push their governments to exert "maximum pressure" on the South African government to bring about democratic political structures.

Voting by a show of hands, the bishops supported by an overwhelming majority "forms of sanction calculated to have the maximum effect in bringing to an end the evil dispensation and in establishing a just peace among all citizens".

They also condemned the detention of children without just cause.

Other resolutions included:

- Church disinvestment from corporations with a "substantial" financial stake in South Africa;
- Direct aid to anti-apartheid organisations within South Africa, especially to help the unemployed and persecuted;
- A call on governments to give practical support to frontline states, including military protection, to ensure their economic survival;
- A call for the release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners and detainees in South Africa;
- The unbanning of organisations "like the African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress which represent the majority of citizens";
- Direct moral and humanitarian support to such organisations "in the pursuit of a just order which reflects Gospel values".

The bishops added that they "believe that to work for a just peace in South Africa is to work for the true liberation of all peoples of the region, black and white". — Sapa.

Why Tutu may have to wait for Canterbury

WALTER ELLIS in London

EFFORTS by Anglicanism to establish itself as a truly world communion — a kind of rival to Rome minus the papacy — have always been fettered by the constitution of the Church of England as a *national* church, owing allegiance to the British Crown.

Thus the possibility mooted last week at the Lambeth Conference that Dr Robert Eames, the 51-year-old Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of All Ireland, could succeed Dr Robert Runcie as the 103rd Archbishop of Canterbury is as revolutionary in its implications for the unity and administration of the church as is the vexed issue of female ordination for theology.

Eames certainly has the academic distinction and standing to survive scrutiny. He is a scholar, an authority on ecclesiastical law and a pastor of considerable experience.

Moreover, because of his Ulster background — he gave a notable sermon, in front of British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, at the memorial service for those killed in the Enniskillen bombing — has shown he is someone who can deal sensitively with disaster while viewing politics as an inescapable reality.

Loyal

Just as important, he is a British citizen, personally loyal to the throne, and his elevation would permit the emergence of the first Archbishop of Canterbury from outside the English church since medieval times to be presented to an anxious home congregation as a recognisably British affair.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu is held by some within the Anglican communion to have several of the qualities of leadership necessary for the job — including a considerable, if somewhat taut, moral authority — and there has been praise, too, for Dr Walter Makhulu, the doctrinally traditional Archbishop of Central Africa.

This reflects the growing recognition that Africa is the major focus of Anglican expansion. But the appointment of Tutu or Makhulu would almost certainly be perceived in Britain as too radical a departure from tradition — one that would undoubtedly cause a *frisson* of anxiety to run through the shire parishes of England — and could give the appearance that Anglicanism was now a Third World empire, dedicated, above all else, to the defeat of apartheid in SA.

☐ TUTU ... moral authority

With Eames, on the other hand, the mould would have been broken, yet the resulting prelate would still appear in a familiar guise.

His revolution would not be an angry one. Few heads would roll. Even so, the way would have been cleared for the eventual selection of an American, an Australian, perhaps even a more broad-church African, to move into Lambeth. As with Cardinal Wojtyla, who restored conservatism to the papacy from his unique Polish perspective, the Irish primate would conceal orthodoxy within the appearance of change.

Informal

Eames, understandably, is not promoting his own cause. A relaxed, informal prelate, possessing craggy good looks and an easy manner, he was, he says, more amused than anything by the speculation that broke around him in Canterbury.

He has been much involved in recent years with the worldwide communion and has used his lawyer's training to good effect in preparing papers for the wider church. His principal concern, however, after years as a parish priest and bishop, remains the unending Ulster tragedy.

28

B/Day 9/8/88

Star 10/8/88

'Censors silence church service'

By Carina le Grange, Religion Reporter

The South African Broadcasting Corporation has been accused of censoring a Methodist radio service which was due to be broadcast on Sunday.

Dr Peter Storey of the Central Methodist Church said in a statement yesterday that his pre-recorded radio church service was cancelled because of a "threat by the SABC to censor part of the service".

Dr Storey said in his statement that he was told by the SABC after his previous radio broadcast in June that if the "lighting of the Candle of Peace and Justice was included in his next worship, it would be cut".

The Candle for Peace and Justice is lit at each of the Central Methodist Church's services with prayers for those suffering because of oppression and violence in South Africa, Dr Storey said.

The SABC's acting director-general, Mr Wynand Harmse, said that "on request of Dr Peter Storey no recording was done from any Methodist church for the coming Sunday because of points under discussion in the Advisory Committee on August 11."

Dr Storey said that at a meeting between him and the Rev Austen Massey with the SABC's Religious Directorate, it became clear it was not the directorate who had decided to censor the service, but that the decision had been taken by the SABC's acting director-general.

"They were the messengers. But we were being asked to submit to political censorship of a service of worship. No Methodist Church could be part of that," Dr Storey said.

The section to which objections were raised said in part: "On our altar stands a candle which is surrounded by a coil of barbed wire. The barbed wire symbolises the hurt and oppression in our land."

SAVINGS

Sinking fast

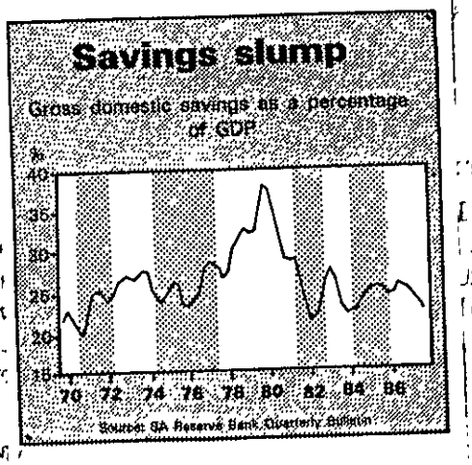
Real savings have declined steadily since 1980, when the ratio of savings to GDP stood at 35%, according to Sanlam's latest *Economic Survey*. It is now only 23%.

Moreover, a growing portion of gross domestic savings is in the shape of provision for depreciation.

"Since this is closely related to maintenance of the capital stock, it would be more logical to take a look at net savings — total saving less depreciation."

This is a low of 6% of GDP.

Also of concern, says Sanlam chief economist Johan Louw, is that "whereas previous lows in the net savings effort occurred during downswings in the economy, the present one is being experienced during an upswing."



The implications for the future are serious because as the economy declines, the financial position of the man in the street will weaken, further reducing the savings effort.

Moreover, despite low savings in the private sector, savings have exceeded investment "by close on R40bn in the past three years" — reflecting loss of confidence in the business community. Sadly, this lack of investment, rather than a build-up of savings, enabled SA to run recent surpluses on the current account of the balance of payments.

Low personal savings are attributed to sluggish growth in real disposable income, "related to factors like low economic growth, a greater personal tax burden and high inflation" as well as to increasing credit purchases by consumers. An additional reason is redistribution of income in favour of people with a higher propensity to spend.

Corporate savings have been more promising, rising to nearly 25% of GDP. However, real savings of government, a net dis-saver since 1982, were -R3bn in 1987. ■

Radio church service cut

CAPE TIMES 11/8/88

JOHANNESBURG. — The SABC has been accused of censoring a Methodist radio service which was due to be broadcast on Sunday.

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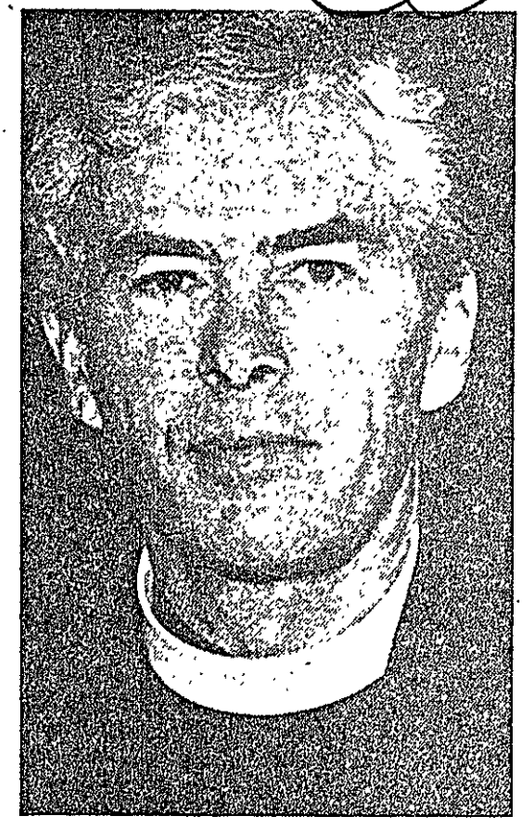


CENSORED ... Dr Peter Storey

The section to which objections were raised said in part: "On our altar stands a candle which is surrounded by a coil of barbed wire. The barbed wire symbolizes the hurt and oppression in our land." — Sapa

We have invited Pope to SA, say Catholic bishops

The Argus Correspondent ARGUS 12/8/88

DURBAN. — The Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference has denied claims that the bishops have never invited Pope John Paul II to visit South Africa.

The bishops said in a statement yesterday it was impossible for the Pope to include a brief stop in this country during his tightly scheduled visit to several Southern African states next month.

They said that as far back as 1982 they had issued an invitation to Pope John Paul to visit South Africa, but no date had been set.

"Consultations were held with the Holy See with regard to the timing and opportuneness of such a visit," the statement said.

The bishops' statement comes amid reports of a backlash among South Africa's Italian and Portuguese Catholic communities against contributing funds towards the expenses of the Papal visit to Lesotho, the focal point of his 10-day tour next month.

The statement said: "The bishops share the desire of a great number of people for the Holy Father to visit South Africa and appreciate the disappointment of many that he will not be coming on this occasion.

"The bishops hope and pray that the time will not be far off when the Holy Father will be in our midst.

"With regard to suggestions that the Holy Father include a brief stop in South Africa in his visit to the Southern African region, even a cursory study of his programme will show clearly that this is not possible. It is amazing to see how much he is already undertaking.

"The bishops are concerned that the Holy Father's visit to this part of the world proceeds as smoothly as possible. In this connection they appreciate what the South African authorities are doing and will do to facilitate the visit.

"With regard to those expected to visit Lesotho from South Africa, the bishops are happy that there will be a good number."

12/8/88 (28) B/Day

Methodists in showdown with SABC over censorship threat

GLEN SHELTON

THE Methodist Church of SA has refused to broadcast services on the SABC until the issue of censorship of sermons has been cleared up.

Methodist Church south-western Transvaal district chairman Peter Storey said yesterday political censorship was "something the Methodist Church cannot be part of, and I told the SABC as much in a meeting."

He added: "Until such time as they clear this issue up there will be no broadcasting by our church."

The problems arose when the SABC threatened to censor a sermon if the candle of peace and justice were lit.

The candle is lit in solidarity with "those suffering because of oppression and violence in SA", Storey said.

"I indicated for the sake of the hundreds and thousands of listeners that the threat should be lifted unconditionally before we broadcasted again.

"And I say threat because that was what it was. If it was an error on their part then there should be no problem about lifting the threat.

"However, if it is deliberate policy, then it is a different matter."

The SABC's Religious Advisory Council met yesterday afternoon to discuss the issue and acting corporation head Wynand Harmse said a statement would be made as soon as a decision had been reached.

Woodstock row: Minister called to explain ban

Argus 16/8/88 (28)

M Hippel Reporter

A FURTHER twist has developed in the Group Areas row which led to the banning of the Ward 10 Ratepayers' Association from their regular meeting place at a Woodstock church hall.

Methodist minister the Rev Mark Stephenson banned the association from the hall after its members signed a petition calling for whites to be protected under the Group Areas Act.

But now he has been called on to explain his decision at a church council meeting tonight.

It has been confirmed that members of the congregation were among about 200 who attended last week's meeting when the petition was signed.

The controversial petition called for the protection of the "legal white community of Woodstock and University Estate under the Group Areas Act" if it were retained.

The move followed the recent suggestion by Minister of Information Mr Stoffel van der Merwe that Woodstock might be declared open to all races.

CHURCH COUNCIL MEETING

The suggestion was later retracted as "premature".

Church trustee Mr Gordon Jewell said he would raise the banning issue at the church council meeting.

"As trustee I decide how that hall is hired out," Mr Jewell said.

He confirmed that several members of the church had been at the meeting.

Approached for comment on his banning decision, Mr Stephenson said: "That debate is over."

Mr Peter Throp, chairman of the association, has said that he did not want Woodstock to be "singled out for infiltration". He said proposals for an "open" Woodstock referred to a small area below the Main Road.

Mr Throp, who is a municipal election candidate, confirmed that earlier this year he had offered to distribute NP application forms at a ratepayers' meeting. Mr Stephenson had demanded and been given a written apology.

Police seize copies of church publication

Staff Reporter Argus 16/8/88 (28)

ALMOST 30 000 copies of the Western Province Council of Churches' publication *Crisis News* were seized by police at the city's central post office on Friday.

WPCC official Mr Pierre van den Heever said yesterday copies of the six-weekly publication were posted to local churches for distribution.

A Lieutenant van Deventer of the security police had visited the council's offices later on Friday to confirm that police had confiscated the copies under the emergency regulations.

WORTH R7 000

The batch was worth about R7 000.

A council statement said earlier the seizure of the edition, which focused on the October municipal elections, proved there was "no opportunity for democratic discussion" on the elections.

"As Christians standing for the truth we deplore this action."

The council supported a free Press and a free exchange of views.

● Police spokesman Lieutenant Denise Benson confirmed that the copies were seized under the emergency regulations.

Catholic bishops condemn bombings

Cape Times 16/8/88

(28)

PRETORIA. — The Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference (SACBC) yesterday strongly condemned the recent spate of bombings in shopping areas and public places in South Africa.

In a statement in Pretoria, the SACBC said: "We have witnessed a spate of bombings in shopping areas and public places.

"We have seen a large group of young men take a public stand on military service.

"We have heard the minister of information threaten church leaders for speaking out on matters which they believe have a direct bearing on the proclamation of the Gospel.

"In a very real way these are related. We have also been made aware of the initial steps that have been taken to secure peace in Namibia and Angola.

"As leaders of the church in South Africa, we object in the strongest possible terms to the recent spate of bombings in shopping areas and public places.

"Innocent people are killed, maimed or injured. Families and individuals are struck by untold and unjustified suffering.

"They cannot be held responsible for the system which we labour under in our country. Whoever is responsible, there can be no justification for these indiscriminate bombings.

"At the same time we must point out again that apartheid with its built-in structural violence is the root cause of the violent reactions we deplore.

"Only when apartheid is ended can we hope for a situation of peace in which people can live as befits their dignity as equal citizens.

"The recent courageous stand of 143 conscripts in refusing to serve in the South African Defence Force is a clear sign of a growing awareness of the inherent injustices present in a society in which racial discrimination and the denial of human rights are so prevalent.

"We support them in their stand and join these young men in their call for constructive alternative service for all who in conscience cannot serve in the defence force."

The statement said many people had suffered over the past 20 years as a result of the conflict in Namibia and Angola. The prospect of peace in this region was therefore "very welcome".

"It is not our intention to make any comment on the political niceties of this initiative entered in to by the various parties, but we do want to support any effort that will bring about genuine peace. In particular, we welcome a situation in which the terms of UN Resolution 435 will be implemented and its conditions respected.

"For years the majority of the people in Namibia have wanted genuine independence and the freedom of running their own country. We pray that this will come about as soon as possible." — Sapa

Walkout over NGK service

28

MEMBERS of the congregation walked out of the Cape Town Groote Kerk in protest at an anti-apartheid sermon by the Ned Geref Kerk minister, the Reverend Herbert Brand.

Mr Brand, who has often clashed with the hierarchy of the NGK, was the guest minister at the service on Sunday.

He is the minister at St Stephen's congregation in the city, the only "coloured" congregation of the "white" NGK.

Some members of the congregation walked out during the service.

Mr Brand said yesterday he had noticed some movement of people but could not say how many left.

Mr Brand said the gist of his sermon was that the mission message was incomplete if it only included spiritual salvation and not social and material salvation. — Sapa.

16/8/88 Sowetan

Church supports hall ban decision

ARGUS 17/8/88 (28)

Staff Reporter

THE council of the Woodstock Methodist Church has backed the Rev Mark Stephenson's decision to bar the Ward 10 Ratepayers' Association from using the church hall for meetings.

The minister made the decision after members of the association signed a petition calling for whites in Woodstock and University Estate to be protected under the Group Areas Act.

After a meeting with Mr Stephenson last night the council issued a statement saying it "fully supports the actions of the minister in preventing the association from using the hall for the promotion of racist views".

The petition move followed a suggestion (later retracted) by Information Minister Dr Stoffel van der Merwe that Woodstock might be declared open to all races.

The chairman of the Ward 10 Ratepayers' Association, Mr Peter Throp, said he could not understand the reason given for the ban.

"We have not come out in support of the Group Areas Act, but have objected to being singled out by organisations and unscrupulous people intending to use us as South Africa's guinea-pig for their own political views."

Cape Times 15/1/88

Catholic bishops warn on squatter, slum bills

JOHANNESBURG. — The new bills dealing with squatters, slums and group areas threaten hundreds of thousands of poor people with immense distress and will intensify South Africa's acute problem of homelessness, the Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference (SACBC) said yesterday.

In a statement, the SACBC said the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Amendment Bill would "virtually" make eviction of squatters compulsory without any provision of protection from the courts.

"It reintroduces the state's power to remove any group, tribe or black person from any area to another area. It is estimated that at least two million persons will be affected."

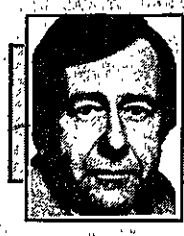
The Group Areas Amendment Bill would "ensure that the act will be rigidly enforced and that people will be evicted without provision for alternative accommodation ... Whatever benefits the 'open area' may offer will fade into obscurity in the face of this measure".

Furthermore, the Slum Bill, by removing all existing procedures, would leave people defenceless against arbitrary orders to vacate issued by local authorities.

"As things stand now, and before these bills become law, it is estimated five million people, by government figures, have no place to live." — Sapa

Conference finds that there are no universal rules on violence

28



By STANLEY UYS

Cape Times 17/8/88

VIOLENCE, when it is practised by the ANC in South Africa, is acceptable, but when it is practised by the IRA in Northern Ireland it is not.

This is the knot into which the Lambeth Conference of Anglican bishops held here in London tied itself. The Bishop of Oxford, Richard Harries (author of "Should a Christian Support Guerrillas"), described the conference's resolutions on violence as "disastrous".

The argument is familiar to South Africans: one man's freedom fighter is another man's terrorist. And there is no way in which the argument can be resolved. It simply depends on whose side you are on. No universal rules are available — not even Christian ones, as the Lambeth Conference discovered to its cost.

Whether the conference in its three weeks of deliberation on various issues achieved anything at all has also been a matter of opinion. Bishop Harries thinks that, with the exception of the debate on violence, it was a highly successful conference.

The Dean of Peterhouse, Cambridge, the controversial Edward Norman, disagrees. "During the long three weeks of deliberation very little was said of any note and certainly nothing was said of any originality,' he wrote. " ...the Lambeth Conference was not really an exercise in the discovery of truth, but a means of covering it up."

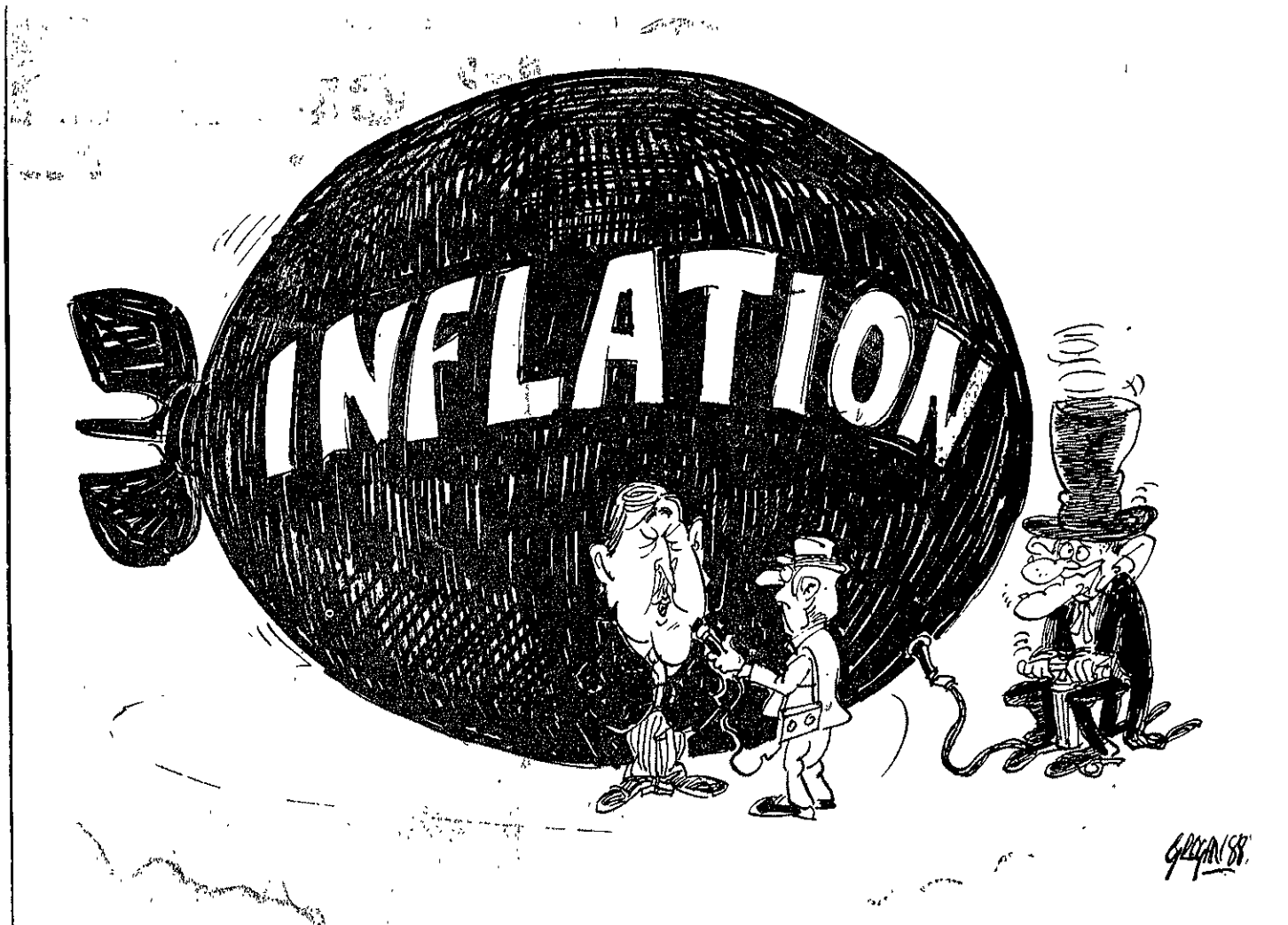
SOME of the bishops objected (mostly privately) to the assertive role of the African bishops and their preoccupation with apartheid. The bishops felt that the Africans, led by Archbishop Tutu, had bounced them into the resolution on violence.

They saw Tutu as afflicted with tunnel vision: his concern, they said, was limited to apartheid. They pointed out, for example, that Tutu could not understand why the conference should spend so much time discussing the ordination of women — to which he was opposed anyway. In the eyes of some Anglican clergy and laity here, Tutu is just another African male chauvinist.

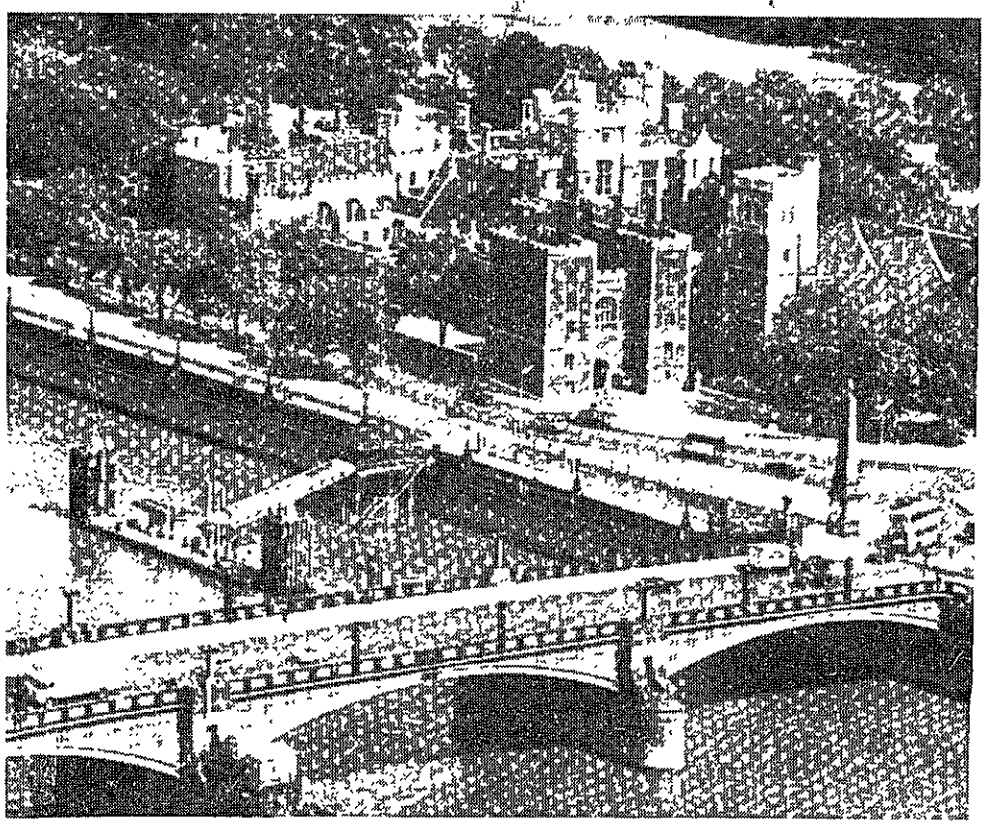
The resolution on violence began by reaffirming "the statement of the 1930 Lambeth Conference that war as a method of settling international disputes is incompatible with the teaching and example of Our Lord Jesus Christ".

The resolution then went on to "support" those who chose the way of non-violence and 'understand' those who "after exhausting all other ways, choose the way of armed struggle as the only way to justice, whilst drawing attention to the danger of armed struggle becoming an end in itself."

NO sooner had the resolution been passed than the Northern Ireland Anglicans exploded. The resolution, they said, would be a propaganda coup for the IRA. Robert Eames, Archbishop of



"As a matter of fact we have the capacity to make the bomb whenever we feel like it."



LAMBETH PALACE . . . where the Anglican bishops recently deliberated over the question of violence and came up with an answer which has been described as "disastrous".

Armagh and Primate of All Ireland, conveyed to the conference the "distress and unbelief among many Anglicans in Northern Ireland".

"Let no one at the Lambeth Conference be in any doubt," declared Archbishop Eames, "that we are talking about murder. We are not talking about freedom fighters or exponents of any liberation theory. We are talking about a calculated campaign of murder by an organization which has been condemned by the Roman Catholic church and all the Protestant churches."

Dr Eames, who revealed that he personally had buried no fewer than 53 victims of IRA violence in a relatively small community in Northern Ireland, reportedly spent the entire night trying to persuade individual bishops that the resolution could not be allowed to stand unamended.

So a new resolution was introduced the following day, proposed by Bishop Edward Jones of Indianapolis and seconded by Archbishop Tutu, condemning all violence "in the circumstances of Northern Ireland".

WE know now where the Lambeth Conference stands on South Africa and Northern Ireland: it "understands" violence in South Africa and condemns it in Northern Ireland. But on what grounds? When does a freedom fighter become a murderer?

Bishop Harries has offered certain criteria. Just as there can be a just war, he says, so there can be a just revolution, provided certain conditions are met.

These are: first, the injustice must be manifest and long-standing. Second, every other means of bringing about change must first have been exhausted and "this rules out the use of force in societies where citizens are able to express their preference through the ballot box".

Third, the suffering brought about by the attempt to overthrow the tyranny must be less than the people are having to bear under its oppression.

This is plain enough as far as the ANC is concerned: it is given the go ahead but the criteria certainly will not satisfy sympathisers of the IRA who will point out that Catholics are a minority in Northern Ireland and claim that, try as they might, they have not been able to secure redress of their wrongs (real or imagined) through the ballot box.

The IRA cannot be dismissed as just a small group of bloodthirsty terrorists: as Mao would have put it, the Catholic community in Northern Ireland is the sea in which the IRA swims.

AND would the criteria be acceptable to revolutionaries in South America who have the ballot but prefer the gun? Or to some of the priests in South America who are deep into "liberation theology?" In which category would the Lambeth conference place them — with South Africa or with Northern Ireland?

We might remember, too, that when the Nationalist Government came into office in 1948 it granted an amnesty to men who had spent the war blowing up railway tracks and cutting phone wires. The freedom fighter has an honourable place in Afrikaner tradition.

Dr Eames's position is straightforward: "I live in a country and an environment," he said, "where I want to condemn all violence from whatever source. I think it is the only consistent view to take."

But if Dr Eames's stance had been adopted by the conference, Archbishop Tutu would have had to go back to his people and tell them that violence must cease — and there are more black Anglicans than white Anglicans in South Africa. He feels he can't do it. He must at least "understand" why blacks have resorted to violence.

There is no escape for the Lambeth Conference from its dilemma. It cannot refuse to hold an opinion on violence — Christian leaders just can't do that — and neither can it condone violence without inserting conditions and exceptions which immediately provoke objections.

Bishop Harries made a brave try but no generally acceptable criteria exist and he and others will search in vain for them.

Sadly, the answer is the familiar one: one man's freedom fighter remains another man's terrorist and not even bishops can find the common ground between these two positions.

SOWETAN, Monday, August 8, 1988 Page 5

MY BELIEF

Archbishop Tutu backs ANC but not its methods

'I condemn all violence'

LONDON — The leaders of the Anglican churches of South Africa and Ireland appeared together on British television at the weekend to condemn the use of violence.

The appearance of Arhcbishop Desmond Tutu and Archbishop Robin Eames of Armagh followed controversy in the British Press about a resolution on "war, violence and justice" passed by the world's Anglican bishops at the Lambeth Conference.

The Lambeth Conference said it "understood" the feelings of those who, "after exhausting all other ways, choose the way of armed struggle as the only way to justice . . ."

It was charged by some newspapers with "blessing terror". When it passed a second resolution condemning all violence in Northern Ireland, the conference was accused of inconsistency.

In numerous interviews in the past three days, Archbishop Tutu has made clear that he has not changed his personal belief, which is that he condemns all violence, whether employed by those who want to overthrow an unjust system or those who defend it.

But he has repeatedly stated that he understands the motivations of those who, as a last resort, have turned to violence against an unjust government.

The conference resolution said war was "incompatible with the teaching and example of our Lord Jesus Christ.

"It added 'there is no true peace without justice' and that reforming unjust systems was 'an essential element of our biblical hope . . .'"

The bishops gave explicit support for "the way of non-violence", including direct non-violent action, civil disobdience and conscientious objection.

ARCHBISHOP Tutu

In a joint interview with Archbishop Eames for broadcast on a Channel Four television programme, Archbishop Tutu said that condemnation of violence "is the basis of everything we say".

"I say times without number until I have driven people to distraction that I am opposed to all forms of violence. That is why I have said I support the ANC insofar as it aims to bring about a new kind of society in South Africa, but I do not support its methods.

"Yet I would say again without any sense of contradiction that I understand them when they say they have exhausted all options and that is why they have chosen the way of the armed struggle."

In an apparent reference to the term "armed struggle", Archbishop Eames disagreed with Archbishop Tutu's wording but emphasised: "There's no argument between Desmond and myself on this . . . he was gracious enough to . . . second the emergency resolution which applied to Northern Ireland.

(28) STimes 21/8/88

1981-82 again for borrowing

A 25% jump in credit granted by SA's 41 banks in the year to June 30 underlines the need for official concern at the growth of borrowings.

An analysis of the banks' BA9 figures shows that credit agreeements between banks and corporate and private borrowers increased by almost R3,3-billion — from R12,9-billion to R16,2-billion.

Making allowance for the removal of finance charges from the totals on the returns, Nedfin managing director Ron Rundle says an increase of this magnitude has probably not been seen in SA since 1981-1982.

Business Times Reporter

Nedfin's analysis also shows that lease agreements increased more dramatically than instalment sale, or hire-purchase, agreements. The lease total increased 34% in the year to R5,6-billion and the instalment total rose by 20,9% to R10,5-billion.

The BA9 figures do not differentiate between lease and rental agreements and the jump in the leasing total is largely attributed to rental schemes, mainly for vehicles, which were heavily promoted by the banks.

This sector has, however, been curbed by official action since last May banning private rentals and making GST up-front applicable to lease agreements.

Mr Rundle says: "The dramatic increase in credit, particularly in the lease area, highlights the authorities' need to curb credit creation in South Africa.

Uncertain

"Although the rate of increase slowed somewhat in the June quarter, the continual demand for credit has naturally worried the authorities, particularly with an economy under balance of payments pressure."

In the three months to the end of June the value of lease agreements increased by R497,8-million (or 9,6%) and the value of instalment sale agreements rose by R368,8-million, or 3,6%.

The picture of credit expansion after last week's new moves to dampen demand and restrict HP sales is uncertain.

The restrictions on consumer credit could have a "decided effect", but the main demand for durable finance is for cars and terms have not changed in this sector, says Mr Rundle.

"Credit levels should be maintained in this area," he says.

Corporate demand for credit might be depressed by rising interest rates, but expansion of plant and machinery credit should continue for at least six months because many goods were still in the pipeline when the higher rates came into effect.

Big Five

The BA9 figures show that on June 30 the Standard group led the Big Five bank groups in the provision of lease and HP finance with R4,5-billion, or 27,9% of the total. First National had 27,3%, Bankorp 22,8%, Nedbank 7,3% and Volkskas had 7%.

Inkatha in clashes with churches on ANC support

S'BU MNGADI

INKATHA Youth Brigade is on a collision course with the Anglican Church following the church's recent conference in London where it declared its support for the ANC and sanctions against South Africa.

Meanwhile, KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi warned the international community that a civil war situation might develop in South Africa if reconciliation between Inaktha and ANC was not achieved.

In a statement, the 600 000-member Inkatha Youth Brigade resolved at its 10th anniversary last weekend that unless church leaders took a firm stand on sanctions, the youth organisation would ensure that its financial support was withdrawn.

The brigade would start a campaign against churches of all denominations which evaded the issue of sanctions, it said.

A youth brigade statement said:

"We are ... appalled at Anglican bishops at the Lambeth conference in London who rode roughshod over our feelings and announced their political support for the ANC and for sanctions against SA, despite the fact that the majority of blacks in the country reject the armed struggle and sanctions."

The youth conference, addressed by Buthelezi, resolved to inform the Archbishop of Canterbury that the youth wing of Inkatha rejected the stand taken by bishops at Lambeth.

If church leaders failed to take a stand on the Lambeth conference and on sanctions, Inkatha youth would launch a countrywide campaign with the slogan: "No jobs, no money, no offerings".

Buthelezi earlier this year, in an attack on the South African Council of Churches, suggested that parishioners withhold financial support from churches.

Addressing the conference, Buthelezi warned that the international community might see a terrible situation developing in South Africa between rival groups.

"I want to tell you that I was very recently in Portugal where I attended a meeting also attended by the Nigerian leader Gen Olusegun Obasanjo.

"The general said it was now high time the ANC and Inkatha started to talk to each other about reconciliation," he said.

Buthelezi said he had raised the question as a matter of concern in separate talks with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and Sir Geoffrey Howe and Lynda Chalker.

"I pointed out that the international community is today concerned with the Frelimo/Renamo war in Mozambique and with the Unita/MPLA war in Angola, and that if they do not help to nip in the bud the conflict that is building between the ANC/UDF/Cosatu alliance and Inkatha, they might find themselves in a worse situation than the Angola/Mozambique conflict situation, here in SA.

"This will be bad news for the whole of Southern Africa because of the extent which the economy of South Africa serves the economic interest of all these countries."

He said the ANC had said loud and clear at international forums that it would ban Inkatha as an unlawful organisation if it had the chance.

Chief M Buthelezi ... ANC would ban Inkatha.

Sea pollution penalties mooted

GLEN SHELTON

HEAVY new penalties, including the impounding of vessels, are possible in terms of proposed new legislation to control shipping pollution.

Vessels discharging oil along SA's coastline could face fines from R20 000 to R100 000, as well as impounding if the legislation is passed. Anton Moldan, assistant director of Pollution Control of the Sea Fisheries Institute of the Environment Affairs Department, said in a statement yesterday that operational discharges of plastic and other garbage from ships at sea were becoming "a serious problem".

I & J strike continues

THE legal strike at Irvin and Johnson continued yesterday.

Workers, evicted by court order from company buildings when the strike started nine days ago, are demanding a 35,9% pay increase.

I & J has offered an across-the-board 22,9% increase. — Sapa.

B/Day 26/8/88

Afrikaans church rejects party politics

(28) B/Day 25/8/88

WARMBATHS — The Afrikaanse Protestantse Kerk (APK) would not serve any political party, the church's synod decided at its meeting here yesterday.

The APK had been seen as the "CP's church", because its members consisted mainly of disaffected, former Dutch Reformed Church members who rejected the DRC's "liberalism".

The synod is closed to the Press, but a "communication commission" releases a statement each day on issues raised at the synod.

The synod said yesterday it was alarming that churches were increasingly entering the political terrain,

The commission's release said the APK's parishes had raised more than R4m since the first synodal meeting eight months ago.

A budget of more than R910 000 had been approved for the next year.

The synod would also be requesting Finance Minister Barend du Plessis scrap GST on Bibles.

The synod encouraged female members to pray together, but did not associate itself with the racially mixed form the World Prayer Day for women was assuming.

The synod is chaired by APK moderator Willem Lubbe. — Sapa.

Call for prayer to oppose new Group Area Bills

ARGUS 26/8/88

Staff Reporter

ROMAN Catholic Archbishop Stephen Naidoo has for a called a non-denominational hour of prayer at St Mary's Cathedral on Sunday as part of the Catholic Church's response to the three Group Area Bills before Parliament.

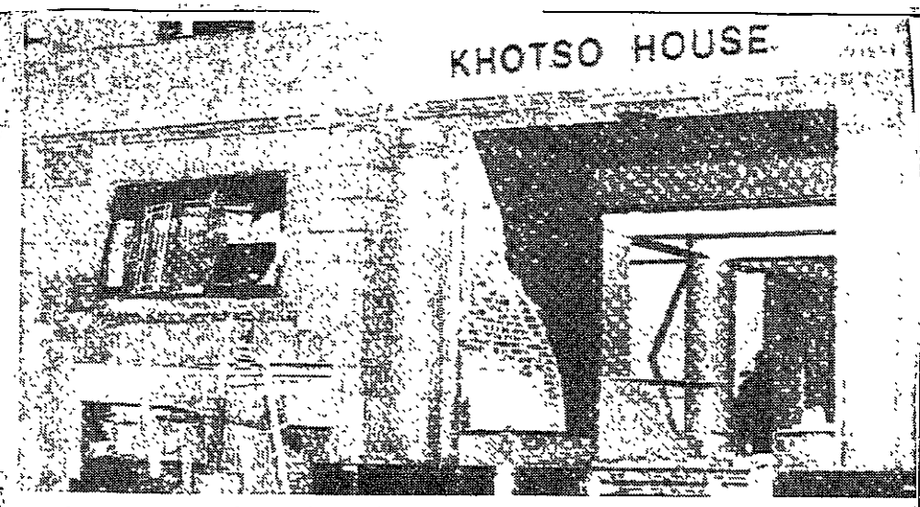
"The Catholic Church views the Bills on squatting, slums and group areas with alarm because they threaten hundreds of thousands of poor people with immense distress and privation," Archbishop Naidoo said in a Press release.

"This intensifies South Africa's acute problem of homelessness. The administrative board of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference has called for the Bills to be scrapped."

He said there was deep concern throughout the country.

The hour of prayer will be led by Archbishop Naidoo and Auxiliary Bishop Lawrence Henry.

Huge blast at Council of Churches HQ



Khotso House after a huge blast ripped through the building early today.

ARGUS 31/8/88

28

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — At least 18 people were injured or treated for shock after a huge blast ripped through the Khotso House headquarters of the South African Council of Churches in Johannesburg early today.

The blast caused extensive damage, estimated at more than R1-million, to the building and surrounding shops and flats.

Residents of Chiltern House, next to Khotso House, said they were awakened by a huge explosion which ripped doors from their hinges, shattered mirrors and windows and hurled people from their beds.

One couple thrown from their bed was caretaker Mr Jan Nortje and his blind wife Mara, 51.

"We were having a wonderful sleep when the blast went off," Mrs Nortje said. "We were hurled from the bed on to the floor when the bed tipped over. The whole building shook like it was going to collapse and the door was ripped away.

"Too ghastly"

"I tried to rush for the telephone but tripped and fell. It was too ghastly and my legs were like jelly."

Police said they knew of seven injured — five men and two women — but residents and other sources put the figure as high as 32.

The blast happened about 1.10am at the SACC's De Villiers Street headquarters and apparently took place in the parking basement of the building.

It also set off a fire in the basement after gas pipes were destroyed.

The force of the explosion was so great that the foyer floor collapsed into the basement and a large section of the front facade was blasted open, strewing rubble across the street. One of those injured was a security guard who fell into the gaping hole and injured his ribs.

Unsafe for habitation

Johannesburg's city engineer is expected to declare it unsafe for habitation or work.

The blast also severely damaged shops opposite Khotso House and twisted thick window frames and burglar bars almost beyond recognition.

Witnesses said the blast also tore the clothing from the bodies of two women passers-by, who were treated for shock.

The entrance to Cornerstone House, a home for pensioners and disabled senior citizens opposite the blast site, was severely damaged and littered with rubble.

Leaking gas could be detected two blocks away.

Police bomb experts said it had not been established what caused the explosion.

It was the second at the headquarters of an anti-apartheid organisation's headquarters in recent years. Last year an explosion severely damaged nearby Cosatu House.

TAX PLANNING

Barend opens another door

SA's "Big Eight" accounting firms are working around the clock on schemes to transfer the benefit of the abolition of the 10% non-resident tax on interest (NRTI) to dividends earned by foreign shareholders, still subject to 15% non-resident shareholders' tax (NRST). But there are serious constraints, not least forex controls.

The stakes are high. Budget estimates show that R360m is expected from NRST in 1988-1989. Double Tax Agreements (DTAs) effectively reduce rates foreigners actually pay and, assuming an actual 10% NRST against the official 15%, R3,6bn could go out this year as dividends.

Any scheme that converts dividend streams due to foreign shareholders into interest owed will earn high priority on investors' agendas and fortunes for accounting firms. The candidates most likely to benefit, given all the constraints, are foreign firms operating in SA which have high shareholders' funds relative to borrowings.

The scramble to find a way of converting dividend income into interest income has not gone unnoticed, with Finance Minister Barend du Plessis and Inland Revenue alerted. The other major official party involved is the Reserve Bank, which oversees flows of money to and from foreigners.

The main constraints to finding a perfect scheme, says Deloitte Haskins & Sells' Trevor McGlashan, include:

- ☐ The yet-to-be published legislation abolishing NRTI;
- ☐ The debt moratorium. If, somehow, foreign-owned equity is converted into loan capital, it could fall into another debt standstill net;
- ☐ Restrictions on the levels of borrowing allowed foreign-owned companies in SA;
- ☐ DTAs that have already been cancelled. For example, a US resident is liable to tax in the US on any earnings from SA, regardless of classification. Companies in tame tax havens can, however, be used as conduits;
- ☐ Sanctions-related moves. Again, for example, the US has virtually banned all "new" loans to SA; somehow converting a US resident's equity holding in SA to a loan-type scheme would simply not be allowed;
- ☐ The complications of converting foreign-owned equity (via the financial rand) into loan capital (via the more expensive commercial rand). This would raise eyebrows at the Reserve Bank and earn the investor constant future scrutiny by officials; and
- ☐ The limitation on foreign investment via the financial rand to certain equities and property. This leaves loans in the province of the more expensive commercial rand.

A foreign-owned company with high shareholders' funds and low borrowings could, conceivably, cash in on the abolition of NRTI. Where a company is 100% foreign-owned, borrowings may be only 50% of effective capital/shareholders' funds.

The latter, in turn, are defined as issued ordinary share capital; share premium; distributable reserves; and non-distributable reserves created out of profits. The definition also includes shareholders' loans/preference shares, if contributed or held pro rata by residents and non-residents to the ordinary shares.

If this proviso is complied with, a company falling within the definition has definite opportunities to change dividend to interest payments, capitalising on NRTI abolition. There is, of course, another constraint regarding dividends — those declared out of earnings with a capital element must be given Exchange Control approval.

Foreign holders of South African equities — who include many UK residents and ex-SA residents — have a far more difficult problem. On first analysis, they have little chance of switching dividend to interest earnings. They might be able to create a conduit South African company which would be given an option to buy the foreigner's dividends. The foreigner would lend the conduit money for the transaction, earning interest which the conduit earns from tax-free dividend receipts. But this structure would attract immediate attention at the Reserve Bank.

And, whereas Inland Revenue cannot supply information to the Bank, the restriction does not apply in reverse. Such a scheme would, in any event, be subject to many of the pitfalls mentioned earlier; for example, the still open-ended debt moratorium.

The NRTI-NRST scramble raises several points of broad tax policy. SA has no laws on "thin capitalisation" — shareholders' loans which really form part of permanent capital and are thus disguised equity.

Several countries restrict the amount of interest a company can pay out on "disqualified" shareholder loans. By imposing a debt-equity ratio, the excess payment is treated as a dividend. The Margo Commission did not recommend rules for thin capitalisation, which was accepted by the WP. But, in practice, Inland Revenue and the Bank are known to regulate thin capitalisation.

The other major point is that abolition of NRTI and not NRST violates the tax principle of neutrality — that similar things should be treated as similarly as possible.

The main reason given by Du Plessis for abolishing NRTI — that it raises a trifling R30m a year — conflicts with one of the Margo WP's main philosophies: that a recommendation should, wherever possible, be revenue neutral. Loss of revenue from abolition of one tax should be compensated for from an increased, or new, tax.

One result of not sticking to neutrality is fierce competition among the Big Eight to cash in on interest/dividend differentials. When NRTI legislation is finally revealed, we can expect a series of restrictions to combat schemes that arise. Their chance of success is about fifty-fifty.

CPI

Inflation anomaly

Inflation of only 13,7% in February is good news. And, with wage and salary increases to public servants held back this year, no administered price rises in the pipeline and plenty of moral suasion from various authorities aimed at keeping down both wages and prices, the outlook for the rest of the year is encouraging. Some even hope for a return to single-digit inflation.

Certainly, there is far less inflationary impetus than in December 1984, the last time the rate, as reflected in the consumer price index (CPI), was lower — 13,4%. The following month, the price of petrol increased by 40%, electricity increased by 10% and a whole range of prices leapfrogged over each other.

Not surprisingly, in January 1985, CPI rose to 13,9% and in February to 15,99%.

We have since become accustomed to double-digit inflation — in January 1986, CPI was over 20% — and can hardly believe our luck when we see the tempo slackening.

Bombing of Khotso House condemned by church leaders

Cape Times 19/8/88

28

ABOVE: The scene at Khotso House, the SACC headquarters in central Johannesburg after the powerful bomb blast which ripped through the building yesterday.

RIGHT: A South African Defence Force corporal checks his firearm outside Khotso House yesterday.

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The powerful bomb which yesterday ripped through Khotso House, headquarters of the SA Council of Churches and anti-apartheid organizations, was met with shock and outrage by politicians and church leaders yesterday.

Twenty-three people were injured or treated for shock after the bomb exploded at 1.20 am causing about R1 million damage to Khotso House, and shops and flats in an entire city block.

Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu condemned the "evil" blast as the work of "perpetrators or supporters of apartheid", and a spokeswoman for the Black Sash with offices in the six-story building, branded the attack "an attempt to silence us".

Archbishop Tutu challenged the government to condemn the bombing, saying it "represented a new low in the behaviour of those who seek to destroy the witness of the church against the evil and unChristian policies of the SA government".

Mr Colin Eglin, parliamentary leader of the PFP said he was been "shocked and disgusted" by the attack.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, expressed his condolences to the injured and said the police were conducting a comprehensive investigation into the incident.

The blast was greeted with outrage by, among others, Cosatu, former SACC president the Reverend Peter Storey and the Wits Students Representative Council.

A police spokesman last night said the origin of the explosive material used in the blast was still not known.

However SATV reported that police were investigating the possibility that a powerful car bomb or explosives caused the blast.

Police said the bomb caused structural damage to the building, but no decision had been taken as to whether the building would be condemned.

SACC secretary general the Reverend Frank Chikane said after visiting the scene that the SACC would commission assessors and explosive experts to arrive at an independent assesment of the blast.

Although the building was insured he was not sure the policy covered damage caused by a bomb.

Asked about the security at Khotso House, Rev Chikane said organizations like the SACC were unable to protect themselves from attacks on their property.

He and other church officials were not allowed inside Khotso house and the building was officially closed by police for safety reasons.

The bomb was condemned by spokesmen for a wide range of organizations, a number of whom drew parallels with the unsolved bomb explosion which wrecked Cosatu House in May last year.

No political sanction

With Archbishop Desmond Tutu at the forefront of the pro-sanctions lobby, disinvestment has always been a contentious issue among members of the English churches. Now the controversy has spread to the biggest Afrikaans church, and the chief executive of the NGK synod is in trouble with the Western Cape church hierarchy over a TV and radio call for church members to sign a petition opposing sanctions.

When he made the call last weekend, the Rev Pierre Rossouw no doubt thought it a popular issue to pursue. He certainly did not foresee the reaction.

The call was "pathetic" said Western Cape synod official Ernst Lombard; the synod's moderator, Dirk Hattingh, appealed to the church and its officials not to initiate such actions, from whatever political side, nor to get involved with boycotts.

Earlier Hattingh said that the general synod of the church had already protested against sanctions at a 1986 meeting: "We feel that was enough."

Bobby Loubser, author of *The Apartheid Bible*, a critical review of racial theology in SA, said such a petition would place the church in the same category as a political pressure group. He observed that church policy prohibits the NGK from becoming a political pressure group.

Even the Cape-based pro-Nat newspaper, *Die Burger*, took Rossouw to task. In an editorial the paper questioned his attempt "to do something positive about the (sanctions) issue." It, too, said the church runs the risk of being labelled a political pressure group if it formally propagates such calls — adding that other church groups which actively became involved in politics created major problems for themselves.

Rossouw desperately tried to justify his action. In an interview he explained that he had seen sanctions as a special issue in the light of events in the American Congress. However, "this does not mean that the church could ask for signatures to call for the release of Nelson Mandela, or the repeal of the Group Areas Act (GAA)," Rossouw said; the church had not taken any decisions on those issues.

Some feel it is perhaps time the church *did* ask itself why it has not yet taken a view on issues like group areas — Rossouw's call for an anti-sanctions petition came in the same week that the future of many coloured members of the NGK was being "discussed" in parliament. ■

SACC 'back in action'

JOHANNESBURG. — All the divisions of the South African Council of Churches will be fully operating by tomorrow, the SACC's president, the Rev Frank Chikane, said yesterday.

"It is our intention not only to meet all our targets and goals on time but to do so in record time," he told staff members of the SACC and of organizations whose offices were wrecked in Wednesday's explosion.

He said the SACC had received numerous offers from organizations ranging from unions to ordinary businesses of temporary office and parking space.

An SACC-appointed structural engineer and his assistants gained access into Khotso House yesterday to ascertain the damage caused by the powerful blast, which caused millions of rands of damage.

Mr Chikane said yesterday that the building, which has been declared unsafe, may have to be demolished if it was found the pillars were destroyed in the blast.

He told a packed congregation during a lunch-hour service at the Central Methodist Church: "The wreck of Khotso House is going to put fire in us, enabling us to be capable of much more than ever before."

He said the intention of those responsible for the blast was to make the SACC join in "the lie that there's nothing wrong with apartheid and the lie that racism is a God-given thing".

The church leader said it was "a sad day" for the perpetrators of the blast, as they would have to face the consequences of what they had done to the House of Christ in South Africa.

Police are investigating a claim that an organization called the "White Wolves" was responsible for yesterday's devastating blast, police said in Pretoria.

A security guard at a Johannesburg newspaper received a call at 7am on Wednesday from someone saying he was from the "Whites Wolves" claiming responsibility for the blast.

However, it is understood that police suspect the call was a hoax.

The blast appeared to have occurred in the basement garage — which several people who used it regarded as the Achilles heel of the building's security system.

Access to the garage is easy, as several people attend after-hours meetings by the organizations using Khotso House.

The garage was linked by lifts to all floors of the building and it would be quite possible to enter the garage, leave a vehicle there and depart by the main entrance. — Sapa

'We'll clip their wings'

THREAT TO THE CLERGY

W/E ARGUS 3/9/88 28

by VIVIEN HORLER, Weekend Argus Reporter

THE Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, has issued an indirect threat against the clergy, threatening to clip the wings of those who hide behind the masks of "liberation theology" and "people's democracy" — even if it evoked deafening criticism.

His threat has angered politicians and churchmen.

Speaking at a gathering in Johannesburg last night Mr Vlok said the police would carefully watch covert activists and terrorists, and also the wolves in sheeps' clothing like "people who piously hide behind the masks of so-called liberation theology and people's democracy, and numerous others".

It was time to pull down these masks so that people could see who their real friends and enemies were.

"We must clip their wings — just as we clipped the wings of the 19 revolutionary and activist organisations," he said, referring to the effective banning earlier this year of groups including the United Democratic Front, Cosatu, Azapo and the End Conscription Campaign.

He realised that any new action would evoke deafening criticism, but this was all part of the propaganda plan against South Africa. The police wholeheartedly supported any sincere efforts to bring peace.

His remarks were sharply critised by Progressive Federal Party MP Tian van der Merwe, who said Mr Vlok and the government "now constitute the greatest threat to the survivial of this country".

Mr Vlok

Long forgotten

"Mr Vlok's threats sound like the ravings of any of the tyrants in the history of politics. And like every tyrant he claims to act in the interests of national security.

"The truth is that he and his government have long forgotten the difference between real national security on the one hand and the political well-being of the National Party on the other.

"I want to tell Mr Vlok that he and his government now constitute the greatest threat to the survival of this country.

"They have brought us to the brink of bankruptcy, they have made a circus of parliamentary democracy, and they imprison and ban their political adversaries on the scale that brings them close to the league of the Stalins, the Hitlers and the Idi Amins of this world.

The Vicar-General of the Roman Catholic Church, Father Reginald Cawcutt, said that "liberation theology" meant different things to the church and to the government.

"If Mr Vlok wants to investigate what we see as liberation theology he would find he would have no problem with it, and neither would we."

Brigadier Leon Mellet, spokesman for the Ministery of Law and Order, said today that Mr Vlok's warning last night was not aimed at churches or church organisations as such, but at individuals "who use and abuse the cloth" for revolutionary activities.

"The State has never acted against churches and is not interested in doing so. But there are certainly individuals who are being watched," he said.

Cape Times 5/9/88 28

Row brews over Khotso bomb blast

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A row has blown up between the South African Council of Churches (SACC) and the police over police statements on the possible cause of last week's bomb explosion at Khotso House.

In a statement at the weekend, the general-secretary of the SACC, the Rev Frank Chikane, attacked statements by senior policemen which he said implied the destruction of Khotso House could have been caused by premature explosives stored there for intended use elsewere.

Mr Chikane said one statement went so far as to suggest a possible link between last week's explosion and the recent Ellis Park bomb, "thereby implying that the explosives at Khotso House were intended for a similar purpose".

"We fail to understand how the police can make these suggestions at this stage when the forensic investigation has not yet commenced as the building is still unsafe and inaccessible," Mr Chikane said in a statement.

He said that the SACC was concerned that police spokesmen have stated that they regard the possible involvement of right-wing organizations such as the so-called "Wit Wolwe" improbable, and are dismissing the claim as the work of cranks.

"We are concerned that such an attitude could impede a full and proper investigation. At the same time we are outraged at the innuendo that the SACC or any other occupants of Khotso House should be under any suspicion," he said.

A police spokesman in Pretoria, Lieutenant-Colonel Johan Labuschagne, declined to comment, saying he needed to study the police statements first. He said however that the Mr Chikane had "a right to criticize the SAP as South Africa is a democratic country".

Mr Chikane called on the government and the police to publicly state their commitment to solving this and other recent attacks on anti-apartheid organizations and people.

Anglicans abandon debate on sanctions

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG. — A controversial motion calling on the Diocesan Synod of the Anglican Church to move that the call for sanctions and disinvestment against South Africa was not the correct way to bring about peaceful change in the government's "unjust systems" was abandoned after a short debate during the synod's two-day sitting at the weekend.

The issue was earlier declared a "controversial motion" which required a two-thirds majority to be carried. However, after only three speakers addressed the thorny issue, a vote was taken and the motion was abandoned following a suggestion that the subject was too sensitive to allow some members to speak freely for fear of reprisals in the black townships.

The motion was proposed by Mr Alan Dorkin of the Bluff.

Earlier the Synod carried an amended motion to express its appreciation for the stand taken by Archbishop Desmond Tutu regarding the issues of apartheid and the need for justice in South Africa.

The original motion, proposed by Rev Canon A C A Parry of Kloof, carried the additional proviso that the Synod did not necessarily agree in every detail with what the Archbishop had done in expression of his conviction on these matters.

● The synod unanimously adopted a motion calling on the government to make provision for alternative community service in churches and community organizations, as well as government departments, for conscripts who found themselves unable to go to the army for ethical or political reasons.

● The synod called on the government to abolish capital punishment and commute the sentences of those presently on death row.

Government 'guilty of intimidation'

Tutu urges all Anglicans to take poll stand

(28) STAR 19/8/88

CAPE TOWN — Archbishop Desmond Tutu said yesterday that proscribing certain organisations and political leaders, denying them the right to decide whether to participate in the October elections or not, was not the way to solve the country's problems.

He urged all Anglicans in the diocese to take a stand on the elections.

In his sermon at the formal installation of Canon Colin Jones as the first coloured rector of St George's Cathedral and as Dean of Cape Town, Archbishop Tutu said the diocese should consider the matter "prayerfully" and he urged white Anglicans to join their black Anglican brothers in this matter.

Family

He said the peoples of South Africa should be brothers and sisters — a true family of God. There should not be separateness, hatred, strife and violence. Through Jesus Christ people were made to be a family.

He said one cannot choose your biological brother or sisters or your parents; these were a God-given family into which you were born.

You can "play coloured" or "play white" and try and ignore your brothers and sisters, but if you claim to be a Christian, to be a child of God through Jesus Christ, colour does not matter.

God then becomes "Our Father" and in the Church all drink from one cup, whether white or black.

He said South Africans must show love and friendship and respect and have dignity for one another

"You cannot get security through the barrel of a gun, nor through the draconian and oppressive state of emergency, nor through bomb blasts.

"If we want true security we need to be one family."

He warned against the Government's "race madness" — its actions against children of God just because because they belonged to the "wrong race" and their skin had the "wrong colour".

He said it was possible to say brother or sister to peoples of another race; for all people to participate in determining their future, and to voice an opinion on whether or not to vote.

He said the Government was guilty of intimidation by wanting to force people to vote.

"You don't do it by proscribing certain organisations and political leaders, denying them the right to decide whether to participate in the October elections or not," Archbishop Tutu said.

"It is unjust, it is ludicrous to say that it is only candidates who stand in that election precisely because they want to be voted for, to say that they alone can call for a boycott of the elections. These elections in an unjust dispensation cannot therefore be fair.

"I pray that no intimidation either by those who wish to participate or by those who do not want to participate will mar these elections."

Canon Jones, whose family was once forcibly removed from the Black River area, said in an interview that he would like to see his installation as Dean of Cape Town as a sign of hope for those who have been dispossessed. — Sapa.

'Free to lie about elections'

By Jo-Anne Collinge

The Government wished to be free to tell the lie that the forthcoming municipal elections were "the most democratic ever", the South African Council of Churches general secretary, the Rev Frank Chikane, said yesterday.

He was responding to a threat by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, that he would "clip the wings" of certain church and community organisations.

"We question the basis of the elections on October 26," Mr Chikane said at the launch of Professor Fatima Meer's biography of Nelson Mandela.

"We are saying these elections are not fair. These elections are not democratic. These elections are not open.

"Our wings must be cut so that we cannot fly and tell the truth, that is what Mr Vlok said," Mr Chikane stated.

He claimed that acts of violence such as the bombing of Khotso House would not deter people.

He said he was "seriously surprised" that Mr Vlok had launched a verbal attack on the churches so soon after the wrecking of Khotso House.

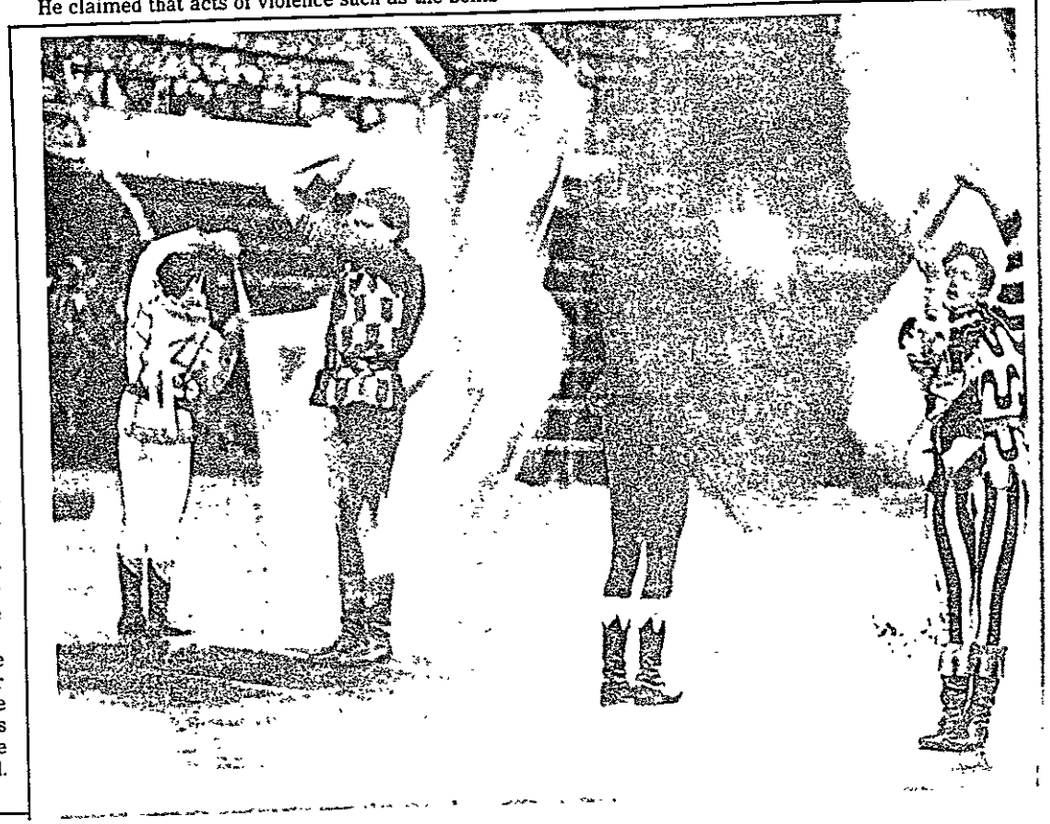
The timing of Mr Vlok's words meant "we will remain suspicious about who has done it until they bring the culprits to book".

Mr Chikane said the determination of the churches to face up to their social responsibilities in the wake of the virtual banning in February of the United Democratic Front and other organisations had set the scene for conflict with the Government.

"We stand for peaceful change. And their (the authorities) action will determine how peaceful that change is," said Mr Chikane.

He said it was up to South Africans to sort things out, but the international community should refrain from supporting the South African Government economically and militarily.

● See Page 3.



TUTU DEFIES GOVERNMENT BAN

(28)

CAPE TOWN — Archbishop Desmond Tutu has defied government's emergency regulations by committing a deliberate act of civil disobedience.

In his sermon yesterday at the formal installation of Canon Colin Jones as the first coloured rector of St George's Cathedral and Dean of Cape Town, Tutu called on all Anglicans in the diocese of Cape Town not to vote in the October municipal elections.

He said he was aware of the penalties involved by making a call not to vote. He said government was guilty of intimidation by wanting to force people to vote in the municipal elections.

Tutu said: "This choice must be done prayerfully, but I call on the Anglicans in this diocese, I call on the white Anglicans to join the black Anglicans, not to vote. I am aware of the penalties involved by making this call and I am not playing God."

Later in the sermon, he said: "You cannot get security through the barrel of a gun, nor through the draconian and oppressive state of emergency, nor through bomb blasts." — Sapa.

B/Day 19/8/88

NEW DEAN . . . Archbishop Desmond Tutu swears in the Very Reverend Colin Jones as the new Dean of Cape Town during an installation ceremony at St George's Cathedral yesterday.

Picture: RICHARD BELL

Staff Reporter

THE Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev Desmond Tutu, yesterday urged Anglicans of all races to "consider prayerfully" the issue of participation in the October municipal elections.

He made the call at St George's Cathedral yesterday at a ceremony to install Canon Colin Jones as Dean of Cape Town.

The Cape Times is prevented for legal reasons from reporting fully on what the archbishop said.

Archbishop Tutu said he was aware of the penalties attaching to aspects of his sermon. "I am not defying the government. I am obeying God."

He said he prayed that no intimidation either by those who wished to take part, or by those who did not want to participate would mar these elections.

In his address Archibishop Tutu said that there was an alternative to obsession with race. It was the way of love, of mutual acceptance, of justice — an "alternative to this repressive and unhappy, polarized dispensation; one where the people can participate democratically in the decision-making processes.

"You don't do it by proscribing certain organizations and political leaders, denying them the right to decide

To page 2

Tutu's call on voting in Oct elections

Cape Times 5/9/88

Olmos. — UPI

From page 1

whether to participate in the October elections or not."

"In a normal society people can advocate participation or non-participation."

Archbishop Tutu said the government was guilty of intimidation in "wanting to force participation, placing heavy penalties for calling for a boycott."

Referring to the Khotso House bomb blast, he asked why it was that those responsible such atrocities were "not usually apprehended?"

Referring to the trilogy of controversial Group Areas bills, Archbishop Tutu said if the new Group Areas legislation went into operation the new dean was liable for eviction.

ANTHONY JOHNSON reports that the goverment yesterday was extremely guarded in its respone to Archbishop Tutu's statements.

Yesterday the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok's, spokesman, Brigadier Leon Mellet, said: "We have taken note of what Archbishop Tutu reportedly said and will pass this on to the minister.

He said the full text of Archbishop Desmond Tutu's sermon would be requested.

Archbishop Tutu's statements come hot on the heels of a thinly veiled threat by Mr Vlok to act against certain unnamed churchmen.

Speaking in Johannesburg on Friday, Mr Vlok threatened to clip the wings of those who hid behind the masks of "liberation theology" and "people's democracy".

However, the government is certain to weigh carefully the international repercussions likely to flow from any action it might take against a figure of Archbishop Tutu internatinal prominence.

Indeed, the government's eventual course of action in a matter carrying such wide implications would almost certainly have to be cleared by the highest decision-making authority in the land – the State Security Council (SSC).

The SSC meets tomorrow but it could be some time before the state finally settles on a course of action.

Too late for classification

BIRTHS

GILLOW — To Michael and

ber. Our deepest sympathy to his beloved wife and companion Fanny. Mirian and Abe Bloomberg.

Police want copy of sermon

Tutu defies Govt on elections

(28)

Star 5/9/88

Staff Reporters

The Government is faced with a major political test of strength following the sermon yesterday of Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Reverend Desmond Tutu, calling for a boycott of the October municipal elections — in deliberate defiance of the emergency regulations.

The Archbishop was shown on BBC television making his call from the pulpit of St George's Cathedral, Cape Town, yesterday. He ended his sermon with the words:

"I am not defying the Government. I am obeying God."

Archbishop Tutu has taken to the pulpit the message agreed on by 27 church leaders in Johannesburg in July this year.

Prosecution of Archbishop Tutu could immediately precipitate a Church-State crisis, while failure to act against the archbishop could lead to open defiance of the regulations by other clerics and from radical organisations who oppose the elections.

Law and Order ministry press secretary Brigadier Leon Mellet said today police would request the full text of Archbishop Tutu's sermon.

The office of Archbishop Tutu has not yet officially been asked for a copy of yesterday's sermon, according to Mr John Allen, Archbishop Tutu's media secretary.

Mr Allen said he would have to ask the archbishop whether a copy of the sermon would be supplied but he said that many people inside the cathedral had taped the proceedings. Archbishop Tutu was not immediately available.

Brigadier Mellet said today the text of the sermon would be submitted to Mr Vlok by police.

He declined to say what action could be taken against Archbishop Tutu.

Speaking at a special service to install Canon Colin Jones as dean of St George's Cathedral, Archbishop Tutu made his call to both blacks and whites of the diocese.

Archbishop Tutu described the elections as "ludicrous" and "unjust" and said the Government was attempting to "force participation".

"I urge black people in this diocese not to vote in the October elections and I hope that white Anglicans would join their black fellow Anglicans in that action."

Archbishop Tutu said calling for an election boycott was a legitimate "non-violent way of expressing our opposition to the evil and injustice of apartheid."

The Star's London Bureau reports that the BBC, in televising Archbishop Tutu's call, told viewers he had defied the Government's emergency regulations and risked a heavy jail sentence.

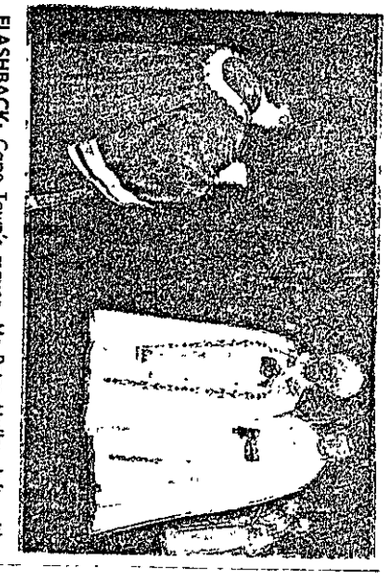
As the procession was shown entering the cathedral, James Robbins, the BBC's southern Africa correspondent, said Archbishop Tutu was preparing to deliver a sermon punishable by up to 10 years in prison.

"By urging people not to vote in next month's election for racially-segregated local councils, the Archbishop challenged President Botha on an issue where such challenges are simply illegal."

The Archbishop was then shown making his call from the pulpit and ending with the words: "I am not defying the Government. I am obeying God."

● See Page 5.

Mayor and Tutu in election row



FLASHBACK: Cape Town's mayor, Mr Peter Muller, left, with Archbishop Desmond Tutu and the new Dean of St George's Cathedral, the Very Rev Colin Jones, on Sunday.

Snubbing of civic ceremony 'saddens' Muller

By ANTHONY DOMAN and DALE LAUTENBACH
Staff Reporters

TWO of Cape Town's leading citizens, Mayor Peter Muller and Archbishop Desmond Tutu, have fallen out over each other's public responses on the issue of the October municipal elections.

Last night the Archbishop of Cape Town stayed away from a civic ceremony after the Mayor had criticised Sunday's sermon by the Archbishop in which he dealt with the question of participation in the municipal elections.

Today each said he was unhappy about the action of the other.

Mr Muller was reported as being "shocked" by Archbishop Tutu's remarks at the installation of the new Dean of St George's Cathedral, the Very Rev Colin Jones, on Sunday.

Last night Archbishop Tutu responded by not turning up at the ceremony in the City Hall honouring Dr Richard van der Ross with the Freedom of the City.

Mr Muller said he was saddened by Archbishop Tutu's absence.

"Unhappy and suprised"

"I am very sorry that he did not see his way clear to attending the ceremony," Mr Muller said.

The Archbishop's media secretary Mr John Allen said Archbishop Tutu was "unhappy and suprised" that Mr Muller chose to "broadcast" his response to his sermon through a "Nationalist newspaper" without speaking to him first.

"Mr Muller is an Anglican and the Archbishop's relationship with him has been a good one."

ELECTION OCTOBER '88

Mr Muller said that at Sunday's church service he was approached by a reporter who asked him for his reaction to the Archbishop's sermon.

"He remarked that it appeared as if lightning had struck me when the Archbishop said what he did.

"As we were on our way out after the service he asked me why I had not walked out earlier.

"I said that was not in my nature and, anyway, I was not there in my personal capacity. I was representing the city."

Mr Muller said he told the reporter the thought of walking out "flashed through" his mind.

"But I said I would respond in a statement afterwards.

"And that response was that our standpoint has always been that we are not destructive but constructive."

Not his personal opinion

Mr Allen said Mr Muller's response to Archbishop Tutu's sermon had to be seen against the background of the state of emergency and the fact that the government had outlawed all calls to boycott the elections.

Mr Allen said the Archbishop had not expressed his personal opinion only but "the widely held view of more than 20 church leaders" first made known in June.

"The church leaders' stand has been known for some time and should have come as no suprise to the Mayor," said Mr Allen.

He added that the Archbishop had worded his sermon carefully by saying that people should "consider prayerfully" their response to the elections.

Bishopscourt felt that the Mayor's response had not taken heed of this, Mr Allen said.

● City honours Van der Ross, page 5.

Natal Anglican synod

ELECTION ISSUE PROVES TOO HOT

THE emergency regulations hung like a sword of Damocles over the Natal synod of the Anglican Church in Maritzburg at the weekend when the delegates abandoned a debate on the October 26 elections.

SOWETAN Correspondent

Also abandoned, on Saturday, was a motion concerning sanctions and disinvestment. On this issue, the delegates also took into consideration the danger to which churchmen would be exposed in the deeply divided black community whatever stand was taken.

The motion on the elections was introduced by Canon Rubin Phillip of St Aidan's Parish, Durban, and it spoke of "a need to consider very carefully the consequences of voting in the October elections."

The preamble referred to "the continued repressive state of emergency, the continued detention of political prisoners, the continued detention without trial, continued media and information censorship, and the effective banning of popular, democratic, non-violent organisations and leaders, including church leaders".

Proposed

The motion proposed that Bishop Michael Nuttall, Bishop of Natal, be asked to issue a pastoral letter on the October elections, setting out the issues involved, and taking into account the response to them by church leaders at a meeting in June.

Sowetan 6/9/88 (28)

Cape Times 6/9/88 (28)

'Not a tittle of proof' of police claims — Tutu

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu has hit out at police suggestions that explosives stored in the basement of Khotso House set off last week's devastating blast.

"The police have implied that those who work in Khotso House are perpetrators of violence," he said in a statement issued in Cape Town.

"I am very angry at the behaviour of the police. It is an absolutely disgraceful suggestion to make, and it is made worse by the fact that the police have made it without a tittle of evidence and before doing any proper investigation.

"We are still waiting to hear the government's clear condemnation of the bombing. Its silence suggests we must view the placing of the bomb against the background of the SADF's suggestion in court last week that since the country is in a state of war, it can act without regard for the courts."

The blast badly damaged the building, which housed offices of the Black Sash and the South African Council of Churches. — Sapa

Cape Times 280

September 6, 1988

Minister to pay R5 000

JOHANNESBURG. — The Minister of Justice has agreed to pay R5 000 to the Anglican Bishop Suffragen for Johannesburg West, Bishop Mfaniseni Sigisbert Ndwandwe, in settlement of a claim arising from the cleric's detention in mid-1986, according to a Johannesburg attorney.

The settlement was agreed to by the parties last week.

Bishop Ndwandwe of Klerksdorp alleged that when he was detained in terms of the emergency regulations on June 16, 1986, he was made to remove his clothes while in the reception area of Klerksdorp prison in the presence of about 100 other detainees. He filed an initial claim of R20 000. — Sapa

Tutu snubs Mayor over call on elections

Cape Times 6/9/88 28

Staff Reporters

THE Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev Desmond Tutu, last night snubbed the Mayor, Mr Peter Muller, by not attending the civic ceremony in which Dr Richard van der Ross was awarded the freedom of the city.

The snub followed a report in yesterday's Burger which said Mr Muller was "extremely upset" by the call made by Archbishop Tutu on Anglicans not to participate in the October municipal elections.

Archbishop Tutu made the call at the installation on Sunday of the new Dean of Cape Town, the Very Rev Colin Jones.

Mr Muller reportedly said that he "almost walked out of the (St George's) Cathedral" when Archbishop Tutu made the call.

Archbishop Tutu's secretary, Mr John Allen, last night confirmed that the archbishop did not attend the freedom of the city ceremony, in which Dr Van der Ross, former rector of the University of the Western Cape, became the fifth freeman of the city.

Mr Allen said the archbishop had intended to go to the function "in spite of the fact that some people in the community would have questioned his attendance".

"But in view of the Mayor's response to his call, the Archbishop decided not to attend," Mr Allen said.

He said Archbishop Tutu had telephoned Dr Van der Ross to say that he was pleased at the honour being bestowed on him and explained why he felt that he could not attend the ceremony.

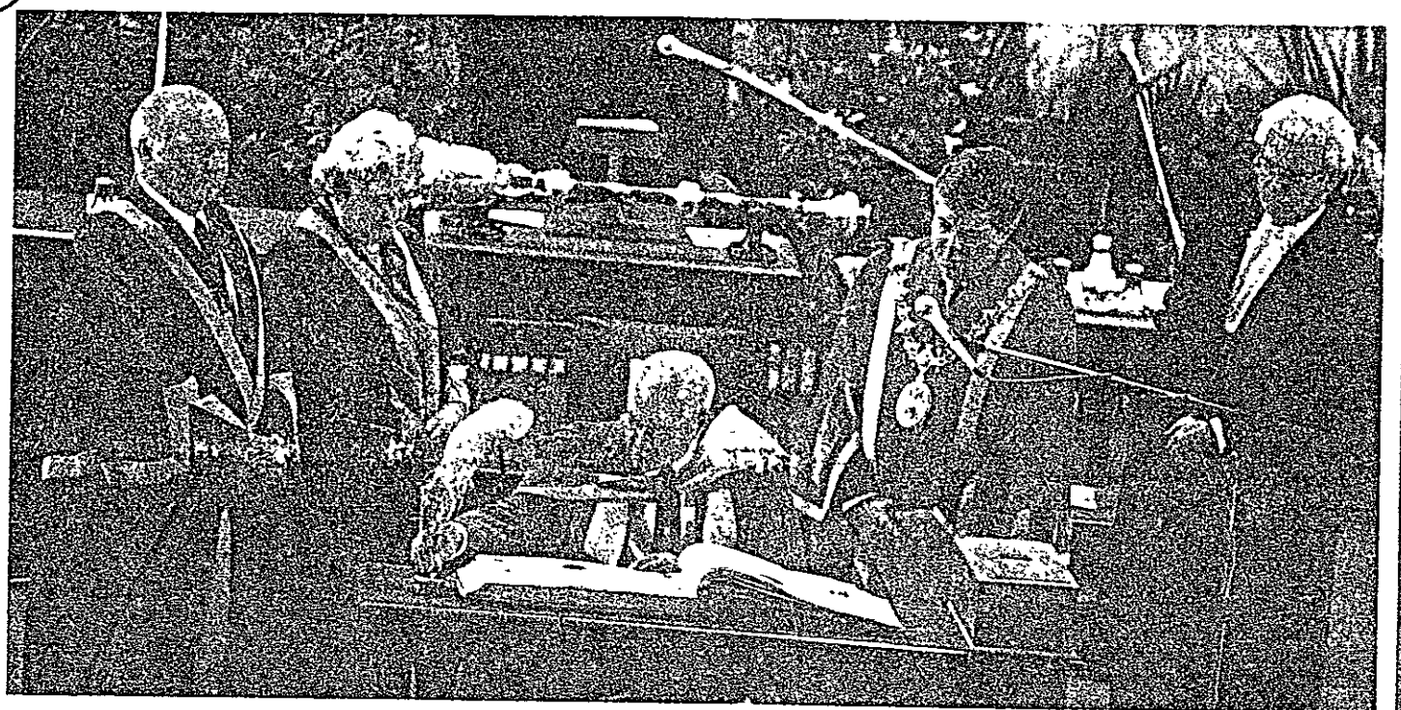
"Dr Van der Ross said he understood the bishop's position," Mr Allen said.

● At last night's colourful ceremony, Dr Van der Ross joined Professor Chris Barnard and Cardinal Owen McCann in accepting the freedom of the city.

He said that Cape Town was the centre of "liberal, idealistic policies committed to the return and retention of personal and public liberty" and that it was in Cape Town that people should reach out to one another "so that these values may be retained".

He regarded it as imperative that all South Africans should use every opportunity to seek peaceful solutions to problems of co-existence in "the land we share and love".

● **Govt waits for Tutu report — Page 2**



FREEDOM OF CITY ... Dr Richard van der Ross signs the roll of honorary freemen of Cape Town. From the left are councillors Mr Dick Friedlander and Mrs Eulalie Stott, the Mayor, Mr Peter Muller, and Town Clerk Dr Stan Evans.

Picture OBED ZILWA

Tutu may have defied emergency

(28) Argus 6/9/88.

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu may have defied the emergency regulations on Sunday by calls he made on Anglicans about taking part in the October municipal elections. The Archbishop said he was "aware of the penalties pertaining" for making such a call.

"I am not defying the government, I am obeying God," he told Anglicans and guests in his sermon on Sunday at the installation of the new Dean of St George's Cathedral, The Very Rev Colin Jones.

Archbishop Tutu said there was another way for this "beautiful but sad land", a better way which involved mutual acceptance, justice, love and all people participating democratically in the decision-making process.

"You don't do it by prescribing to certain ... political figures that they don't have the right to decide whether to participate in the October elections or not.

"It is ludicrous to say only candidates standing in the election — precisely because they want people to vote for them — are the only ones who can call for a boycott.

"In a normal society one can advocate participation or non-participation . . . the Government is guilty of intimidation in wanting to force participation, making heavy penalties for calling for a boycott...

"I call on all Anglicans in this diocese to consider prayerfully what God demands of them in this matter."

Archbishop Tutu said if the proposed amendment to the Group Areas Act was passed, Dean Jones and his family were liable to be evicted from

● To page 2

Tutu may have defied rules

(28) Argus 6/9/88

● From Page 1

the deanery.

There was tension in Cape Town yesterday between the Mayor of Cape Town, Mr Peter Muller and Bishop Tutu, following the much publicised sermon.

Mr Muller said yesterday he found it strange that Bishop Tutu had acknowledged him as the mayor of the city and included him in the service and then called for a boycott of the election of which the mayor was the head.

Meanwhile, Press secretary to the Minister, Brigadier Leon Mellet said yesterday that police would request the full text of the sermon. Brigadier Mellet said the text of the sermon would be submitted to Mr Vlok. He declined to say what action would be taken against the Bishop.

There was doubt in Cape Town yesterday as to whether Archbishop Tutu would attend a Freedom of the City ceremony for Dr Richard van der Ross in the city last night.

'No leads in Khotso bombing'

Cape Times 7/9/88

(28)

By BARRY STREEK

POLICE were investigating all possibilities to track down those responsible for the Khotso House bomb blast, but they had no definite leads at this stage, a police spokesman said yesterday.

He said the only official statement on the incident so far had been made by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, and police had not made any suggestions or statements about what had happened.

The spokesman, Brigadier Leon Mellet, Mr Vlok's liaison officer, said in response to questions that police were not only investigating the possibility that the bombs had been placed in the basement of Khotso House for use elsewhere at a later stage.

"We are investigating all avenues and all leads. We would like any information anyone can give us."

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IES / MEDIA PUBLICATION

Security police take tape of Tutu sermon

(28) B/day 7/9/88

SECURITY policemen went to Archbishop Desmond Tutu's Cape Town residence yesterday and took away a recording of a sermon in which he defied a ban on calls for an election boycott.

Tutu, following his defiant sermon on Sunday, had offered to provide police with a transcript of his remarks.

However, two plainclothes officers who went to Bishopscourt, produced a warrant and demanded a recording which Tutu's Press aide, John Allen, had made of the sermon.

Allen, after consulting the church's legal advisers, gave police a statement confirming the contents of the tape but said he would not be prepared to give evidence if the state tried to call him as a witness against Tutu. Violation of the emergency regulations is punishable by up to 10 years in prison.

☐ Brig Leon Mellett, spokesman for Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, confirmed two police officers visited the Archbishop's residence in Bishopscourt yesterday. He added a tape of the sermon was made available. — Sapa-AP.

Police visit Tutu home

A POLICE colonel and a captain arrived at Bishops court shortly before 3pm after making an appointment this morning.

They saw Archbishop Tutu's media secretary, John Allen, who was joined by the Archbishop's personal assistant, Matt Esau. They did not ask to see Archbishop Tutu, but the Dean of Cape Town, The Very Rev Colin Jones, left a meeting of senior clergy being presided over by the Archbishop to see the officers.

The police asked Mr Allen for a tape recording of the Archbishop's sermon. He said the Archbishop was quite prepared for them to have the tape cassette.

It emerged during the visit of the police that they had a search warrant for the tape. In the warrant, a Wynberg magistrate said there were reasonable grounds to believe that Mr Allen was in possession of a sound and/or video recording of a speech by Archbishop Tutu . . ."

The warrant authorised the police to enter and search the premises and seize the recording.

The tape was handed to the police. They also asked Mr Allen for a statement saying that he had made the recording. He gave them the statement after being told by a church lawyer that it could not be used on its own in evidence against the Archbishop.

Mr Allen said in the statement that he was making it on the basis that it could not be used on its own in any prosecution. He informed the police he would not be prepared to give evidence should there be any prosecution of the Archbishop.

28

7/9/88 Sowetan

Police seize Tutu's sermon

Cape Times 7/9/88 (28)

TWO high-ranking policemen yesterday visited Archbishop Desmond Tutu's Bishopscourt residence with a search warrant and took away a recording of a sermon in which the archbishop defied a ban on calls for an election boycott.

Archbishop Tutu said in the wake of his sermon on Sunday that he was willing to make available to police a transcript of his remarks.

The plainclothes officers, a colonel and a captain, who arrived at Bishopscourt about 3pm produced a warrant and asked for the recording which Archbishop Tutu's media secretary, Mr John Allen, had made of the sermon.

In the warrant, a Wynberg magistrate said there were reasonable grounds to believe that Mr Allen was in possession of "a sound and/or video recording of a speech by Archbishop Tutu ..."

The warrant authorized the police to enter and search the premises and seize the recording.

According to a statement released by the Anglican Church, Mr Allen said the archbishop was quite prepared to let them have the tape cassette and handed it over.

Mr Allen gave police a statement confirming the contents of the tape after consulting with the church's legal advisers, but said he would not be prepared to give evidence if the state tried to call him as a witness against the archbishop.

In his St George's Cathedral sermon, Archbishop Tutu urged Anglicans to boycott the municipal elections scheduled for October 26.

Meanwhile, Archbishop Tutu's call for the election boycott "could lead to an even greater growth of the CP", PFP leader in the Johannesburg city council Mr Tony Leon said yesterday.

— Staff Reporters, Own Correspondent and Sapa-AP

SEARCH WARRANT ... Mr John Allen (left), spokesman for Archbishop Desmond Tutu, with the search warrant served on the archbishop yesterday. With him is the newly installed Dean of Cape Town, the Very Rev Colin Jones.

Picture: ERIC MILLER

SOWETAN, Wednesday, September 7, 1988

TUTU BOYCOTTS MAYORAL GIG

(28)

Municipal elections an issue

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu's boycott of the civic ceremony honouring Dr Richard van der Ross with the freedom of the city of Cape Town has "saddened" the mayor, Mr Peter Muller for whom the snub was intended.

The fallout followed Archbishop Tutu's sermon about the October municipal elections at the installation of the new dean of St George's Cathedral, the Very Rev Colin Jones, on Sunday.

Mr Müller was reported as being "shocked" by Archbishop Tutu's remarks.

Mr Muller said yesterday he was saddened by Archbishop Tutu's absence from Monday night's ceremony in the City Hall.

"I am very sorry that he did not see his way clear to attending the ceremony," Mr Muller said.

Archbishop Tutu's Press secretary, Mr John Allen, said the decision not to attend was made in the light of Mr Muller's response to the church's stand on the municipal elections.

Prior to that, the Archbishop had earlier confirmed he would be attending, Mr Muller replied: "Obviously I don't personally deal with the arrangements for people accepting the invitation or not.

"I do know that he phoned our office to say he would not be there on Monday night."

Reaction

Mr Muller said that at Sunday's church service he was approached by a newspaper reporter who asked him for his reaction to the Archbishop's sermon.

"He remarked that it appeared as if lightning had struck me when the Archbishop said what he did.

"As we were on our way out after the service he asked me why I had not walked out earlier.

"I said that was not in my nature and, anyway, I was not there in my personal capacity. I was representing the city."

Mr Muller said he told the reporter the thought of walking out "flashed through" his mind.

(28) Star 2/9/88

The shepherd and the Vlok.

Another Tutu tape

CAPE TOWN — Police took possession yesterday of a second tape of Archbishop Desmond Tutu's contentious sermon at St George's Cathedral in Cape Town on Sunday.

Law and Order spokesman Lt Peet Botha confirmed two senior police officers had visited the Argus newspaper yesterday with a search warrant. A reporter's tape recording was handed over to them. — Sapa.

PSA puts public service staff shortages at 12%

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — The public service manpower shortage is put at about 12%, or 33 500 workers, by the Public Servants' Association.

It adds that in some groups the shortage is serious. The main shortages are in the Registrar of Companies office, magistrates' courts and State prosecutor's office.

The association says in its official organ the first to go were quality personnel and it was clear the red light had begun to flicker.

The PSA says a national manpower commission investigation showed that by the year 2000 there would be a shortage of 238 000 workers with tertiary qualifications.

(28) B/Day 8/9/88

Another Tutu tape

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(78) Argus 8/9/88

Published letter on Tutu inadequate, Council told

Cape Times 9/9/88

THE mere publication of a letter to the editor without any comment does not constitute adequate rectification of a report and could be regarded as the reader's view, Mr John Allen, media secretary to the Archbishop of Cape Town told the SA Media Council yesterday.

The Media Council met in Cape Town to investigate a complaint by the Church of the Province of South Africa against the Sunday Times claiming that the newspaper had breached the council's code of conduct.

The complaint arose out of a Sunday Times editorial about Archbishop Desmond Tutu which said in passing that the archbishop was elected by "a handful of bishops".

Mr Allen, who lodged the complaint on behalf of the church, gave evidence yesterday but the Sunday Times was not represented. Mr Tertius Myburgh, editor of the Sunday Times, did however reply to the complaint in writing and two letters were submitted.

The editorial was published on May 15, 1988 and Mr Allen wrote to the Sunday Times on May 20, 1988 asking for a correction and apology.

He said he received no reply to the letter and instead of placing a correction the Sunday Times published an edited version of his letter of complaint in the "Live Letters" column of the newspaper on May 22.

On May 24, 1988 the complainant wrote to the registrar of the council and contended that the Sunday Times had contravened section 3.2 of the council's code of conduct in that its comment had not been based on facts truly stated.

Mr Myburgh contended that publication of the complainant's original letter (as edited) constituted sufficient correction and he regarded a request for an apology as an excessive demand. — Sapa

Tutu: You can't reform a Frankenstein

Cape Times 9/9/88 28

By ANDRE KOOPMAN

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu defied the government yesterday for the second time this week, repeating a call he had made about the October municipal elections, and said blacks should not vote for a system which oppressed them.

Speaking to more than 1 300 students and staff at the University of the Western Cape (UWC), the archbishop said people should "prayerfully consider what God wants you to do".

"But we urge black people: Do not take part in a process that is meant to perpetuate your oppression."

Archbishop Tutu, who was speaking in his capacity as chancellor of UWC, told the audience his stand was "not bravado".

He said he would protest when "people are being turned into things so that the world can be misled".

"Our people do not have the right to say: May we participate? And we cannot say to our people: You cannot participate. Because it is an offence," he added.

He said he was committed to the "struggle for a just South Africa to the extent of saying: When God demands certain things of me, I will obey only God".

"I want to say to you what other church leaders have been saying. We say please consider prayerfully what God wants you to do on October 26."

He also challenged the State President's assertion during a television interview earlier in the week that a majority of South African blacks were favourably inclined towards the government's policies.

"He is so sure of the majority of blacks supporting him that he won't allow them to vote," Archbishop Tutu said.

"We are not going to allow, or participate in, third-rate operations.

"You cannot change this system piecemeal. You cannot reform apartheid, you cannot reform a Frankenstein, you can only destroy it," said the archbishop, to cheers from the audience.

During the induction service of the new Anglican Dean, the Very Rev Colin Jones, on Sunday, Archbishop Tutu also "prayerfully" urged black people "not to vote in the October elections — and I hope white Anglicans

To page 3

Archbishop Tutu at UWC yesterday

CALLING FOR DISCIPLINE. . Archbishop Desmond Tutu calls for discipline on campus during his speech yesterday at UWC. With him are vice-rector Professor Jaap Durand, left, and rector Prof Jakes Gerwel.

Picture: GLENN SHERRATT

From page 1

will join their black brothers and sisters not to vote".

On Tuesday, two high-ranking policemen visited the archbishop's residence at Bishopscourt and seized a video recording in which he defied a ban on calls for an election boycott.

Yesterday he referred to the police seizure of the videotape and joked about how the police would probably come to fetch a tape at UWC.

Our Political Staff reports that the police investigation into a statement over the weekend by the archbishop on the municipal elections has not yet been completed.

The liaison officer to the Minister of Law and Order, Brigadier Leon Mellet, said yesterday: "The police are still busy with the investigation."

He also said there was nothing further to add to previous police announcements on the matter.

Normally, dockets are referred to the Attorney-General for his decision on whether to institute a prosecution or not after the police investigation, and it is only then that a final decision is taken on whether to charge someone in court.

This is likely to be the procedure in this case, but it is possible that the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, could give an indication of the government's intentions in a speech in the near future.

Defiant Tutu repeats boycott call

(28)

B/Day

CAPE TOWN — A defiant Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu yesterday repeated his call for a boycott of the October municipal elections.

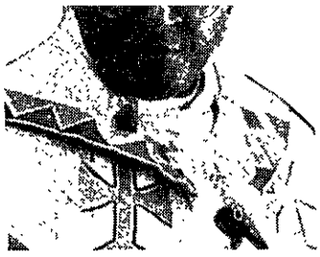
9/9/88

Police are already investigating a contravention of the emergency regulations after Tutu's earlier remarks in a sermon last Sunday.

He repeated his views yesterday at the University of the Western Cape.

Explaining his defiance, he said: "It is not because Tutu is trying to look smart.

"I have a commitment and a passion for SA. We have the potential of being one of the greatest countries. My passion makes me able, whatever the penalties, to do what I believe God is asking me to do." — Sapa-AP.



Archbishop Desmond Tutu

DEFIANT AS EVER

10/9/88

28

By KAREN STANDER
Weekend Argus Reporter

ARCHBISHOP DESMOND TUTU this week passed the second anniversary of his enthronement in an atmosphere symbolic of his first two years at the helm of the Anglican Church — in a head-on clash with the government — but this time the threat that the State might take action against him is more real than ever before.

The first public utterance of the outspoken churchman after his election as archbishop in 1986 was: "I'm tongue-tied — and some people hope it's permanent."

It may have been said in jocular fashion but the Nobel Peace Prize Laureate was deadly serious. His continued public opposition to apartheid has been greeted by vitriolic attacks by the government and antagonism by a section of his flock — but he has no intention of being silenced.

"I'm not defying the government, I'm obeying God," Archbishop Tutu said this week when he twice deliberately flouted the ban, under the emergency regulations, on calling for a boycott of next month's municipal elections.

Some protection

In spite of calls by the rightwing for police action against him, and his own challenge on several occasions to the state to take action, Archbishop Tutu's international stature has provided a certain protection.

This does not mean no action will be taken and this week the State is probably closer than ever to taking this step after two recordings of the archbishop's sermon in St George's Cathedral on Sunday were seized by security police to determine whether he had contravened the emergency regulations.

Some might say Archbishop Tutu was courting prosecution, especially after he repeated his call at a meeting at the University of the Western Cape on Thursday.

But according to Mr John Allen, his Press secretary, Archbishop Tutu sees the issue as involving his right to advise parishioners not of only his own opinion but the publicly stated opinion of more than 20 church leaders.

At the time of the elective assembly which chose the archbishop as the church's next leader, other candidates were completely overshadowed by the controversial former Bishop of Johannesburg, who had renewed his calls for sanctions only days before the assembly was to meet.

Instead of a contest, in the public mind the issue was simply will-they-or-won't-they-elect-Tutu.

The assembly, which had been expected to take three days, made their decision in a remarkably quick 11 hours, showing a high degree of unanimity.

The new archbishop was enthroned on September 7 1986.

Delivering his charge he made a passionate plea for peace and reconciliation and vowed to continue his resistance to apartheid.

Defies the State

Taking up residence in Bishopscourt in contravention of the Group Areas Act he refused to ask State permission but no action has ever been taken.

Editions of the archbishop's monthly magazine Good Hope in the past two years show another side to him. In contrast to Archbishop Philip Russell, whose editorials were most often straight politics, Archbishop Tutu's writings, while they might have a political message, are couched in a purely spiritual form.

In the two years since his enthronement Archbishop Tutu has been honoured and applauded on his visits abroad, while at home he has been the centre of one controversy after another.

● **January 1987:** South African newspaper reports of his visit to Australia — where he was seen wearing a T-shirt bearing the words: "Just call me Arch" — say he encountered hostility from most Australians. On his return he denies this, saying his visit was "fabulous and heartwarming".

● **April 1987:** The National Party is re-elected in a landslide victory. Archbishop Tutu calls the general election a "non-event for blacks".

● **June 1987:** He visits Mozambique where he makes a controversial statement on violence: "I will tell the world that we have reached the point where we must use violence to overthrow an unjust regime. I don't believe we are there yet."

Later he challenges the government to charge him in court, accusing them of using "red herrings" to divert attention from the question of whether it supports Renamo violence.

● **August 1987:** He visits Helsinki where he says he is part of a "rapidly dimishing minority" still committed to working for political change by peaceful means. He warns that he might eventually be forced to condone violence if the Western world does not come round to supporting the struggle against apartheid.

● **November 1987:** The church's provincial standing committee passes the Lusaka Document, which calls for peaceful change but expresses "understanding" that some have turned to violence.

● **January 1988:** In a desperate bid to avert new violence the archbishop leads a procession of 50 clergy through a tense KTC, praying with both factions for an end to the fighting.

● **February 1988:** Seventeen organisations are effectively banned. The archbishop and Dr Allan Boesak vow to continue fighting the government.

A few days later 29 church leaders, including Archbishop Tutu, Dr Boesak and Roman Catholic Archbishop Stephen Naidoo are arrested in central Cape Town when they try to march to Parliament with a petition against restrictions on organisations.

Archbishop Tutu is elected chancellor of the University of the Western Cape.

● **March 1988:** He attends a meeting of the All Africa Council of Churches in Nairobi and is elected president.

Fears of action

Archbishop Tutu and Dr Boesak are attacked by the NGK.

In same week President Botha challenges the archbishop to say whether he is "acting for the Kingdom of God or the kingdom as promised by the ANC and SACP".

There are fears that this is a prelude to State action against him. Anglican bishops hold an emergency meeting, coming out in full support, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Robert Runcie, sends an envoy to South Africa with a message of support.

The Rev Frank Chikane, SACC secretary-general, writes to President Botha in defence of the archbishop.

President Botha replies with a stinging attack: "You (and other clergymen) love and praise the ANC and the SACP with its Marxist and atheistic ideology, landmines, bombs and necklaces perpetrating the most horrendous atrocities imaginable and you embrace and participate in their call for violence, hatred, sanction, insurrection and revolution."

Mr Allen says the Anglican church is considering legal action — and a wide spectrum react with horror, warning of dire consequences.

● **April 1988:** Archbishop Tutu replies to President Botha, lashing out at government apartheid policies as "not only unjust and oppressive, but positively unbiblical, unchristian, immoral and evil".

President Botha and Archbishop Tutu visit SWA/Namibia simultaneously.

● **May 1988:** Archbishop Tutu visits Europe and the USA, where he accepts a number of honorary doctorates from leading universities.

He lashes out at foreign heads of state for not supporting sanctions and meets democratic candidate Michael Dukakis, who promises a fundamental change of policy towards South Africa if he is elected.

Later in the month he is one of a high-powered delegation of SA churchmen granted an audience with the Pope at the Vatican.

● **June 1988:** On the eve of leaving for the Soviet Union for the 1 000th anniversary of the Russian Orthodox church, Mrs Leah Tutu is arrested and allegedly handcuffed to a door by Johannesburg traffic officers.

In the USSR Archbishop Tutu thanks the Soviet people for backing the fight against apartheid. Many white Anglicans react with horror and he explains that he thanked them for providing refugee children with succour and scholarships.

● **July 1988:** The Lambeth Conference is held and several controversial motions are passed, including one on violence which closely resembles the Lusaka document.

Cape Times 10/9/88 (28)

Police film Tutu's private prayer service

JOHANNESBURG. — Security police yesterday entered a private prayer service attended by Archbishop Desmond Tutu and filmed the proceedings, but they took no action over his illegal call on the municipal elections next month.

A contingent of security police, who were outside the City Methodist Church after a press conference held by the archbishop, entered the building saying they wanted to listen to the service.

They were told the meeting was a "closed" one for workers of the SA Council of Churches. Although the doors to the hall were held closed they were pushed open and the the police entered with a video film crew.

The service continued with Archbishop Tutu addressing members of the South African Council of Churches. He ignored the police, who filmed the Nobel laureate, others in the crowd and the journalists who flowed into the basement church room after the police.

The police filed out some 20 minutes later, prompting a round of contemptuous applause, and milled about for an hour before leaving the pedestrian mall outside the downtown church without taking any action.

Asked about possible police action against him, Archbishop Tutu said: "I have no fears for myself. God's church will continue." He had defended his illegal call for a boycott of the elections at a news conference earlier in the morning.

The news conference came after his inspection of the SACC headquarters, which was heavily damaged in a bomb attack last week.

Noting that the name of the building, "Khotso", meant peace, he called the attack "quite diabolical".

"It is quite clear that the authorities are hellbent on destroying the SACC," he said.

The archbishop said he would give a prize to whoever apprehended those responsible for the blast. "And if those are brought to trial and convicted, I will give them another prize," he added.

A dozen police in full riot gear, including gas masks, approached a crowd of about 200 outside the SACC building during a sidewalk prayer led by Archbishop Tutu and SACC general secretary Mr Frank Chikane. Both Mr Chikane and Bishop Tutu urged the crowd to disperse and there were no incidents.

Archbishop Tutu told a news conference that the campaign for a boycott was "not a call by Desmond Tutu" but a call by 26 church leaders who had agreed in July to a campaign of non-violence against the white minority government.

"We should not want to continue the oppression of our people by collaborating with those who want to," he said. "When your people are voiceless you are meant to be the voice."

Archbishop Tutu launched his active call for a boycott last Sunday in Cape Town, then told more than 2 000 university students on Thursday that apartheid was a "Frankenstein" that must be destroyed, not reformed.

The segregated elections for whites and blacks on October 26 are the first for black municipalities since bloody rioting engulfed black townships in 1984. — UPI

Pope pledges visit to SA

Cape Times 10/9/88

28

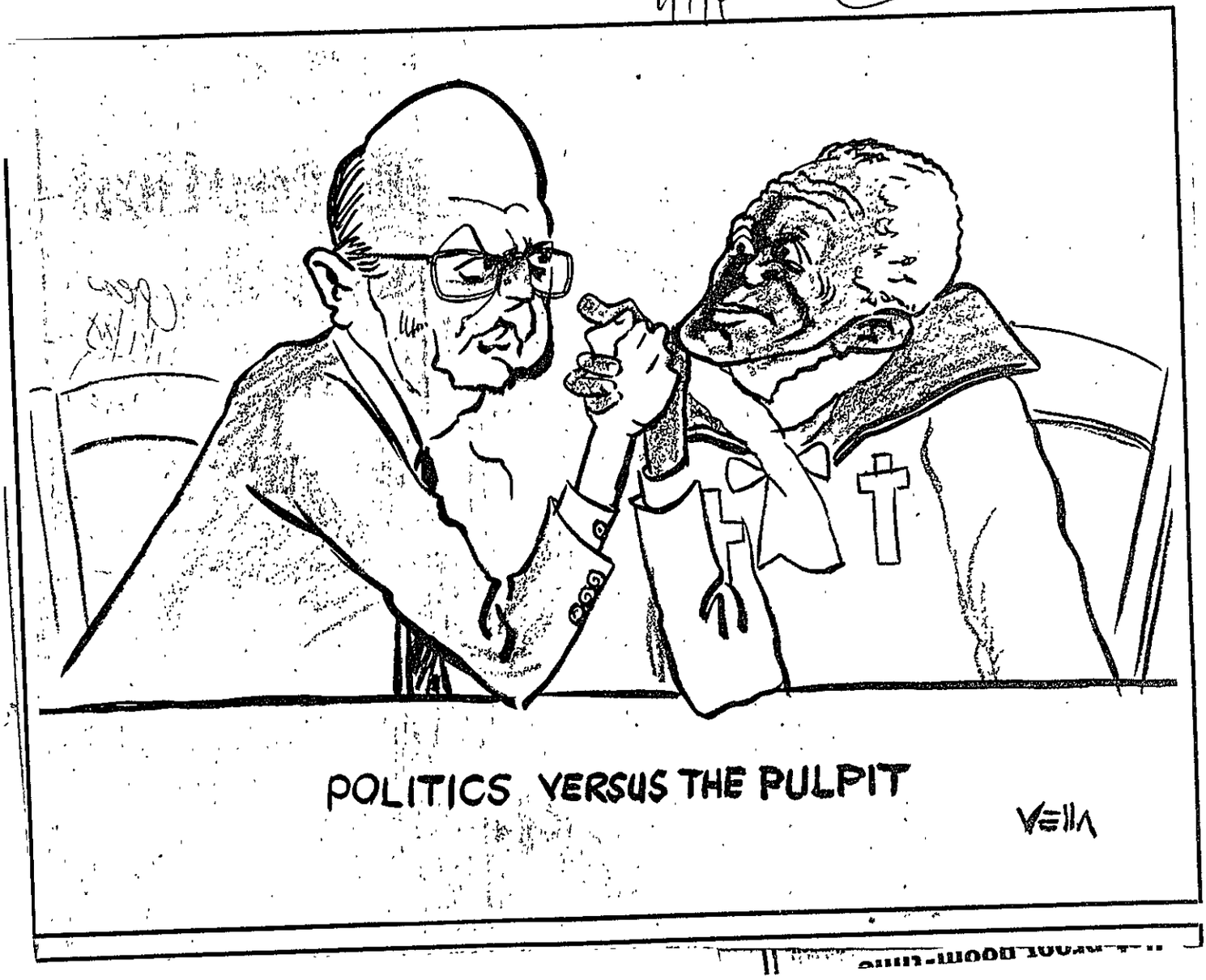
VATICAN CITY. — Pope John Paul II pledged on the eve of a trip to five countries of Southern Africa that he will make a separate visit to South Africa to encourage "just and peaceful solutions" to racial tensions, the Vatican said yesterday.

The pledge was contained in an unusual statement issued by the Vatican Press Office as the Roman Catholic pontiff prepared to leave today on a 10-day trip that will take him to the "front line" states of Zimbabwe, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and Mozambique.

The trip will be the 39th John Paul has made outside Italy and his fourth to Africa in his almost 10 years as pope.

The Vatican said the pontiff "would also have willingly agreed to include in his pastoral visit the Catholic communities of other nations in Southern Africa, but the intense programme already arranged some time ago has made it impossible". — UPI

1/7/88 (28) Chess



Tutu trouble refuses to die

Archbishop ready to face consequences

CPRD (28) 11/9/88

CP Correspondent

THE furore around Archbishop Desmond Tutu's controversal sermon at St George's Cathedral last weekend took a new turn this week when police confiscated a video of the sermon and a tape recording.

Two security branch members went to Bishop's Court – official home of the leader of the Anglican community – earlier this week after obtaining a warrant from a Wynberg Magistrate and confiscated the cassette.

The tape was a recording of Tutu's remarks from the puplit during the installation of the new Dean of Cape Town, the Very Rev Colin Jones.

On Wednesday, two security branch members arrived with a warrant at the offices of the Argus newspaper and seized a tape made by an Argus reporter on Sunday.

The warrant was issued by a Cape Town magistrate in terms of the Criminal Procedure Act.

Police said they were investigating possible contraventions of the emergency regulations.

During the sermon, Tutu made a call to Anglicans about taking part in the October elections.

He told the congregation he might be defying the emergency regulations, but said he was aware of the penalties.

The seizure followed a tiff between Tutu and the mayor of Cape Town, Peter Muller, in the Cape Town media this week.

On Monday night Tutu boycotted a civic ceremony after being told Muller was "shocked" by Tutu's sermon.

The mayor said he was saddened by Tutu's absence from Monday's ceremony in the City Hall.

"I am very sorry he did not see this way clear to attending the ceremony," Muller said.

Tutu's media secretary, John Allen said the decision not to attend was made because of Muller's response to Tutu' sermon.

Muller said that at Sunday's service he was approached by a reporter for a local Afrikaans morning newspaper, who asked him for his reaction to the archbishop's sermon.

"He remarked that it appeared as if lightning had struck me when the Archbishop said what he did.

"As we were on our way out after the service he asked me why I had not walked out earlier.

"I said that was not in my nature and, anyway, I was not there in my personal capacity. I was representing the city."

Muller said he told the reporter the thought of walking out "flashed through" his mind, but he thought of responding in a statement later.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu ... turbulent priest?

Pope, Tutu don't agree on sanctions

ARGUS 12/9/80

Pope John Paul II seen here with a young Zimbabwean girl dancing and singing shortly after his arrival in Harare on day at the start of a Southern African tour.

The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — Pope John Paul has disagreed with Archbishop Desmond Tutu on some sensitive political issues, according to a report here.

And the head of the Roman Catholic church's appeal from Harare for an end to violence as a means to fighting injustice has been attacked by Anglican leaders in Britain.

The Pope is quoted in the Daily Mail as disagreeing with Archbishop Tutu on economic sanctions against South Africa.

"Sanctions are a political means. From a global point of view they are politically acceptable in some situations. But a search should be made for a solution that is less drastic and more worthy of man," the Pope is reported to have told the Mail's correspondent.

English protests

He was also asked about Dr Tutu's attitude to next month's municipal elections.

"Archbishop Tutu is a citizen of South Africa and has South African experience. I am not a citizen. I can give only a global judgment. In principle it is not a good thing to boycott an election but it is always possible to do so in some situations."

The Pope's appeal to end violence provoked protests from English church leaders who feel that when there is no other way for a people to gain their liberty, then violence is "understandable".

Manchester's Bishop Stanley Booth-Clibborn, said: "The Pope does not sufficiently accept the depth of the problems faced by South African blacks.

"The African National Congress was forced to move down another path because there was no other way open."

Peterborough's Bishop William Westwood, said: "Outsiders who do not live in the country and who are not at the sharp end have no right to make pronouncements like this."

Attacked apartheid

The Pope, speaking in Harare, had said: "I appeal to all those who bear responsibility for the destiny of the people of this region, of whatever racial extraction or ideological inspiration, to renounce the use of violence as a method for achieving their ends."

He had already attacked apartheid as a violation of human rights.

The Pope today moved to Bulawayo, where he will celebrate Mass before an expected 100 000 at Ascot racecourse and meet priests at an ecumenical gathering, Sapa-AP reports.

Mr Joshua Nkomo, a senior minister in the government and the political chief of the Matabeleland province, and local church leaders greeted the Pope as he stepped from a chartered Air Zimbabwe Boeing 707.

Cardinal McCann joins Pope on tour of Africa

Staff Reporter

OWEN Cardinal McCann, Roman Catholic Archbishop emeritus of Cape Town, has joined Pope John Paul II's official party for the rest of his five-nation Southern African tour.

Cardinal McCann will travel on the Pope's aircraft to Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and Mozambique.

Cardinal McCann was asked to join the Pope because he wanted someone with him who knew the Southern African region and South Africa.

The party is in Bulawayo today where the Pope was to meet priests and religious leaders at the Bulawayo Catholic cathedral and this afternoon there was to be an ecumenical meeting at the Anglican cathedral.

FAREWELL CEREMONY

Tomorrow there will be an official farewell ceremony at Harare airport and the next stop is Gaborone where the Pope will meet President Quett Masire. He will also meet clergy and religious leaders.

He will celebrate Mass at the National Stadium in Gaborone.

On Wednesday the Pope goes to Lesotho where he will meet King Moshoeshoe II. He will be given a traditional welcome at Thaba Boshio.

(28) STAR 12/9/88.

200 000 welcome John Paul II

Pope denounces violence at start of 5-nation tour

By Robin Drew,
The Star's Africa News Service

HARARE — Pope John Paul 11 went "driveabout" among tens of thousands of Zimbabweans yesterday, spreading a gospel of peace, negotiation and reconciliation.

On the second day of his southern African tour of five countries, the Roman Catholic leader celebrated a spectacular mass at Harare's Borrowdale racecourse, where up to 200 000 people assembled without a hitch in the planning.

Blasts from a kudu horn, the thud of drums, the high voices of a Shona nuns' chorus and ululations from thousands of throats greeted the white-clad figure of the Pope, standing with arms raised as his armour-plated "Popemobile" drove into the racecourse.

Preceded by a security vehicle and followed by two ambulances, the 10-wheeled specially imported vehicle drove through the vast throng assembled in corral-like enclosures on the infield of the course.

Six security men stood on the steps of the huge vehicle with the pontiff clearly visible to all.

The bullet-proof glass windows were opened to enable the pontiff to reach out and wave to the crowd.

The high platform bearing the altar where the Pope celebrated Mass was decorated with yellow chrysanthemums and white roses — the colours of the Vatican.

Assembled there were 70 bishops from all southern Africa in their white robes, cream cloaks splashed with red and their high mitres.

They had marched in procession to the altar through the crowd led by hundreds of priests and scores of altar boys. Everywhere there was colour. Red surplices, blue habits, green sashes, yellow and white flags, brightly coloured turbans and scarves.

Some of the people who gathered at Borrowdale had been on the road for three days from far-flung mission stations along the eastern border and from the Zambesi Valley.

Pope John Paul proclaimed in a firm, strong voice: "Today I stand in your midst as the Bishop of Rome and I make this joyful proclamation: The Lord is my Shepherd."

In a green vestment and now also wearing his bishop's mitre, the Pope declared: "Your own country, Zimbabwe, has known too well the pain and suffering caused by sins such as racial discrimination and segregation, which deny the human dignity and full equality of other people because of the colour of their skin or because of the tribe to which they belong."

His plea to all was to overcome disunity wherever it existed.

The papal mass was the highlight of the visit to Zimbabwe but the morning ceremony was only the beginning of a strenuous programme for the Pope.

Other engagements yesterday included a meeting with Catholic laity, an address to 20 000 youths at a rally where he also took part in a worldwide television programme to mark the "Race Against Time" in which millions of people ran to raise money to combat hunger and disease among the children of the world.

Bishops praised for their efforts

HARARE — Pope John Paul told Catholic bishops yesterday that, through their efforts, the church was continuing to make an indispensible contribution to the process of national reconciliation in Zimbabwe.

Ziana, the national news agency, reports that he said the bishops had, as pastors of the church, taught that if reconciliation was to be true and lasting, it had to come through forgiveness and repentance.

The pontiff noted that Zimbabwe's ruling Zanu (PF) party was at present involved in a major political reconciliation exercise, and had already signed a unity pact with Dr Joshua Nkomo's PF Zapu.

The church could only now — eight years after the end of the bush war — give thanks to God for the fact that it assisted the people of Zimbabwe during their independence struggle.

"Catholic missions and institutions became places of refuge for the persecuted, centres of care for the wounded, hungry and homeless," he said.

The church in Zimbabwe would

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"Catholic missions and institutions became places of refuge for the persecuted, centres of care for the wounded, hungry and homeless," he said.

The church in Zimbabwe would come to depend on its own resources more and more, he added.

"In a sense, the ecclesiastical community is being challenged to reach its full maturity in a brief period of time.

The Pope said the bishops were correct in their belief that education should be a priority in all their dioceses. "Furthermore the church here, as everywhere, is a missionary church and should do whatever it can to offer trained personnel to meet the needs of other places, especially in Africa."

In Lusaka yesterday, the African National Congress praised the Pope's refusal to visit South Africa during his 10-day five-nation trip to southern Africa. — Sapa-Reuter.

● See Page 11.

Appeal for end to conflict

HARARE — Catholic bishops from nine African nations have urged factions in Angola and Mozambique and appealed to the superpowers to help end conflicts in the whole southern region of the continent.

The 70 prelates of the Inter-Regional Meeting of Bishops of Southern Africa (Imbisa) also made an impassioned plea to South Africa to abolish apartheid.

The final Imbisa communique was made available to the media yesterday. It lamented the "bloodshed and destruction, and the cruel displacement of millions of innocent men, women and children.

"Hunger and poverty are now the daily lot of our brothers and sisters," said the prelates, who blamed apartheid and wars for much of the suffering.

"It is our duty to call for an end to the wars ... this cannot be achieved without the co-operation of those who supply the arms." — Sapa-AP.

three days from far-flung mission stations along the eastern border and from the Zambesi Valley.

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Violence

The Pope had a meeting with diplomats based in Zimbabwe at which he urged them to support the contention that African countries themselves must be in charge of their own development and historic destiny.

"Outside aid is urgently needed, but it will only be helpful in the long term if the essential force of growth and development is truly African."

Since his arrival in southern Africa on Saturday, the Pope has several times made ringing condemnations of apartheid but has stressed the need to find a solution to problems through negotiation and through renunciation of violence.

He told South African bishops: "You must be truly convinced that only a neg- otiated settlement of differences can bring true peace and justice.

"A loss of confidence in the possibility of a peaceful solution could easily lead to further frustration and violence, increasing the threat to peace, not limited to this region."

He urged the bishops to promote authentic reconciliation among the people of South Africa "as the only path to a just and peaceful society".

The Pope's insistence on the renunciation of violence will not find ready acceptance among more radical church members who maintain that a war against injustice is a just war.

President Mugabe, himself a Catholic, in a blunt observation during an impromptu speech to welcome the Pope, said Zimbabweans had been forced to take up arms to achieve a just society.

"The struggle was bitter and protracted. We had to fight, it was not violence for its own sake," he declared in what appeared to be an attempt to justify before the Pope the waging of a war which cost 30 000 lives.

Today the Pope travels to Bulswayo for the day for another papal Mass and more meetings.

Pope: I'm glad we helped in struggle

Church 'making indispensable contribution'

(28) 12/9/88 B/day.

HARARE — Pope John Paul told Catholic bishops yesterday that, through their efforts, the church was continuing to make an indispensable contribution to the process of national reconciliation in Zimbabwe.

In his first formal engagement of his second day in Zimbabwe, the Pope told bishops that, as pastors of the church, they had taught that if reconciliation was to be true and lasting it had to come through forgiveness and repentance.

The Bishops had played a role in the process of national reconciliation between the various parties in the war and among the racial and tribal groups making up the new nation.

Exercise

The ruling Zanu (PF) party here is involved in a major political reconciliation exercise, having already signed a unity pact with Joshua Nkomo's Zapu.

The Pope said the church could now — eight years after the end of the war — only give thanks to God for the fact that it assisted the people of Zimbabwe during their independence struggle.

"Catholic missions and institutions became places of refuge for the persecuted, centres of care for the wounded, hungry and homeless."

The Pope said the church in Zimbabwe would come to depend on its own resources more and more.

"In a sense the ecclesiastical community is being challenged to reach its full maturity in a brief period of time. Furthermore, the church here is a missionary church and should do whatever it can to offer trained personnel to meet the needs of other places, especially in Africa."

The Pope said the bishops were correct in their belief that education should be a priority in all their dioceses and that the church should accompany government's efforts.

□ MICHAEL HARTNACK reports from Harare that leaders of southern Africa's Roman Catholic bishops yesterday called for more talks to solve the region's civil wars, in spite of an angry reaction from left-wing activists who accused them of giving legitimacy to Unita and Renamo.

Archbishop Jaime Goncalves of Beira was yesterday re-elected to the chairmanship of the 10-nation Inter-Regional Meeting of Bishops for a second four-year term. And Goncalves repeated his controversial call for direct negotiations between the Mozambique government and Renamo. — Sapa.

Pope John Paul II seen here with a young Zimbabwean girl watching traditional dancing shortly after his arrival in Harare.

Security police barge into Tutu service

(28) Sowetan

12/9/88

SECURITY branch policemen and officers barged into a service being conducted by Cape Town's Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu on Friday after being told it was a closed meeting.

A contingent of security police were outside the City Methodist Church after a Press conference held by the Archbishop, and entered the building saying they wanted to listen to the service.

They were told the meeting was a "closed" one for workers of the South African Council of Churches. Although the doors to the hall were held closed they were pushed open and the police with a video film crew entered.

The large Press contingent had been told the meeting would be a private one, but once the police entered to applause from the SACC staff journalists and camera crews they were also allowed in.

The police left to loud applause just before the Archbishop Tutu delivered a prayer.

The Archbishop had earlier inspected the damage to Khotso House caused by a massive explosion early last Wednesday.

Following the inspection Archbishop Tutu held a prayer service from a platform on an external staircase erected outside the building.

De Villiers Street in front of Khotso House between King George and Wanderers streets had been cordoned off and about 200 people in the street cheered and whistled as the Archbishop left the bombed-out building through a window on the first floor and started down the emergency staircase. — Sapa.

Tutu out to provoke, says Vlok

Cape Times 12/9/88

28

GERMISTON. — The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, claimed at the weekend that revolutionaries had decided that Archbishop Desmond Tutu should create incidents during the visit of the Pope and the United States presidential campaign that would embarrass South Africa.

Mr Vlok, who was addressing a National Party conference, was referring to the archbishop's speeches last week calling for a boycott of the municipal elections.

He said the archbishop was trying to challenge the law and authority concerning an issue that was not discriminatory, but reasonable and legal.

"I do not see this as a confrontation between the church and the state. It has totally misled clerics, such as Archbishop Tutu, who are involved. It is far more a conflict between him and his church and not one between the church and state," he said.

He said the alliance of the ANC and the South African Communist Party was abusing naïve church leaders, including those who had voiced their opposition to the municipal elections.

Mr Vlok referred to Archbishop Tutu, one of 26 church leaders opposing the elections, as a tragic and misguided figure who, "as a result of his own ambition, was playing a key role in the plans of people who were doing everything in their power to bring South Africa to its knees".

Overseas travel

He said Archbishop Tutu's call for sanctions and boycotts would put tens of thousands of South Africans out of work and on the brink of starvation.

"While his people are hungry, the bishop lives in luxury and abundance. He annually spends thousands of rand to travel overseas where he calls for further sanctions and boycotts, which leads to more unemployment and starvation."

The minister asked how many job opportunities the archbishop had provided.

"In whose name is he asking for sanctions and the subsequent unemployment — the Anglican Church's?" Mr Vlok asked.

"I am not prepared to accept that. The Anglicans I know are God-fearing people with compassion and empathy for their fellow man," Mr Vlok said. He claimed that the archbishop was not speaking for most South Africans.

Mr Vlok said the ANC-SACP alliance had two faces: One was friendly and meant for businessmen, clerics and rugby players; the other was a cold-blooded, lawless and destructive face which condoned necklace murders and was conducting a war of terror. — Sapa

Papal power . . . the Pope greets Zimbabweans as his Popemobile enters Borrowdale racecourse.

VIP welcome . . . President Mugabe greets Harare Airport.

Among his people . . . Pope John Paul II addresses the crowd of 200 000 who attended a mass at a racec Harare yesterday.

Pontiff disagrees with Tutu on sanctions and elections

12/9/88

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Pope John Paul has disagreed with Archbishop Desmond Tutu on some sensitive political issues, and an appeal by the head of the Roman Catholic Church for an end to violence as a means to fighting injustice has been attacked by Anglican leaders in Britain.

The Pope is quoted in the *Daily Mail* as disagreeing with Archbishop Tutu on the issue of economic sanctions against South Africa.

"Sanctions are a political means. From a global point of view, they are politically acceptable in some situations. But a search should be made for a solution that is less drastic and more worthy of Man," the Pope reportedly told the *Mail* correspondent.

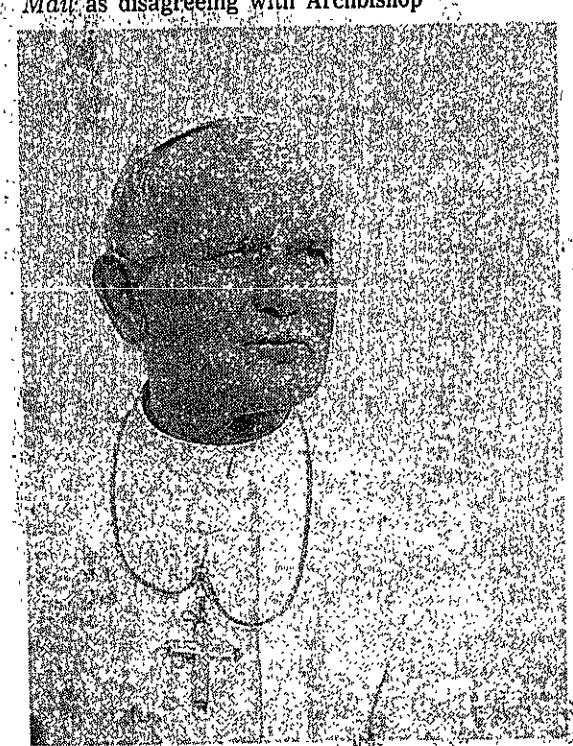
He was also asked about Archbishop Tutu's call to South Africans not to vote in next month's municipal elections.

"Archbishop Tutu is a citizen of South Africa and has South African experience. I am not a citizen.

"I can only give a global judgment. In principle it is not a good thing to boycott an election but it is always possible to do so in some situations."

The Pope's appeal to end violence provoked protests from English church leaders who feel that, when there is no other way for a people to gain their liberty, then violence is "understandable".

● To Page 3, Col 1



In Africa . . . the Pope cuts a striking figure soon after his arrival at Harare Airport.

P.T.O

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The ...

End violence, says Pope

● From Page 1

The Bishop of Manchester, the Right Rev Stanley Booth-Clibborn, said: "The Pope does not sufficiently accept the depth of the problems faced by South African blacks.

"There is a long tradition of pacifism in the Christian church, but also of justified resistance.

"The African National Congress was for many years a non-violent organisation. It was forced to move down another path because there was no other way open."

The Pope, speaking in Harare at the start of his southern African visit, had said:

"I appeal to all those who bear responsibility for the destiny of the people of this region, of whatever racial extraction or ideological inspiration, to renounce the use of violence as a method for achieving their ends."

● See Pages 5 and 11.

Pope says change comes from heart

By Winnie Graham

HARARE — Pope John Paul's speech to the Inter-regional Meeting of Bishops of Southerm Africa (Imbisa) is considered to be the most important he will make on his tour.

Pope John Paul revealed a clear understanding of the problems besetting the countries of southern Africa when he addressed Imbisa in Harare on Saturday night.

In his speech he assessed the trouble spots of southern Africa and told the bishops it was important they keep their determination to find a solution through dialogue sustained by prayer.

"You must be fully convinced only a negotioated settlement of differences can bring true peace and justice," he said.

While Christians, he added, could not accept structures of racial discrimination which violated human rights, they had also to realise that a change of structures was linked to a change of heart.

He told the South African bishops a great part of their pastoral ministry was the promotion of a "Christian response to the divisions within society".

OFS civil defence alert

Civil defence operations throughout the Orange Free State have been placed on full alert in preparation for an expected road exodus to Lesotho, where the Pope arrives this week.

Emergency medical units complete with tents and ambulances have been set up on the roadside on all main routes leading to Maseru and existing services have been reinforced.

Traffic is expected to build up from tomorrow.

A civil defence headquarters providing essential services has been opened in the community centre at Ladybrand including a special hospital with 36 beds, a civil defence spokesman said.

The ambulance service, Red Cross and an air rescue unit will also be based at the centre.

A special 24-hour service at Universitas Hospital in Bloemfontein can be contacted in case of emergency at (051) 30-6060.

Church leaders back Tutu, says Chikane

BRUCE ANDERSON

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu's call for a boycott of the October municipal elections was not just a call by the Archbishop but a call by all the 26 church leaders who had signed an earlier declaration, says SA Council of Churches (SACC) generalsecretary the Rev Frank Chikane.

But a police spokesman said yesterday there was no investigation under way as a result of Chikane's statement.

At a Press conference in Johannesburg on Friday Chikane, after accompanying Tutu on a tour of the wrecked interior of Khotso House, said "an attack on the Archbishop is an attack on all of us".

Chikane said that if Tutu was charged for allegedly contravening the emergency regulations then "we (the 26 church leaders) should all be there . . . we are all responsible".

Police said that for people to be charged under the regulations they would themselves have to call on people to boycott, as against aligning themselves with a statement by someone else.

Chikane said: "We have reached a stage where participation in the structures of this government is participation in oppression."

He said the boycott call by himself, Tutu and other church leaders was not aimed at provoking government.

"They have created a law which makes our peaceful act confrontational."

● To Page 2

Church leaders back Tutu boycott call

● From Page 1

Earlier, a crowd of about 200 people sang and danced in De Villiers Street outside Khotso House while Tutu, Chikane and a party of journalists inspected the bombed SACC headquarters.

Tutu said it was "quite clear that the authorities are hellbent on destroying the SACC. Government, so far as I know, has not condemned this bomb-blast".

He said: "What is surprising is not that Khotso house was blown up but that it took so long."

After the Press conference Tutu addressed a meeting of SACC members which was interrupted by about eight plainclothes security policemen, who demanded entry to the meeting.

They stood looking in at the meeting for some time before leaving, to applause from the crowd.

28

B/day

13/9/88.

CP challenge to govt on Tutu call

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The CP yesterday challenged government to charge Archbishop Desmond Tutu over his call for a boycott of next month's municipal elections.

CP justice spokesman Chris de Jager noted that government had declared it a crime to propagate an election boycott and questioned why the archbishop had not yet been charged.

He asked if Tutu had been elevated above the NP's own laws, or if the law was to be applied selectively.

"The CP challenges the government to charge Archbishop Tutu or to admit they are again yielding under pressure," he said.

Law and Order Minister spokesman Brig Leon Mellet said last night: "The Minister (Adriaan Vlok) has taken note of the CP statement and has pointed out that the matter is presently being thoroughly investigated regarding allegated contraventions of the emergency regulations."

He said as soon as the police investigation had been completed, a "full dossier" would be forwarded to the Attorney-General for his decision on whether to prosecute.

He could not say how much longer the investigation would take but noted it was looking "thoroughly at all angles".

Political comment in this issue by Ken Owen. Newsbills by Kevin Davie. Headlines and sub-editing by Michael Moon. All of Times Media Ltd, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg.

Tutu and Pope 'in agreement'

13/9/88 EDYTH BULBRING

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu's views on violence, the municipal elections and economic sanctions did not differ from those of the Pope, the Archbishop's Press spokesman John Allen said yesterday.

Allen said the Archbishop was not available to comment on the Pope's reported statements on these issues.

But "with the full knowledge of his views on these issues, there are no fundamental differences", Allen said.

The Pope was reported to have said in Zimbabwe that sanctions were acceptable in some situations but that a search should be made for a less drastic solution.

The Pope also said that in principle it was not good to boycott an election but that it was "possible" to do so in some situations. He has also called for an end to violence as a means to fight injustices.

● Comment — Page 8

'Training for war must end'

MICHAEL HARTNACK

BULAWAYO — Pope John Paul yesterday reinforced his warning to Africa's leaders to renounce violence by reminding worshippers here that the eight-year Zimbabwe independence war did not bring "true peace" to Matabeleland.

Addressing a Mass at Barbourfields stadium on the third day of his five-nation tour of southern Africa, he urged "no more training for war" — echoing the words of Old Testament prophet Isaiah.

"But there will be training for peace and development and especially training in the truth," he predicted.

He paid tribute to the courage of Marian Hill monk Killian Knoerl, who was gunned down in April while saving his superior from being axed to death at Empandeni mission, 100km west of Bulawayo.

The Pope recalled that the people of Matabeleland saw their fellows crippled, maimed, bereaved and unjusily deprived of property during the political unrest.

Shona-speaking troops of the Zimbabwe army's Korean-trained Fifth Brigade are alleged to have killed several thousand civilians from 1982-84, while the former guerrillas of Joshua Nkomo's forces allegedly killed about 500 suspected government supporters and 80 members of Matabeleland's farming community.

At a meeting at Bulawayo's Anglican cathedral with representatives of other Christian denominations, the Pope again stressed the theme of brothers dwelling together in peace.

Today he flies to Botswana, from where he will travel to Lesotho for a Mass expected to be attended by up to a million worshippers.

SOWETAN, Tuesday, September 13, 1988

28 Sowetan 13/9/88

Pope, Tutu clash

LONDON — Pope John Paul has disagreed with Archbishop Desmond Tutu on some sensitive political issues, according to a report here.

And the head of the Roman Catholic Church's appeal from Harare for an end to violence as a means of fighting injustice has been attacked by Anglican leaders in Britain.

The Pope is quoted in the *Daily Mail* as disagreeing with Archbishop Tutu on the issue of economic sanctions against South Africa.

"Sanctions are a political means. From a global point of view, they are politically acceptable in some situations. But a search should be made for a solution that is less drastic and more worthy of man," the Pope reportedly told the *Mail's* correspondent.

He also asked about Archbishop Tutu's call to South Africans to boycott next month's municipal elections.

"Archbishop Tutu is a citizen of South Africa and has South African experience. I am not a citizen. I can only give a global judgment. In principle it is not a good thing to boycott an election, but it is always possible to do so in some situations."

The Pope's appeal to end violence provoked protests from English church leaders who feel that when there is no other way for a people to gain their liberty, then violence is "understandable."

The Bishop of Manchester, the Rt Rev Stanley Booth-Clibborn, said: "The Pope does not sufficiently accept the depth of the problems faced by South African blacks.

The Bishop of Peterborough, the Rt Rev William Westwood, said: "Outsiders who do not live in the country and who are not at the sharp end have no right to make pronouncements like this."

The Pope, speaking in Harare during his Southern African sojourn, had said: "I appeal to all those who bear responsibility for the destiny of the people of this region, of whatever racial extraction or ideological inspiration, to renounce the use of violence as a method for achieving their ends."

He had already attacked apartheid as a violation of human rights.

The *ITV* television channel on Sunday night reported that the African National Congress had appealed to the Pope to use his moral authority against apartheid.

Bringing back hope

(28)

THE new Dean of Cape Town, the Very Reverend Colin Jones, is amused and saddened by some of the contradictions he has experienced in life.

He left school hoping to carve a career on the stage but entered the priesthood.

His family was uprooted by the Group Areas Act and relocated on the Cape Flats. Now he lives in an area reserved for whites.

Jones told RYLAND FISHER of his hopes to make Cape Town's St George's Catherdral a "church for the people".

The Very Reverend Colin Jones

COLIN Jones knows what it is like to be poor and to be uprooted under the Group Areas Act.

But Cape Town's new Anglican Dean is not bitter. In fact, he feels people should be able to laugh in the face of oppression.

Jones was inducted in St George's Cathedral at the weekend in a colourful ceremony addressed by Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

He will be the cathedral's parish priest and act as vicar-general when Tutu is out of town.

Jones hopes to make the cathedral a "church for the people".

"The cathedral must be a creative place. It must be a place of beauty and joy but it should also be a place where sadness will find expression," he said.

"We must bring back some hope. We used to laugh in tough times. We can become like that again.

"The cathedral should be a place where God's hope can shine again and where people can be fully human. Where they can express their sadness and joy. And where we will not be pre-occupied with violence, bitterness and fear.

Strength and hope

"We need places like that in South Africa, to strengthen our hope again. We can't just be sucked dry by evil. We need to be replenished."

Jones matriculated in District Six in 1969.

"I considered doing music but decided on acting because there had been a lot of emphasis on culture during my schooling," he said.

"I came from a very poor family. My parents were divorced and my mother raised me and my two brothers on the money she earned as a machinist at a clothing factory.

"When I went to drama school, it was the first time I was at a mainly-white establishment, and I began to experience how the other 20 percent live.

"I could not understand that I had to struggle to find busfare while the white students seemed to be able to afford lunch everyday.

"Later, I left drama school. I did not get many parts in productions. Maybe it had to do with a lack of talent but I think it was more because there were not many suitable roles for blacks. I only took part in one production and it was not even a drama school production.

He joined the personnel department of a construction firm.

"They employed mainly migrant workers I was exposed to the other 70 percent in our country," he said.

"It was like moving from one extreme to another. From white affluence to black suffering.

Teargassed

"This really woke me up, even though I had always had strong feeling about apartheid and what it meant not to be economically privileged.

"I had to make a decision where I fitted in and I began to explore the possibility of a vocation to the priesthood."

He became a deacon in 1975 and was sent to help in St Marks parish in Athlone.

"I was priested on June 13 1976, a few days before the Soweto uprising," he said.

"As the uprising spread to the Cape, I began to discover the kind of ministry we in the church are being called to do with the oppressed.

"It is easy for clergy to identify with the comfortable. It's even easier when you are the Dean and live in a nice big house in a white area.

"But 1976 was the ground out of which my ministry grew. We experienced teargas in the streets, and had to bury many of our congregants that year.

"In 1977, ten squatter families from Modderdam lived with us at the church. It was then illegal to house these families, but somehow we were not raided by the police."

In 1978, he became rector of the Hopefield parish near Saldanha on the West Coast. After four years he moved back to Cape Town to work briefly at St Paul's before he was appointed student chaplain at the University of the Western Cape.

"I spent four exciting and tumultuous years ministering to UWC students who were, and still are, at the forefront of the academic struggle. It was four growing years for me," he said.

He went to the United States for six weeks in 1985, and returned in 1986 to do a three-week talk tour on the role of the church in South Africa.

Last year, he was invited again on an extended sabbatical for 18 months. While there he was informed of his nomination as Dean.

Jones said he was "thrilled" by Sunday's colourful ceremony.

"The Archbishop courageously turned a big church ceremony into an event addressing one of the big issues of the day.

"He challenged the church to respond to truth and justice.

"I fully support the Archbishop. I know he does not make rash statements, but gives everything deep consideration."

Reacting to reports that the government was investigating charges against Tutu for his stand on the October elections, he said:

"In some ways, this shows the seriousness of the situation to some people who still don't know how serious it is. Some people think we are not too badly off.

"When I returned from the United States, I realised how seriously short of freedom and democracy we are in South Africa.

"In what other society, other than maybe a communist society, can people not call on others not to vote.

"Maybe the reason the South African government is so opposed to communism is because they fear people will not be able to distinguish between apartheid and communism.

"But, even in the Soviet Union, one finds they are opening up There are now more freedoms in society and the church in the Soviet Union than in South Africa.

"My concern is not with nazism, facism or communism. At issue is what is just and right."

Jones said the difference between him and his predecessor, Dean Ted King, was that he was "a home boy".

"I have experienced the things being experienced by many of my congregants. I grew up poor and my family was evicted under the Group Areas Act," he said.

"My family came from District Six but I was born in Woodstock I was about two years old when we moved to Black River where I spent most of my childhood.

"I was 19 when we were moved to Primrose Park under the Group Areas Act. A week later our little car was stolen It was our introduction to typical Cape Flats life.

"My grandmother died three months after we arrived in Primrose Park. I think she could not stand the pain of being moved under the Group Areas Act."

He now lives in an area reserved for whites.

"I don't want to live in a white group area or any area designated for a specific group," he said.

"It is nonsense to keep people apart. The Group Areas Act and other apartheid laws try to do the unnatural That is what makes them so evil "

8-14/9/88 (28) South

Poll defiance

THREE of the country's top clerics this week continued their defiant stand on the October 26 municipal elections in the face of government threats to act against those calling for a boycott.

At separate meetings this week, Nobel Peace Prize winner Archbishop Desmond Tutu, World Alliance of Reformed Churches president Dr Allan Boesak and South African Council of Churches general-secretary the Rev Frank Chikane again took tough stands on participation in the elections.

Their stand — in clear contravention of the State of Emergency regulations banning any boycott calls — was first made in a statement to SACC-member churches recently.

Earlier, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok had threatened to "clip the wings" of outspoken clergymen irrespective of an international outcry.

On Wednesday, Tutu appeared unperturbed about possible police action, celebrating the second anniversary of his enthronement as Cape Town's archbishop with his staff at Bishopscourt.

Many held in swoop — Page 3

Police visited Bishopscourt for a second time on Wednesday to collect a transcript of Tutu's sermon at the installation ceremony of the Anglican Dean of Cape Town, the Very Rev Colin Jones.

Allen said it was "business as usual" at Bishopscourt after the police visits.

At Sunday's service at St George's Cathedral, Tutu said he was not defying the government, but obeying God.

TO PAGE 3

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Jugoo Govender, athletic ministrator Mr Dorrie

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ion, any person taking will be barred.

said Sacos supporters ple choose to take part em in Sacos. They will associations on which

Unionist's dog shot, roasted

HAPPIES, a Transkei contract worker's faithful brak, became the hapless victim of a bitter labour dispute at a quiet Boland town.

As his master fled, fearing for his life after he and about 50 fellow workers were dismissed, Happies bore the brunt of unbridled anger.

He was shot dead, then roasted on a bonfire fueled by some of the belongings of the workers — this after the hostels they had occupied near Wellington were cleared.

The workers claimed "kaffir" slurs were made against them, and their union, the S A Allied Workers Union (Saawu). They say they were threatened with axes and guns and had to take refuge in an open veld for five days.

Full story pages 4 and 5

Church must fight apartheid

TODAY'S column is a shortened speech SAM MABE delivered on Sunday at the annual general meeting of the Wesley Youth Guild in Diepkloof, Soweto, entitled: "The church and the youth in nation-building."

I AM delighted to realise that our nation - building concept has stimulated so much interest that you wanted to hear more about it and, to hear about it directly from one of its chief adherents.

I hope you will feel free to shoot the concept down if you have reservations about its viability in contributing towards your growth and development as young people.

To use the businessman's language, I can tell you that nation-building is basically about stocktaking: it is about the auditing of the nation's performance over the past 300 years and the creation of a new budget and performance strategies that should cover all our activities for the next 300 years.

As nation-builders, we have to ensure that every minute of our life is used profitably to help us acquire as much power as we possibly can.

The concept of nation-building is still at its foetal stage and maybe by all of us coming together like we are doing today, we could try to give it the right shape, size and purpose in helping us to achieve our goals as a developing nation.

Accomplice

Let us now examine the institution from which you are operating: the church. I will kick off by admitting that whilst I am a product of a Christian family, I am no longer a great admirer of the church, because I believe it has not been true to its mission as a defender of the rights of God's children.

The church has always been an institution of mental enslavement. It has taught the black man to become a compliant accomplice in the process of his own destruction by teaching him that God is behind the poverty, hunger and diseases which plague Third World nations today.

The church has condoned economic exploitation by promising us milk and honey in heaven, while tons of foodstuffs are thrown into the sea every year in order to protect the profits of a handful of people who are blood-suckers of God's children.

But I am not going to ask you to quit the church like I did many years ago. As a nation-builder, I see the church as one of those structures in our community which have collapsed: it must be rebuilt.

I am going to challenge all of you gathered here today to rebuild the church so that it can start functioning the way God intended it to serve his children.

We must resist any training that teaches us to pity ourselves for being downtrodden. We must resist any training that teaches us to wait for the Messiah to help us out of the problems created by man on this earth.

The church must train us to face the challenges of apartheid with courage, conviction and the determination to fight for its destruction.

More than anything else, the church must refrain from promising us pie in the sky: it must help us get bacon and egg on earth so that we can go to heaven on full stomachs.

There are three elements which I believe should form part of any education the youth ought to receive in church, at school and at home if they are to be rational and successful nation-builders.

The three elements are: decision-making, self-expression and problem-solving. The church must also give us a true picture of God's nature towards his children. Our God is a God of love and perseverance.

It is a God of success, a God of progress and a God of victory.

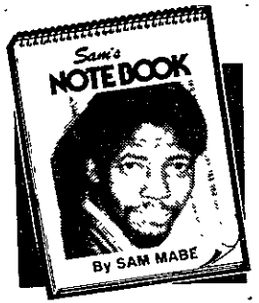
He is God of labour who promotes self-reliance among His people. He is a rational God and a God of reason and analysis. Our God is a nation-builder.

The philosophy of nation-building demands that we graduate from the emotional to the rational level in our approach to problems posed by apartheid. At the rational level, we not only shout *amandla ngawethu* but we sit down and critically look at what we mean by *amandla ngawethu* and also the type of power a nation requires for it to be viable and self-sufficient.

Power

We need economic, technological, scientific, political and all such power. We should all be aware that we do not have this power and we are not about to have it, unless we start working vigorously towards its acquisition.

But we will not acquire power if we "necklace" those who hold views that differ from ours.



We will not acquire power if we spend all our lives on a witch-hunt: looking for people who we consider irrelevant and criticising them without providing them with direction.

We cannot acquire power if we are afraid of taking decisions or if we play to the gallery when faced with burning issues relating to the future of this country.

We cannot spend all our lives criticising, condemning, rejecting and creating enemies out of people who should be our allies in the struggle for a free and open society. What we need is to reason together among ourselves in order to save and build the nation.

(28) W/Mail 9-15/9/88

Church-state relations hit new low as priests repeat calls

Archbishop Tutu repeats his call. Allan Boesak and others make similar statements. The government hits back sharply, attacking 'wolves in sheep's clothing'

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok: Churches 'hiding behind liberation theology'

Weekly Mail Reporters

A DEFIANT Archbishop Desmond Tutu yesterday reiterated his call regarding participation in the October 26 municipal elections.

And this week others church leaders joined in his call: Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, and the Right Reverend Sigqibo Dwane, Anglican Bishop for the Order of Ethiopia.

Tutu, Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, first made his call while delivering a sermon last Sunday.

Police announced they were investigating Tutu's speech. Senior police visited his offices in Bishopscourt and took a video tape of the service. They also took notes on the sermon and a tape from the religion reporter of a Cape Town newspaper.

This did not deter Tutu from repeating his view yesterday. He was speaking to more than 2 500 students, academics and workers at the University of the Western Cape in his first address on campus since he was elected chancellor earlier this year.

After first dealing with university issues, Tutu turned to the question of the elections, prefacing his remarks by saying the depth of his commitment meant he obeyed God.

"I would want to say to people what has been said by our church leaders: please consider prayerfully what God wants you to do," he said.

People were "being turned into things to be used" so the world could "be misled" into thinking South Africa had become "more democratic".

"We want to urge black people: do not take part in a process meant to perpetuate your oppression."

His speech cannot be reported in a context in which his words would be likely to encourage members of the public not to participate in local authority elections.

Tutu said he was committed to making the call, knowing the police might arrive at UWC demanding tape-recordings of what he'd said.

"This is not bravado; this is not Tutu trying to look smart. I have a commitment and a passion for South Africa.

"This enables me, whatever the penalties, to do what I believe God is asking me to do."

Asked afterwards whether he expected any police reaction to his speech, Tutu said: "Go and ask Mr Vlok (the Minister of Police) — that's his area."

Asked whether police action would influence his behaviour in future he said: "I don't look over my shoulder to see whether I have approval from the government. I don't go out of my way to provoke the government. I do what I believe is right and if they get upset, tough luck."

He said he expected the police might very well say they wanted him to produce his sermons before he preached. "They can wait until the cows come home," Tutu said.

In his sermon on Sunday, Tutu described "an alternative to this repressive and unhappy, polarised dispensation" where people could take part democratically in decision-making.

"You don't do it by proscribing certain organisations and political leaders, denying them the right to decide whether to participate in the October elections or not," he said.

Boesak made a similar call the same day during a sermon in his Bellville South Nederduitse Gereformeerde Sendingkerk.

Tutu and Boesak were among 26 church leaders who issued a statement on the elections after the South African Council of Churches' conference last month.

Dwane made his call at the "Grahamstown Initiative" conference last weekend.

"I want to make my position clear here. I do not intend to participate or to encourage anyone to participate in RSC's and in the so-called elections in October," he said.

CARMEL RICKARD reports that relations between church and state hit a serious low over the last week with threats of strong action against anti-apartheid clergy and church organisations, a police investigation against Tutu and a police raid on the offices of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference.

The raid and the investigation into Tutu's sermon are linked to the October municipal elections.

Two days before Tutu's first election call, Vlok warned he was considering action against "wolves in sheep's clothing" who hid behind liberation theology and "people's democracy".

He hinted at restrictions which he anticipated would cause an international outcry but said such a response was to be expected as part of the "onslaught" against the country.

In the wake of Vlok's threats, leading clerics said his remarks were irresponsible and could encourage further right-wing harassment of church leaders and organisations, such as the bomb which damaged the Johannesburg headquarters of the South African Council of Churches and other organisations at Khotso House.

The blast has left the SACC, which was playing an important role in coordinating criticism of the elections, in disarray.

The timing of the raid by about 10 police officers at the Pretoria headquarters of the Catholic bishops on September 1 was also interesting. It followed just hours after the last of the bishops left for Zimbabwe where they are attending a meeting preparatory to the visit of Pope John Paul II.

They were apparently looking for copies of a booklet on the October municipal elections, which has been published by a number of churches and church organisations.

No copies of the pamphlet, *Standing for the truth: understanding the municipal elections*, were found.

Police headquarters said searching and seizing documents was regarded as routine activities and they were not prepared to make any comment.

On the same day, acting under Emergency regulations, police confiscated 10 000 copies of the pamphlet sent to the Durban ecumenical church agency, Diakonia.

The sharp deterioration in church-state relations is partly due to restrictions imposed on major anti-apartheid organisations, which has left the church one of the few voices still able to articulate the feelings of extra parliamentary groups.

As the state is anxious the elections should be successful, with a high poll, an all-out campaign has been launched to prevent criticism of the elections. This is increasing the level of confrontation between the government and the churches as they have become the chief voice of criticism.

Police have also confiscated 35 000 copies of a newsletter put out by the Western Province Council of Churches. The pamphlet outlined a June 2[illegible] call by a number of church leaders which cannot be reported as calls for a boycott of the elections are illegal under the Emergency.

Pope visit drama

Cape Times 15/9/88 (28)

Pope in Lesotho after SA trip

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Pope John Paul II arrived in Lesotho last night by car after a six-hour diversion via Jan Smuts Airport, where he had to leave his aircraft for an unexpected venture on to South African territory.

His Air Zimbabwe 737, travelling from Gaborone, was forced to land at Jan Smuts yesterday by low cloud over Lesotho. It was the first time in his worldwide travels that the Pontiff's plane had been diverted to another country.

But His Holiness did not kiss the tarmac, as he customarily does the first time he visits a country.

Women gasped and onlookers scrambled forward when the Pope walked through the international arrivals lounge, flanked by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha.

An SAA Airbus was put on standby to enable the Pope to continue his Southern African tour should the Air Zimbabwe jetliner remain grounded.

Mr Botha said that although the plane was diverted because of bad weather in Maseru, it was believed there were problems with one of its engines and the navigational system.

Several of the Pope's aides had discussions with Mr Botha during which they were given the option of waiting for the weather to clear or to go by road. They had unreservedly chosen the latter and more reliable option.

The Pope's visit came as a surprise to everyone, not least of all President P W Botha, who Mr Botha said had learnt of it only about 30 minutes before the plane touched down.

Mr Botha was sent by the State President to greet the pontiff as his plane arrived at 11.15am.

Mr Pik Botha said he was told of the papal plane's detour during discussions with the Minister of Law and Order in Pretoria over the hijack in Maseru of which he had informed the Pope.

The Pope sent a telegram to President Botha in which he said he prayed for peace in the country.

POPE LEAVES . . . The Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, sees off the Pope as he leaves South Africa by road for Lesotho.

The President, who had also conveyed greetings through Mr Botha, phoned him at the airport to thank him for the message.

Mr Botha said it had been a privilege for SA to offer the Pope hospitality and he denied it had been done to gain favourable publicity abroad.

During a short lunch together they had discussed the recent state visit to Mozambique and Malawi and the ceasefire in Angola, Mr Botha said. There was no time to discuss a future official Papal visit to SA, he said.

After lunch, the Pope walked down a corridor, waving at journalists and the cheering public, to his waiting car shortly after 2pm.

He was guided to a bulletproof, luxury car ahead of his party who were travelling in two luxury buses — the transport was requested at the last minute by Mr Botha.

SA gave full security and traffic assistance to the party on the six-hour journey to Maseru. The Pope was accompanied in his car by papal secretary of state Cardinal Casseroli.

On his arrival in Maseru, the Pope was to travel direct to Roma to hold a Mass. The traditional welcome for the Pope at Thaba Bosiu, the Basutu national shrine, had to be cancelled and hundreds of people waiting at Maseru's airport for his arrival left disappointed.

lea by Pope

s more die

Cape Times 16/9/88

28

PAPAL VISIT . . . Pope John Paul II presents a rosary to a 12-year-old boy who was hurt by flying glass when police stormed the hijacked bus in Maseru on Wednesday night. Picture: REUTERS

MASERU. — Pope John Paul II yesterday made an impassioned plea for non-violence in Southern Africa in the wake of Wednesday night's bloody hijack shootout.

As the Pope called for dialogue, the death toll from the shootout rose to six, with the number of injured put at 20

The pontiff made a last-minute itinerary change to accommodate a 20-minute visit to the wounded pilgrims, passing out rosary beads and urging them to forgive those responsible for the violence

He blessed the shootout victims at Queen Elizabeth II Hospital, a single-storey building only a few hundred metres from the scene of the shoot-out

One of the hospitalized pilgrims, 16-year-old Pontso Tau, of Eagle's Nest High School, said she was delighted at seeing the Pope in spite of her ordeal.

The most seriously injured victim was 29-year-old Mr Mohanoe Makhetta who took the force of a guerilla grenade, losing both legs.

His eyes were closed and a drip was suspended above his arm as the Pope made the sign of the cross over him.

Many of the patients looked shy and surprised as the Pope passed through the hospital's four wards after speaking to doctors

Sister Florina Nyokana, one of the two injured nuns, who was grazed by a bullet on the cheek, said after the visit: "I was very happy. He asked me my name and he blessed me."

GERALD SHAW'S Political Survey today discusses the papal visit to Southern Africa and the peace-making diplomacy of the Pope — Page 4

Most of the injured suffered shrapnel wounds from the hand grenade that exploded in the final seconds of the fierce shootout between the hijackers and commandos

Meanwhile, the secretary of Lesotho's ruling military council, Mr Tom Thabane, said the death toll had risen to six as the only surviving member of the four-man hijack team and a 58-year-old man — reportedly the driver of the bus who was shot in the head — died of their injuries.

Earlier in the day, the Pope renounced violence as a solution to the region's conflicts at a outdoor mass attended by about 10 000 followers in the rain-drenched capital.

"Always believe in the power of love . . reject violence as a solution to any situation, no matter how unjust it may be. Put your trust in the methods that respect the rights of all," he said

The pontiff was speaking at the mass, intended to be the religious highpoint of his trip, for the beatification — the first step towards sainthood — of 19th Century French Jesuit missionary Father Joseph Gerard who rode throughout the mountain kingdom spreading Christianity.

The Pope wished the injured pilgrims a speedy recovery, adding that he was "saddened to hear that others on their way to join me in this pilgrimage have been victims of a hijack which caused such anguish and ended in bloodshed".

To page 3

R500 winner

A GLENHAVEN competitor in the Syfrets/Cape Times Share Challenge

Church leaders to campaign for more sanctions

(28)

B/Day 16/9/88

INTERNATIONAL church leaders are to campaign for stricter economic measures against SA, SA Council of Churches general secretary Rev Frank Chikane said yesterday.

In a statement released in Johannesburg, Chikane said church leaders from SA, Europe and North America met in Geneva on Monday under the auspices of the World Council of Churches to discuss the situation of SA churches after the bombing of Khotso House and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok's "threats against church leaders".

The meeting affirmed it was the right and duty of Christians "to denounce apartheid and to call on others to defy or disobey", he said.

Leaders decided to campaign more actively for European and North American governments to adopt stricter sanctions against SA. Measures mooted included stricter implementation of the oil embargo, stopping European airlines from flying to SA and withdrawing SAA landing rights.

Chikane said the meeting decided to encourage closer monitoring of the arms embargo and to campaign against the rescheduling of loan repayments owed by SA. — Sapa.

Chikane: Court upholds appeal

Cape Times 17/9/87

28

BLOEMFONTEIN. — The Appeal Court in Bloemfontein yesterday upheld, with costs, an appeal by the SWA Cabinet in connection with a notice under Section 9 of the Residence of Certain Persons in SWA Regulation Act.

The appeal was against the judgment of Mr Acting Justice H Hendler on November 12, 1986 in favour of Pastor Frank Chikane, then the general secretary of the Institute of Contextual Theology. The second respondent was the Council of Churches in Namibia.

The application was brought by Pastor Chikane after he was advised at Jan Smuts Airport on May 23, 1986 that he was prohibited from being in SWA.

Yesterday Mr Justice Grosskopf concluded that neither respondent had shown that the Cabinet acted unlawfully. — Sapa

(28) B/Day 19/9/88

Church leaders negotiate to end Soweto disputes

SIPHO NGCOBO

CHURCH leaders in the Reef townships are to hold a crucial meeting with senior Soweto Council officials this afternoon to negotiate settlements for the two-year-old rent boycott and the present labour strike.

This was said at a Press Conference in Soweto on Friday by representatives of Ministers United for Christian Co-Responsibility (Muccor), which comprises a group of church ministers in the Reef townships.

Soweto community organisations and major trade unions have given Muccor "a firm mandate" to negotiate on the boycott and the labour strike by the council's workforce of more than 3 000.

Although the strike is continuing, Town Clerk Nico Malan said 500 workers from several departments have been re-engaged after re-applying and that the council was processing thousands of other re-applications.

According to Muccor the meeting between council officials and the ministers will take place at the Soweto Council chambers at 4pm today.

Muccor representative Ishmail Mkhabela said Soweto people were prepared to pay rent but only if an acceptable negotiated settlement was reached and residents' demands regarding such issues as the deterioration of services were considered by the council.

"We all know that the rent boycott cannot go on forever but peoples' demands still stand. Deterioration of services ... and astronomical electricity bills are still cause for concern," said Mkhabela.

According to Mkhabela, the meeting is the result of more than 40 consultative meetings between community organisations and Muccor.

He said the decision the enter into dialogue with the council was an attempt to avert future conflict in the community similar to the 1986 White City strife which left at least 30 people dead.

It was also to avoid increasing the number of homeless people through evictions for non-payment of rents.

Challenge on Tutu

DR A P Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party, challenged the Government to act against Archbishop Tutu whom he said had been "looking for trouble" with South Africa for a long time.

Addressing an enthusiastic meeting attended by some 1 000 people in the Cape Town city hall at the weekend, Dr Treurnicht said he found it a strange world where the Government had prohibited calls for a boycott of the municipal election but was not applying the decision.

(28) Argus 19/9/88

Cape Times 22/9/88 28

Pope speaks out against apartheid

VATICAN CITY. — Pope John Paul, who has just ended a trip to Southern Africa, yesterday called apartheid a violation of both human dignity and Christianity.

"The problem of racial segregation, apartheid, remains in clear conflict with the dignity of the human being, be it from the point of view of a common moral conscience or that of the Christian faith," he said at his weekly general audience.

"All human beings created in the image and likeness of God . . . enjoy the same dignity, which cannot be humiliated because of membership of a race," he said.

The pontiff said the overcoming of racial discrimination was an integral part of the liberation and self-determination of African peoples.

In his address the Pope called for greater efforts to end the guerilla war in Mozambique, which he said was destroying the country, and said he was praying for peace in Angola and for a rapid conclusion of the talks which could lead to independence for Namibia. He did not mention his unscheduled stop in South Africa during the tour, which ended on Monday, or the hijack incident in Maseru. — Sapa-Reuter

Cape Times 22/9/86 28

Pope 'will visit SA'

Political Staff

POPE John Paul II has given the assurance that he will definitely visit South Africa soon.

This was confirmed last night by Owen Cardinal McCann, who accompanied the Pope throughout his recent visit to Southern Africa, and who has rejected suggestions that His Holiness had "by-passed" South Africa because of political considerations.

Cardinal McCann said the visit should take place "next year or in the near future", and added that if the Pope visited South Africa he would have to call at at least six centres, as well as go to South-West Africa.

● Pope speaks out against apartheid — Page 4

Catholics advised on elections

By Carina le Grange, Religion Reporter

The forthcoming municipal elections present "a situation in which people must decide in conscience whether to vote or not", the South African Catholic Bishops' Conference (SACBC) says in a pastoral letter to Catholics.

The letter was read in some parishes at the weekend and will be read in others this Sunday.

While the letter leaves it up to individuals whether they should vote or not, it sets out in detail how the municipal councils and other local authorities will operate, and says "it is possible to boycott" the elections.

"Though representatives of all population groups will meet in regional services councils, local councils will be segregated by race," the letter points out, adding that "white control will persist".

"Apartheid with a slightly altered face, or perhaps we should say with two faces, will be unshakably entrenched.

"The present elections represent one of the weaknesses of the policy called total strategy, ie it requires our collaboration. This in fact can be withheld. It is possible to boycott the municipal elections as a matter of conscience.

"Those who choose this option must exercise it in a peaceful, non-violent way. In our role as leaders of a Christian community we plead that the elections should not be an occasion of violence, either on the part of the State or on the part of those who oppose the present State."

Bishops urge 'conscience' in decision to vote

Cape Times 28/9/88

JOHANNESBURG. — The forthcoming municipal elections present a situation in which people must decide "in conscience whether to vote or not", the South African Catholic Bishops' Conference said in a pastoral letter to Catholics.

The letter was read in some parishes at the weekend and will be read in others this Sunday.

The letter was signed by the president of the conference, the Rev Khosa Mgojo, and the president-elect, the Rev Stanley Magoba, and supported by the chairmen of 11 Methodist districts.

While the letter leaves it up to individuals whether they should vote or not it sets out in detail how the municipal councils and other local authorities will operate, and says "it is possible to boycott" the elections.

"Though representatives of all population groups will meet in regional services councils, local councils will be segregated by race," the letter points out, adding that "white control will persist".

"Apartheid with a slightly altered face, or perhaps we should say with two faces, will be unshakably entrenched.

"The present elections represent one of the weaknesses of the policy called total strategy in that it requires our collaboration.

"This in fact can be withheld. It is possible to boycott the municipal elections as a matter of consicience.

"Those who choose this option must exercise it in a peaceful, non-violent way.

"In our role as leaders of a Christian community we plead that the elections should not be an occasion of violence either on the part of the State or on the part of those who oppose the present State."

The letter stated that only municipal election canidates who are openly and sincerely committed to the abolition of apartheid are worthy of Christian support at the polls on October 26.

"These elections are being presented as an opportunity for all South Africans to vote for the candidate of their choice."

"This is far from the truth because they will take place under the drastic restrictions of the state of emergency, with many major organizations banned and their leaders in detention, thus denying the freedom of debate and the liberty of choice essential to the democratic process."

It is also noted that there is an "atmosphere of fear and threat in which people have been subjected to one-sided propaganda supported by severe penalties for any who express a dessenting voice or advocate non-participation". — Sapa

CHURCH & STATE

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1988

CHURCH-STATE CLASH LOOMING

(38)

ALL the ingredients exist for a serious church-state confrontation, according to Professor Charles Villa-Vicencio, head of Religious Studies at the University of Cape Town.

Priest warns Govt

"The State President is treading on extremely thin ice when he suggests that Archbishop Desmond Tutu and church leaders of his ilk do not speak or act on behalf of their respective churches," Professor Villa-Vicencio told the Institute of Citizenship last week.

"Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, is even wider off the mark when he says the Archbishop and other church leaders are acting at the instigation of the African National Congress."

Action

He said the mainline English - speaking churches had a "well-worn track record of theological and policy statements opposing apartheid."

"Equally true is the fact that these churches have consistently failed to translate their statements into a programme of action, and many within both pulpit and pew have allowed their faith to be shaped by the theologically questionable adage which says 'religion and politics do not mix.

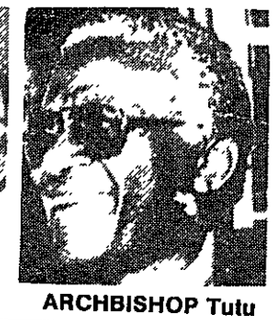
"What this in effect means is that when the Archbishop and others do seek to translate into practice a gospel which churches have in theory and resolution affirmed, they do so among people who are not accustomed to taking the political consequences of their faith too seriously."

It would be a mistake to underestimate the support which Archbishop Tutu and other church leaders like him enjoyed in the church, Professor Villa-Vicencio said.

There was huge latent support in these churches, especially among the black majority. — Sapa.

PRESIDENT Botha

MINISTER Vlok



ARCHBISHOP Tutu

Pulpit 'is no place for politics'

28

Star 3/10/88

Religion Reporter

Mrs Carol van Loggerenberg of Rosebank intends collecting signatures from churchgoers who do not want to hear about politics from the pulpit. She then plans to send the list to the heads of the churches.

She said: "You feel the duty of the clergy is to preach the word of God — not to tell people what they should do with their democratic right.

"Over the past few months there have been a few hand-outs at my church which I consider to be very political and out of order in the church.

"I, like most other people, have read many articles in the media in which churches of various denominations have held meetings at their highest levels and made decisions regarding political matters."

Mrs van Loggerenberg concluded: "Church leaders must know that churchgoers are not interested in hearing about these things from the pulpit."

Catholics affirm support for Bishops

Star 3/10/88 (28)

By Winnie Graham

Catholics from all parts of southern Africa have pledged their support of the bishops following an attack on South African Catholic Bishops Conference.

The right-wing Catholic Defence League this week denounced the SACBC for meddling in politics in its pastoral letter on the forthcoming municipal elections.

Mr Peter Templeton, chairman of the Southern African Council for Catholic Social Services (SACCSS), said last week that the biennial workshop, now being held in Johannesburg, had unanimously pledged its support of the SACBC.

The council, he added, represented five different commissions within the church, four lay organisations, 17 women's religious congregations, nine men's religious congregations and 26 of the 29 dioceses within southern Africa. Representatives of the church in Namibia, Botswana and Swaziland were also at the meeting.

Mr Templeton said the meeting had examined the problem which hindered the full development of each human being and had found the cause to be the apartheid system.

His statement added: "In the latest pastoral letter on the coming municipal elections, the bishops have advised Catholics not to be involved in actions which promote the system.

"The SA Catholic Defence League, a small right-wing group with no standing in the Catholic Church, has objected to the pastoral letter as 'entering the poltical arena'.

"They say the bishops have the right only to teach on moral and spiritual values, but morality deals with the relationship between peoples and, therefore, the bishops not only have the right but a duty to speak on these matters."

THINK BEFORE VOTING - BISHOPS

(28) Sowetan 26/10/88.

SOUTH Africa's Roman Catholics have been asked to examine their consciences before voting in the local elections this month.

In a pastoral letter read in churches in all parishes on Sunday, the Southern African Bishops' Conference urged Catholics "to decide in conscience whether to vote or not".

The bishops said: "Too many people voting appears unacceptable because the councils that they are urged to elect will be powerless and moreover voting will be co-operating with the system of oppression under which they suffer.

"To others, the councils for which they are asked to vote will exercise some power and furthermore, there may be candidates standing for election who will work for justice.

"Consequently we see it as a situation in which people must decide in conscience whether to vote or not."

SOWETAN Reporter

The Bishops said they were "publishing this letter in our capacity as pastors who have the right and duty to help people form their conscience on matters of social justice."

"We look forward to the day when all citizens of South Africa will be able to vote in meaningful, free and fair elections."

The bishops added that whatever option people choose, they should exercise them "in a peaceful, non-violent way. In our role as leaders of the Christian community we plead that the elections should not be an occasion of violence either on the part of the State or on the part of those who oppose the present State.

The bishops said the group of church leaders who issued a call in June this year to boycott the elections "were actually breaking the law and risking severe penalties" . . . but "felt they had to put conscience before fear of punishment".

Warder denies 'kidnapping'

Cape Times 4/10/88 (28)

JOHANNESBURG. — Alleged kidnapper Denzil Mellors told his alleged hostage victim he would have shot Archbishop Desmond Tutu if he had been in the room, the Magistrate's Court here heard yesterday.

South African Council of Churches secretary Ms Beverly Fasser told the court of a more than two hour ordeal when she was held hostage at Khotso House by Mr Mellors, a trainee prison warder, on April 11 this year.

Mr Mellors, 19, of Brakpan North, pleaded not guilty yesterday to kidnapping Ms Fasser at Khotso House, pointing a firearm at her and her boss, Mr Mlungisi Ntsele, stealing a 9mm pistol and 31 rounds of ammunition from his brother, Mr Vernon Mellors, and telling the South African Council of Churches general secretary, Mr Frank Chikane, that Khotso House was going to be blown up.

He admitted unlawfully possessing a 9mm pistol and the 31 rounds of ammunition.

Ms Fasser identitified Mr Mellors in court as the man who had entered the room adjacent to the library on the third floor of Khotso House and had told her to "sit down and keep quiet".

"I thought he was joking so I didn't sit down. I then saw the gun in his hand." Ms Fasser, 21, said he had pointed the gun at her chest.

At gunpoint, he had instructed her to phone the Brixton Murder and Robbery Squad and to tell them she was phoning from the SACC and that a man was holding her hostage and that he would not let her go. She said Mr Mellors had made her feel uneasy when he pointed to a photograph of Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

Mellors wanted answers from church

Cape Times 5/10/88

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Alleged Khotso House kidnapper Mr Denzil Mellors told the Magistrate's Court here yesterday that he had joined the AWB, the PFP and the Black Sash to get both sides of the story, and subscribed to various publications which held divergent viewpoints.

He had gone to Khotso House because he knew it housed the SACC and he wanted some answers on the Methodist Church's anti-conscription views.

Mr Mellors, 19, said he was a trainee prison warder at the time of the alleged kidnapping of SACC secretary Ms Beverly Fasser on April 11 this year.

He was suspended after he was arrested and would be dismissed from the service if convicted.

Mr Mellors pleaded not guilty on Monday to kidnapping Ms Fasser, pointing a pistol at her boss Mr Mlungisi Ntsele and falsely telling the SACC secretary-general, the Rev Frank Chikane, that he had a bomb and was going to blow up Khotso House.

He admits the unlawful possession of a 9mm pistol and 31 rounds of ammunition, but has pleaded not guilty to stealing the pistol and ammunition from his brother, Mr Vernon Mellors.

Mr Mellors said he had become interested in politics when he was in Std 8, in 1986. This had increased and he had been nicknamed "politician" and "future state president" by his schoolmates.

He had felt superior to his schoolmates in the area of politics.

He said he had written letters to US President Ronald Reagan and UK PM Mrs Margaret Thatcher, thanking them for their anti-sanctions stance.

Bishops want 'action' after Austrians refused entry

By CARMEL RICKARD, Durban

PROMINENT Austrian Catholic Bishops' Conference delegates have been refused visas to visit South Africa later this month.

And in their announcement of the refusals the South African bishops suggest the time has come for "reciprocal action" by other countries in refusing visas to "all South African government officials and supporters of apartheid".

The South African Catholics Bishops Conference said the Austrian bishops' delegation had been invited by their South African counterparts. The visitors had planned to meet a wide range of people including senior government representatives and leaders of various organisations both to the right and left of the government.

"One may rightly ask what those responsible for this action have to hide," the bishops said. "For years the South African government has made it increasingly difficult, if not impossible, for citizens who hold views different from its own to travel abroad by delaying or actually denying the issue of passports to them.

"At the same time it has not only facilitated travel for the supporters of its policies, but has also actively encouraged them to undertake visits abroad in order to promote the status quo.

"In recent times we have witnessed more and more denials of visas to discerning or critical visitors to South Africa.

Then, in a suggestion unusually tough for the bishops, they add, "We cannot but ask outselves whether the time has not arrived for reciprocal action in respect of granting visas to all South African government officials and supporters of apartheid. This would be done in the hope that it would assist the government to become aware of the folly of its policies

WMAIL 2-13/9/88

Union wants protection in case of sell-out

By EDDIE KOCH

WORKERS at Mobil Oil have vowed to continue pressing the multinational to negotiate terms of a possible disinvestment from South Africa after anti-apartheid activists in the United States leaked a document showing the company has secret contingency plans to pull out of the country.

The top leadership of the Chemical Workers' Industrial Union (CWIU) is holding a national meeting this weekend to discuss whether some 10 000 union members should take strike action against 39 multinationals who have refused to negotiate a disinvestment programme. Mobil is one of the largest companies involved in the dispute.

The Manpower Department has refused to appoint a conciliation board to resolve the dispute and this opens the way for the union to hold strike ballots and conduct a legal strike.

The Interfaith Centre for Corporate Responsibility (ICCR) last week leaked an internal Mobil memorandum indicating the oil giant had discussed the possibility of emulating IBM by selling its assets in South Africa to local employees.

The document also mentions the possibility of selling-out to a third party or of distributing the assets to Mobil shareholders so that tax liabilities in the US can be avoided.

The news has surprised anti-apartheid campaigners because Mobil has been in the forefront of the fight against sanctions and has even threatened to sue the US administration if it is forced by disinvestment legislation to leave South Africa.

ICCR executive director Tim Smith told the *Weekly Mail* that Mobil's senior public relations official in the US, Sol Marzullo, has acknowledged the pull-out plans but claims they were devised for contingency purposes. Don Bouchard, Mobil's public affairs manager, was not available

CWIU's national executive committee will meet this weekend to discuss the government's refusal to appoint a conciliation board to resolve the dispute, said Adler.

The union wants the multi-nationals to negotiate a trust fund for the benefit of black workers, severance pay and guarantees that employees' conditions of service will not be jeopardised in the event of disinvestment.

● Zenex Oil, the SA company which bought out the local assets of US oil company Exxon, this week announced plans to fund an extensive adult literacy scheme

Tutu won't be arrested — govt

Cape Times 8/10/88

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PRETORIA. — The government yesterday said it had no intention of arresting Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu or other prominent church leaders who call for election boycotts in defiance of emergency regulations.

However, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, Minister of Information, the Film Industry and Broadcasting Services, did not comment on the September 27 detention of a relatively unknown Methodist minister who passed on to his congregation the church's reservations about participation in the October municipal elections.

"Many people are expecting the imminent arrest of Archbishop Tutu. That is not going to be the case," Dr Van der Merwe told a news conference.

Dr Van der Merwe said it appeared that Archbishop Tutu and the Rev Allan Boesak "were asking to be arrested" by calling for election boycotts.

Archbishop Tutu

Mr Van der Merwe

"Why should we do this and make a martyr of them when it was not the intention of the emergency regulations to act against those people?"

He said the regulations prohibiting calls for election boycotts were designed to prevent intimidation of those seeking to vote.

"There has been no threat" in Archbishop Tutu's call for a boycott, he added.

The government did not regard disciplining church leaders as its task, he said.

Dr Van der Merwe insisted that Archbishop Tutu distance himself publicly from the campaign of violence being planned and waged against the elections.

He also made an urgent call on Archbishop Tutu to ask organisations involved in the campaign to end the violence.

Dr Van der Merwe did not comment on the detention of a Methodist minister, the Rev Tom Mbabane, who was taken from his Soweto home after police alleged he advocated a boycott in a sermon.

Mr Mbabane's wife has said her husband did not call for boycott, but only conveyed the Methodist Church's appeal to its congregants to consider carefully whether they should vote. — Sapa and AP

CAPE TIMES 10/10/88

Bishops call for boycott of election

28

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN's Anglican bishops yesterday threw down the gauntlet to the government by calling on whites and blacks to boycott this month's local government elections on the grounds that the nationwide poll represented an endorsement of apartheid.

The call — in the form of a strongly worded pastoral letter to the Diocese of Cape Town — was included in priests' sermons or made available to congregations at dozens of churches around the Peninsula yesterday.

The protest letter — signed by Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Bishop Charles Albertyn, Bishop Geoffrey Quinlan and Bishop Edward Mackenzie — submits that participation in the white municipal elections under the current dispensation would "underscore the ghetto mentality of our society . . ."

The bishops' letter comes soon after protest about government double standards in applying the emergency regulations which explicitly prohibit calls for election boycotts.

While 300 people, including churchmen, have been arrested in connection with the October 26 elections, the Minister of Information, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, indicated at the weekend that the government had no intention of arresting either Archbishop Tutu or Dr Allan Boesak for calling for a boycott.

Yesterday's protest follows an earlier appeal by 26 prominent church leaders from a variety of denominations for Christians not to vote or stand for election on October 26.

The latest pastoral letter from the bishops stated: "We do not intend participating in the elections in October.

"We urge black Anglicans to do the same and we hope that white Anglicans will join them."

The bishops, in urging congregations to make a "prayerful and thoughtful" consideration of their response to the election, ask them to take the following points into account:

- "The bodies for which South Africans will be voting on October 26 are racially based.
- "The election is accompanied by an unprecedented level of repression against government opponents. All meaningful political organisation outside narrowly defined parameters laid down by the government has been outlawed.

"Organisations and leaders, even if they wanted to take part in the elections, are prevented from doing so by bannings and imprisonment.

- "The government is using the October elections as one of the stepping stones towards the establishment of a national council, an undemocratic body which is unlikely to produce just or representative constitutional proposals."

The bishops say they recognise that the election of white local authorities has implications which differ from those of black local authorities.

"The fundamental issue for black South Africans is the right to vote and to participate fully and fairly in Parliament as the central decision-making body in the country.

"Since black people are denied this right in the land of their birth, participation in the election undermines this fundamental principle and in fact endorses apartheid."

The letter continues: "Whites already have the right to vote and we are aware that some of you are anxious that whites who oppose apartheid should be elected to city councils.

Boesak accuses govt of double standards

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Dr Allan Boesak said the government was guilty of double standards in implementing the emergency regulations by not taking action against Archbishop Desmond Tutu and himself.

He was reacting to Dr Stoffel van der Merwe's announcement that he and Archbishop Tutu would not be charged and other church leaders not acted against for contravening emergency regulations by calling for a boycott of the October 26 municipal elections.

Dr Boesak said that an estimated 300 people "who are less known than the archbishop and myself" were being held for opposition to the elections.

However, Dr Van der Merwe said the government saw no reasons why it "should help to grant Tutu and Boesak the publicity and the claim to 'martyrdom' which they evidently are so avidly seeking".

Cape Times 10/10/88

Bishops call for boycott

AS the country-wide municipal elections kick off today when polling opens for prior voting, the Anglican bishops of Cape Town called on people not to voter because the election endorsed apartheid.

The call came in the form of a pastoral letter to the Diocese of Cape Town. It was included in priests' sermons at dozens of churches in the Peninsula.

For the first time in local government elections, voters can apply to cast a prior vote between today and October 22.

● Bishops' call — Page 7

Poll: Bishops urge 'prayerful response'

ARGUS 10/10/88

28

Religion Reporter

A PASTORAL letter from Archbishop Desmond Tutu and his bishops-suffragan urging Anglicans to consider certain aspects of this month's municipal elections has been read out from all Cape Town pulpits.

The letter, signed by Archbishop Tutu, Bishop Charles Albertyn, Bishop Geoffrey Quinlan and Bishop Edward MacKenzie, reminded churchgoers that the Church of the Province of Southern Africa (CPSA) had on several occasions declared its total opposition to apartheid and in 1982 had declared it a heresy.

"We, the bishops of the Diocese of Cape Town, urge you to make a prayerful and thoughtful consideration of your response to the election."

The Bishops said that in formulating their thoughts about the election their parishioners should take into account that the bodies for which South Africans would be voting on October 26 were racially based; that the government was using the October elections as one of the stepping stones towards the establishment of a national council, an "undemocratic body"; and that the election was accompanied by an "unprecedented level of repression against government opponents."

Bannings

"Organisations and leaders, even if they wanted to take part in the elections, are prevented from doing so by bannings and imprisonment. While the government claims it is organising 'democratic' elections for October, it is using all the instruments of a totalitarian state".

"We believe it is of critical importance to our country's future that the government should be given a very clear message that its vision for the future, as well as its specific plans to achieve that vision, are wholly inadequate ..."

The bishops recognised that the election of "white" local authorities had implications which differed from those of "black" local authorities. The fundamental issue for black South Africans was the right to vote and to participate fully and fairly in Parliament.

Tutu has no fears

(28)

Sowetan 12/10/88

MBABANE — Archbishop Desmond Tutu has arrived in Swaziland for a one-week visit.

The archbishop was asked by reporters if he was worried about the danger of action being taken against him for calling for a boycott of the forthcoming municipal elections.

The archbishop said: "I don't have problems with Mr Botha but Mr Botha has problems with me".

Archbishop Tutu is in Swaziland for a week during which he will hold meetings mainly with local church

CAPE TIMES 12/10/88 28

SACC attacks govt for holding leaders

JOHANNESBURG. — The South African Council of Churches (SACC) yesterday attacked the government for detaining 14 of its church leaders since its call for non-participation in the coming elections.

Branding the elections as "undemocratic and racist", the SACC said in a statement last night that since the church group's call to all South Africans not to participate in the October 26 elections, church leaders, various churches and regional councils of churches had been harassed.

"The churches' campaign of 'Standing for the Truth' has angered the apartheid regime and supporters of apartheid. The regime has threatened to act against church leaders particularly Archbishop Desmond Tutu," the statement said.

The SACC alleged that since the statement was adopted on July 26 1988, Khotso House had been bombed, the SACC's Refugee Ministries Office was raided by police on September 21 and police had surrounded Community House on September 23.

In addition, the Boland Council of Churches had been raided twice within a month and there had been raids on various offices of the Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference, said the statement.

The August copy of Crisis News, a monthly news service of the WPCC, which published the statement of church leaders, was banned and copies were confiscated.

The SACC also claims the state has opened a docket to press charges against the Western Province Council of Churches in terms of the Internal Security Act. — Sapa

'People have the right to abstain from voting'

Star 12/10/88

Leading academics and clergy, among them Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu and the Moderator of the NG Sendingkerk, Dr Alan Boesak, said in a statement yesterday that people had the right to abstain from voting in the municipal elections.

Several Muslim leaders have also put their names to the statement.

The document argues that the tricameral system of Parliament has failed and that it would be "disastrous to promote and support a system of local government based on the same principals".

"The oppression and dehumanisation of the majority of the people will simply continue."

It adds: "We believe the forthcoming municipal elections are meant to strengthen racial separation and militate against freedom of association."

"We believe that for as long as the majority of people are denied equal participation in central government they have the right to abstain from voting for a system that will only perpetuate the reality of divide and rule," the statement issued yesterday reads.

SIGNATORIES

"We, as leaders and adherents of different faiths, urge our people not to vote."

The latest statement was signed by:

Rev A Bhiman, Institute of Contextual Theology; Dr A Boesak, Moderator of the NG Sending Kerk; Rev F Chikane, general secretary SACC; Dr G C Cuthbertson, Department of History, Unisa; Mr M Dangor, executive Actstop; Mr F Dawjee, editor *Al Qalam*; Maulana F Esack, national co-ordinator, Call of Islam; Sheikh F Gamieldien, head, Institute of Islamic Law; Dr A M Grundlingh, Department of History, Unisa; Imam Y Harris, secretary, Muslim Judicial Council; Dr L Hulley, Department of Systematic Theology, Unisa; Dr E Jasset, Central Islamic Trust; Rev J N J Kritzinger, Department of Missiology, Unisa; Dr J Lambert, Department of Theology, Unisa; Rev G J A Lubbe, national president, WCRP/SA; Professor S S Maimela, Department Systematic Theology, Unisa; Professor F Meer, director, Institute of Black Research; Dr K E Mgojo, president of Methodist Church; Father S Mkhatshwa, general secretary of ICT; Rev S Mogoba, general secretary of Methodist Church; Rev M Mohabi, St Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Pretoria; Dr M Moore, moderator, Presbyterian Church of SA; Rev Z Mokgoebo, Belydendekring; Sheikh N Mahammed, president, Muslim Judicial Council; Maulana E Moosa, national co-ordinator, Muslim Youth Movement; Dr B Naude, Ecumenical Advice Bureau; Dr E van Niekerk, Department Systematic Theology, Unisa; Father A Nolan, Institute of Contextual Theology; Archbishop T W Ntongana, vice-president of CAIC; Rev D Olivier, Department Systematic Theology, Unisa; Imam R Umar, national chairman, Muslim Youth Movement; Professor C du P le Roux, Department of Science of Religion, Unisa; Professor W A Saayman, Department of Missiology, Unisa; Mr S Satgar, president, Veda Dharma Sabha, Maritzburg; Miss U Satgoor, chairman WCRP/SA, Natal region; Mrs Y Sooka, World Conference on Religion and Peace; Mr Molvi M Suliman, treasurer WCRP/SA; Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Archbishop of Cape Town. — Sapa.

South NEWS (28) 13-19/10/88 SO

Scrap elections — Boesak

MORE THAN a thousand people stood up, stamped their feet, clapped and cheered at the weekend when Dr Allan Boesak urged that they do not vote.

Speaking at the University of the Western Cape's Main Hall on Sunday, he said: "A vote for the state is a vote against your future, against the memory of our children, against those in detention, and against our leaders."

The meeting combined the Western Province Council of Churches "Stand for the Truth" and the campaign to "Defend UWC".

On the government's decision not to prosecute him and Archbishop Desmond Tutu, he said: "I think the Minister (Stoffel van der Merwe) has already conceded that the law is invalid.

"To say we will not go to jail will not solve the problem the government is facing. If the Minister wants to do South Africa a favour, let him ask P W to scrap the election."

The meeting was also addressed by the Rev Lionel Louw of the Western Province Council of Churches; UWC rector ProfJakes Gerwel; Moulana Faried Esack, national co-ordinator of the Call of Islam; Brian O'Connel, rector of the Athlone Education College; and Dr Diliza Mji, president of the National Medical and Dental Association (Namda).

Arms found in burnt out shell of SACBC hall

By Claire Robertson and Deborah Smith

Two limpet mines covered in plastic explosive, several empty AK47 magazines and a hand-grenade were found in the burnt-out wreckage of the SA Catholic Bishops' Conference headquarters in Pretoria.

A police spokesman said the arms were found by policemen searching the building for clues to the suspected fire-bombing of the building early yesterday.

A spokesman for the SACBC, Brother Jude Pieterse, said the arms were found by a worker, who called Brother Jude.

"He came to me and said there was a mysterious package in the documentation centre. I looked at it and decided to call the police who in turn called explosives experts, who evacuated the building.

"They later called me in and told me thay had found two limpet mines enclosed in stable plastic explosives."

Brother Jude said he rejected "in the strongest possible terms any insinuation that the Church had an arms cache in the building".

DETONATED

"This is totally inaccurate, as it is clear the intention was to completely destroy the building," he said.

Brother Jude surmised that the device was intended to be detonated by the heat of the fire.

Six people narrowly escaped death yesterday when the Khanya House building in which they were sleeping burst into flames after at least one explosion at about 2.30 am.

The Pretoria Fire Brigade plucked four from the balcony after they had been trapped for about half an hour. The others left through the fire escape.

Two cans containing petrol and two with paraffin were found in the building.

A Volkswagen Kombi with false license plates was seen near the building at the time of the fire.

No one was injured in the fire. Dr Lambert, Ms Rosemary Cook, Sister Briget Flanagan, Bishop Daniel Verstraete and Bishop Paul Nkhumishe were rescued from the building.

SACBC workers said the archives were destroyed and some of the offices on the upper floors were burnt out.

Arms cache found in arson offices

Cape Times 13/10/88

By CHRIS STEYN and Own Correspondent

THE ministry of Law and Order claimed last that an arms cache had been found in the library of Khanya House — offices of the South African Catholic Bishops' Conference (SACBC) in Pretoria — which was gutted after a fire-bomb attack early yesterday.

A spokesman for the Minister of Law and Order said an SACBC employee found two limpet mines, two hand-grenades and five AK47 magazines in a cupboard in the library. The employee handed the firearms to a priest, Father Peter, who notified the police.

The president of the SACBC, Bishop Wilfrid Napier, said from Kokstad late last night that he had not been informed of the find.

Bishop Napier expressed "surprise" at the find, and undertook to investigate.

Earlier, police disclosed that they were hunting 11 occupants of a blue minibus who were seen by a police patrolman outside the building before the fire broke out.

Police found four containers of petrol and paraffin on the ground floor of the building. An arson docket has been opened.

Church leaders in South Africa and England yesterday expressed "horror and outrage" at the attack in which four people escaped death.

The four — all attending a conference at the SACBC — were awoken after an explosion in the printing works next to the main building at 2.30am.

Mrs Rosemary Crooke, Mr Roddy Nunes, Dr Rob Lambert, all members of the Commission of Church and Works of the SACBC, and a nun, Sister Brigid Flanagan, associate secretary-general of the SACBC, were trapped on a second-floor balcony of the building surrounded by smoke and flames.

Firemen hoisted a ladder and helped them to safety.

Dr Lambert said he and the other three had tried to escape by making a rope of blankets and sheets but the fire had prevented it.

"If it hadn't been for the fast action of the fire department we would have all been killed."

The Moderator of the Ned Geref Kerk (NGK), Professor Johan Heyns, extended his "fullest" sympathy to the SACBC on behalf of the NGK.

"This latest outrage merely goes to prove that we must work together for a new South Africa in which there is no violence," Prof Heyns said.

To page 2

th 72 dogs planned to go

Cape Times 13/10/88

From page 1

British church leaders called the attack an act of "cowardice" and "terrorism against peacemakers".

Cardinal Basil Hume of Westminster, head of the Roman Catholic Church in England, cabled Bishop Reginald Orsmund with a message of support from the bishops of England and Wales.

The Anglican Dean of Pretoria, the Very Rev Robin Briggs, condemned the fire-bombing in the strongest possible terms.

Methodist conference will include controversial topics

(28) 13/10/88

The public sessions of the 106th annual conference of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa (MCSA) begins in Queenstown tomorrow with the induction of the Rev Stanley Mogoba as the new president.

Mr Mogoba, who will be the church's first executive president, will deliver one of three keynote addresses on the theme of "The Victorious Hope" at his induction, a church statement said.

The other two addresses will be delivered at the earlier ministerial session, which will be closed to the press, and at the representative session on Saturday.

The conference will remain in session until next Thursday.

Issues to be discussed will include the controversial "peace church" debate and the question of whether chairmen of districts will become known as "bishops", the statement added.

A major cause for celebration for the representatives of the one-million strong multiracial Methodist Church of Southern Africa will be the presence of Methodists from Transkei.

It will be the first time since 1978, when the then-government of Transkei banned the MCSA, that ministers and lay leaders from that country will be present at a conference of the MCSA.

Negotiations to restore unity were reopened after the December 1987 coup in Transkei led by Major-General Bantu Holomisa.

More than half of the circuits and ministers of the United Methodist Church of Southern Africa, which was formed in the Transkei after the banning of the MCSA, have applied to rejoin the MCSA following the lifting of the ban on it earlier this year," the statement said. — Sapa

SOWETAN, Thursday, October 13, 1988

TUTU TO VISIT ZAIRE

Invited by President Mobutu

KINSHASA — South African Archbishop Desmond Tutu will visit Zaire shortly, President Mobutu Sese Seko said.

Mobutu said the visit resulted from his meeting with South African President P W Botha in northwest Zaire on October 1.

He did not say how that meeting with the head of the Pretoria government should lead to a visit by the Anglican clergyman, one of its most famous opponents.

Tutu would come to Zaire before the end of the month, President Mobutu told a meeting of his Zaire state party. President Ibrahim Babangida of Nigeria would also visit the central African state, he said.

ARCHBISHOP Tutu

"At first . . . the meeting (with President Botha) did not spark enthusiasm everywhere in Africa," Mobutu said.

But the results it brought "have swept away all reservations," he said.

He did not elaborate. The regional summit which Mobutu announced after meeting President Botha never took place. Also the statement he made that President Botha had promised the unconditional release of anti-apartheid activist Nelson Mandela was later denied by Pretoria. — Sapa-Reuter.

New threat

WINDHOEK — A white extremist group, Die Witwolwe, has claimed responsibility for the Monday night arson attack on the offices of *The Namibian* newspaper in Windhoek.

In a telephone call to a local newspaper the organisation warned that the newspaper — which has been prominent in exposing allegations of security force atrocities and brutalities — would "hear from us again."

Shacks blown away

MANY families in Etwatwa, Daveyton, were left homeless when strong winds blew their shacks away on Saturday and on Monday this week. Some people were injured.

The strong winds recorded by the Weather Bureau to be travelling at 30km an hour and accompanied by thunderstorms caused havoc in many Reef areas.

The Etwatwa shack dwellers were the hardest hit.

Four children also narrowly escaped injury on Saturday when their neighbour's shack was blown on top of their

Bishops' HQ 'left unguarded'

By Claire Robertson, Pretoria Bureau

The Catholic Church has given its version of the so-called "arms cache" reportedly discovered in the headquarters of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference.

The Khanya House headquarters were apparently fire-bombed early on Wednesday morning. No one was injured.

"After the fire had been extinguished the building was left unguarded for about four hours," SACBC secretary-general Brother Jude Pieterse told a press conference in Pretoria yesterday.

He said that shortly before 8 am the police arrived to conduct their investigations which lasted until about 10.30 am. Members of the press were shown through the ground floor and the cleaning-up process began.

"It was during this time that one of the staff members reported to the secretary-general that a suspicious-looking package had been found in the documentation office.

"(I) immediately went to this room and found a plastic package containing a whitish substance in a cupboard in daily use," he said.

A worker confirmed that the package had not been there the day before.

The police were called and examined the package. They said it contained explosives and cleared the building.

The two policemen remained in the building.

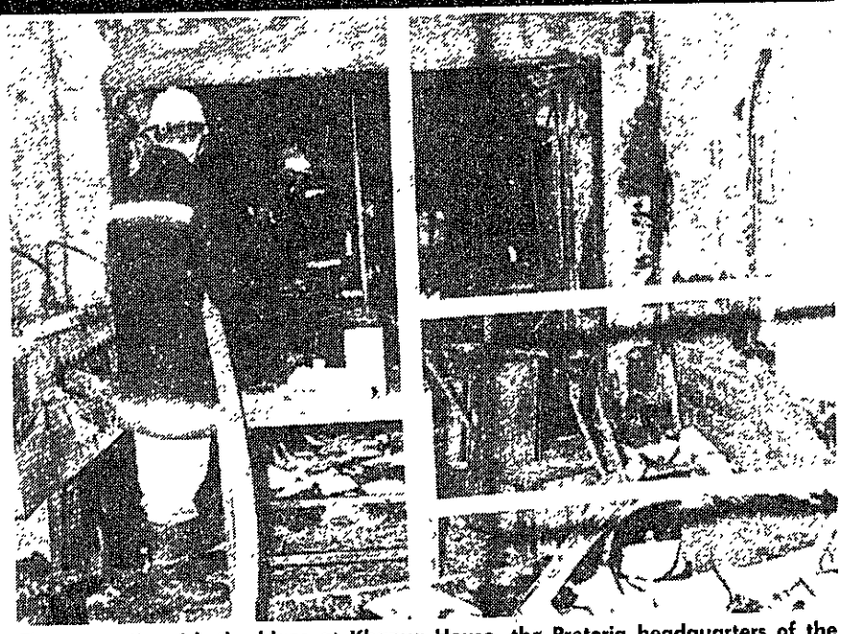
"Some 30 minutes later (I) was called back into the office and saw what appeared to be two large limpet mines on the floor of the room," he said.

He said he also saw what appeared to be two tubes or rolls labelled "enkele rolle" (single rolls).

The policemen told him they had found two limpet mines encased in "stable plastic explosives which would have been detonated by the fire".

Police later issued a statement saying limpet mines, handgrenades and empty AK47 cartridges had been found in Khanya House — to the SACBC's surprise, said Brother Jude.

"I am not saying the other stuff wasn't there, but it wasn't in the building on the previous day."



Firemen extinguish the blaze at Khanya House, the Pretoria headquarters of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Confernce. The fire is believed to have been started by a firebomb. Star 14/10/88

(28)

Mobutu on Tutu: Third time wrong, it seems

By SHAUN JOHNSON

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu's representative has denied President Mobutu Sese Seko's claim this week that a meeting between the two — prompted by the summit between PW Botha and the Zairean leader— is imminent.

Tutu will definitely be visiting Zaire in a fortnight's time, but he is still "considering" Mobutu's request for a meeting.

Speaking from Swaziland, where he is accompanying the Archbishop on a pastoral visit, Tutu's media secretary John Allen told the *Weekly Mail:* "It is just wrong to say the Archbishop is especially going to Zaire to talk to President Mobutu about PW Botha."

Tutu's Zairean visit had been planned in March as part of his duties as president of the All-African Conference of Churches, Allen said. "And that has nothing to do with PW Botha's talks with Mobutu."

Following the Botha/Mobutu summit in northwestern Zaire on October 1, however, a telephone call was received from Joe Golam, a Mobutu "adviser" in New York.

Golam said Mobutu wanted to see Tutu urgently — "before he had another meeting with Botha" — but was told the Archbishop's schedule did not allow it.

It was "still under discussion" whether Tutu would add a meeting with Mobutu to his itinerary of audiences with Zairean church leaders, said Allen.

When Mobutu made his announcement in Kinshasa on Tuesday, he said Tutu was coming "before the end of the month", and claimed the visit "resulted from his earlier meeting with the South African state president".

This is his third prediction about regional initiatives since October 1, and neither of the first two has materialised. After Botha had returned to South Africa, Mobutu announced that Nelson Mandela was about to be released, and that a sub-continental summit would take place that week.

Tutu is shortly due to travel to Nairobi for the biannual meeting of the AACC, and his Cape Town office has confirmed that he intends to stop over in "other African countries". Tutu's personal assistant is now in the Kenyan capital finalising schedules, and a decision about the Mobutu meeting might be reached after consultation with him today, according to Allen. "But right now, it's still being looked at," he said.

Allen declined to comment on what message Tutu might carry to Mobutu regarding the recent South African diplomatic thrust into Africa.

And, it is not clear whether Mobutu is setting down a meeting with Tutu — one of the Pretoria government's most famous opponents — as a prior condition for another summit with that government's leader.

The news of Tutu's visit comes during a period of hectic international diplomacy by southern African leaders:

- South African State President PW Botha announced he will brief Portuguese leaders on the Angolan peace talks in Lisbon on Saturday on his way home from Zurich. He will spend 12 hours in the Portuguese capital and will hold discussions with Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco Silva.
- Negotiators seeking agreement on a pull-out timetable for Cuban troops in Angola have agreed to meet again in Brazzaville, Congo, later this month. The South African, Angolan and Cuban participants in the United States-mediated talks have just wrapped up a session in New York.
- Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, who recently said he would not meet Botha "until Namibia was free", visited Lubumbashi in Zaire this week for talks with Mobutu about the regional peace process.

State uses 'covert strategy' against clerics

14-20/10/88

(28) WMail

By GAYE DAVIS, Cape Town

ALLAN Boesak is not surprised at the government's reluctance to arrest and charge him and Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu for urging a boycott of the municipal elections.

Boesak, who reiterated his boycott call at a rally of more than 1 000 people at the University of the Western Cape last weekend, believes a more covert strategy is being used against vocal anti-apartheid clerics.

It included the regular distribution of anonymous, often defamatory pamphlets and the proliferation, in recent years, of right-wing church groups.

Boesak told the *Weekly Mail* he had recently been informed of a secret meeting between the military and clergymen known for their conservative views.

The latter came from a range of denominations, including the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Sendingkerk — of which he is moderator — and the Anglican Church, he alleged.

"I was told the meeting took place in Wellington (a Boland town) about four weeks ago and that one of the items on the agenda was ways of rendering me and Archbishop Tutu ineffective within our own churches."

Boesak said his information came from two people who had attended the meeting and had later spoken to him independently of each other.

He said he had also been told that SADF personnel were visiting rural areas in the Western Cape and presenting slide shows in which he and Tutu were presented as "monsters".

An SADF spokesman denied both allegations.

According to the head of the department of religious studies at the University of Cape Town, Professor Charles Villa-Vicencio, right-wing church groups form part of a state attempt to discredit prominent church leaders, undermine church activities and attack liberation theology as communist-inspired.

He said such groups were usually non-denominational, and were opposed to the South African Council of Churches and the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference, as well as indivual churchmen such as Tutu and Boesak.

Among their other targets were the United Democratic Front, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the End Conscription Campaign.

The groups include the Cape-based Gospel Defence League (GDL), run by Dorothea Scarborough. Scarborough's husband, Congregational minister Fred Shaw, heads the Christian League of South Africa — an organisation implicated in the Information Scandal.

SOWETAN, Friday, October 14, 1988

(58)

BISHOPS SLAM GOV

Anger over visa denials

THE South African Government's refusal to grant visas to a church delegation from Austria confirmed that the State had something to hide and that it only facilitated travel abroad for supporters of its policies.

By MONK NKOMO

This was said by the Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference (SACBC) in a statement released in Pretoria yesterday.

The SACBC said it was with shock, regret and disappointment that they had learnt of the refusal by the Government to grant visas to members of the delegation from the Austrian Catholic Bishops Conference. The delegation was due to visit the country at the request of the SACBC later this month.

"In recent times we have witnessed more and more denial of visas to discerning or critical visitors to South Africa, obviously out of fear of what they will say about the situation they have seen for themselves," the SACBC said.

The statement added: "For years already the South African Government has made it increasingly difficult, if not impossible, for the citizens who hold views different from its own, to travel abroad by delaying or actually denying the issue of passports to them.

"At the same time it had not only facilitated travel for the supporters of its policies, but has also actively encouraged them to undertake visits abroad in order to promote the status quo".

The Austrian delegation had planned to meet a wide range of people, including senior state representatives as well as leaders of various organisations both to the right and left of the Government, the SABC said.

"One may rightly ask what those responsible for this action have to hide. This is clear evidence that the Government itself is not very convinced that the life of South Africa's inhabitants is as rosy as it tried to project to the world," according to the SACBC.

JOINT PRAYER POSTPONED

A PRAYER service organised by a women's organisation for the final year matric candidates scheduled to take place at Regina Mundi Catholic Church in Soweto on Sunday has been postponed to October 23 at 2pm.

Mrs Mary Masechaba Mabaso, president of the Interdenominational Prayer Women's League, said they were forced to reschedule the service because of the unavailability of the church on Sunday.

She said the service had been organised in order to ask God's blessings for pupils to do well in their end-of-the-year exams. She said many Soweto mothers were concerned about the performance of their children in past matric examinations.

"Because of this anxiety, we felt it would be good if we meet and pray for the success of the candidates. By so doing, we are not asking for miracles, but showing that we place our faith in the Almighty," she said.

The service, she said, was open to parents, students and church organisations of all races. She urged non-residents of Soweto of all races to come into the township to show solidarity with black people.

"We as black people always go to Johannesburg and elsewhere and we feel other people should have no fear and come to us. This would show that we can still communicate and that not all is lost in South Africa," she said.

For further information Mrs Mabaso may be contacted at 984-4284 (during office hours).

SOWETAN, Thursday, October 13, 1988

TUTU TO VISIT ZAIRE

Invited by President Mobutu

KINSHASA — South African Archbishop Desmond Tutu will visit Zaire shortly, President Mobutu Sese Seko said.

Mobutu said the visit resulted from his meeting with South African President P W Botha in northwest Zaire on October 1.

He did not say how that meeting with the head of the Pretoria government should lead to a visit by the Anglican clergyman, one of its most famous opponents.

Tutu would come to Zaire before the end of the month, President Mobutu told a meeting of his Zaire state party. President Ibrahim Babangida of Nigeria would also visit the central African state, he said.

ARCHBISHOP Tutu

"At first . . . the meeting (with President Botha) did not spark enthusiasm everywhere in Africa," Mobutu said.

But the results it brought "have swept away all reservations," he said.

He did not elaborate. The regional summit which Mobutu announced after meeting President Botha never took place. Also the statement he made that President Botha had promised the unconditional release of anti-apartheid activist Nelson Mandela was later denied by Pretoria. — Sapa-Reuter.

New threat

WINDHOEK — A white extremist group, Die Witwolwe, has claimed responsibility for the Monday night arson attack on the offices of *The Namibian* newspaper in Windhoek.

In a telephone call to a local newspaper the organisation warned that the newspaper — which has been prominent in exposing allegations of security force atrocities and brutalities — would "hear from us again."

Shacks blown away

MANY families in Etwatwa, Daveyton, were left homeless when strong winds blew their shacks away on Saturday and on Monday this week. Some people were injured.

The strong winds recorded by the Weather Bureau to be travelling at 30km an hour and accompanied by thunderstorms caused havoc in many Reef areas.

The Etwatwa shack dwellers were the hardest hit.

Four children also narrowly escaped injury on Saturday when their neighbour's shack was blown on top of their

The mystery buried in the Khanya wreck

28 WMAIL 15-20/10/88

By THAMI MKHWANAZI and CARMEL RICKARD

THIS week's arson attack on the headquarters of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference has left behind charred wreckage — and a deepening mystery.

The SACBC yesterday cast doubts on police claims that they had found an "arms cache" — two limpet mines, a hand-grenade and an AK-47 magazine — in the conference's Pretoria building, Khanya House.

"There is no doubt that the objects of destruction found by ourselves and reported to the police were left in the building by the same persons who intended to destroy it," Archbishop George Daniel said in a statement on behalf of the conference yesterday.

If this is true, the incident could have been much more serious — if the two limpet mines had exploded, they would have "destroyed the building (and the people sleeping in it) totally", according to Brother Jude Pieterse, SACBC general secretary.

The SACBC statement has raised a number of questions about the incident:

- Why were the limpet mines wrapped in plastic with Afrikaans lettering: *"Enkelle rolle"* (single rolls)?
- Why did the police tell the SACBC they had only found two limpet mines?
- Why did they — and have they still — made no mention to the bishops of the other weapons?
- Why would anyone have stored an arms cache in such an unlikely place — a cupboard in daily use?
- Why has the SACBC not been asked for an explanation for the alleged find in the building?
- Why did Brigadier Leon Mellet of the Ministry of Law and Order say the press had picked the story up "from somewhere" and then phone for confirmation — when the police had in fact issued a statement?

Pieterse's staff found the mystery package as they were cleaning up the debris after the devastating Wednesday morning fire, and he called the police.

"It looked very suspicious: I told people to get out of the building."

●To PAGE 2

The grim irony is that if the flames had reached the bombs, it would have looked far worse
Picture: ANNA ZIEMINSKI, Afrapix

WMAIL 14-20/10/88

The price to pay for speaking out: Arson

He said he called the police who told him they suspected it was a limpet mine and cleared the area.

When the police asked him to come back inside the building he enquired what they had found.

"They said that they had found these two limpet mines and I asked how they would have been detonated. They said they were enclosed in stable plastic explosives and that the heat from the fire would have ignited the plastic explosives which in turn would have detonated the limpet mines."

Asked whether it was his understanding that the people who set fire to the building also intended to blow it up, Pieterse answered, "Very very clearly. I can put no other interpretation on it.

"The place was absolutely saturated

●From PAGE 1

on the ground floor, first floor and second floor with kerosene, paraffin or petrol. There were fuse wires leading out of the building, up the first floor on to the second floor and these limpet mines were clearly placed there in a central position, which if they had gone off would have destroyed the building completely. I can put no other interpretation on it — the intention was to destroy the building completely.

"It was a really nasty business, and I reject in the strongest possible terms any insinuations, no matter how veiled, that there were any arms or limpet mines or anything else kept on these premises."

He said he had not seen the police statement that limpet mines, hand-grenades and magazines for AK-47 rifles had been found, but added, "I find it strange that they did not tell me (this) when I was called back into the building and I asked them what had been found."

The SACBC added in its statement that this was not a time for political point-scoring. "Whas has occurred at Khanya House is a tragedy, not only for the Bishops' Conference, but for the country as well ... It is time for all South Africans to realise that violence will not solve the problems of this country."

The finding of the explosives was widely reported in the media as the "discovery of an arms cache", with no reference to the probability that the arsonists planted the "cache" in the offices.

The sinister implication — that the bishops' offices were a storehouse for illegal explosive devices — followed the pattern set after the devastation of Khotso House, headquarters of the South African Council of Churches, by a bomb in August.

According to reports at that time police were investigating whether a vehicle packed with explosives, parked in the basement of the building, had been the source of the blast.

The implication in that case was that the SACC was a depot for car bombs, an insinuation angrily dismissed by SACC officials.

The arson and bomb attacks against the SACC and SACBC indicate that the churches — the only groups now able to speak critically of the forthcoming elections — will not escape unscathed from exercising this role.

The government has announced a decision not to arrest and charge high-profile church leaders for speaking on the election boycott, but there is a steep cost attached.

There are not likely to be court cases against the president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, Allan Boesak, and Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu. However, there have been continued detentions of lesser-known church figures and the destruction of physical structures which allow the churches to function.

The SACC yesterday issued a statement complaining that 14 members of their staff were being held without trial because of their stand on the municipal elections.

Generous offers of financial assistance to the Catholic bishops have already come from local and international sources.

Statements condemning the attack have come from, among others, the Canadian secretary of state, Joe Clark, and the African National Congress.

A special message of support for the Catholic bishops has also been received from Pope John Paul II.

The message was sent through the Vatican Secretary of State, Cardinal Augustino Caseroli, and reiterated the Pope's appeal for peaceful ways to "resolve the problem connected with the political and racial divisions existing in South Africa".

Cardinal Roger Etchegaray, the president of the Pontifical Justice and Peace Commission, who recently visited South Africa preparatory to the papal tour, also sent a message, expressing his "heartfelt prayers at (the) news of (the) criminal attack against (the bishops') headquarters.

"We are closely united with this courageous episcopate which is seeking to promote justice and reconciliation by peaceful means."

Trocaire, the Irish development agency has offered £20,000 to assist and the European Community has also made offers of financial help.

● The offices of East London's Unemployed Workers' Union were burnt down yesterday morning.

WEAPONS STORY 'A LIE'

Firebombing of Catholic bishops headquarters

28 Sunday 14/10/88

By MONK NKOMO

THE police yesterday refuted media reports that an arms cache was found at Khanya House in Pretoria.

They also stressed that limpet mines found inside the building had not been "planted".

The secretary general of the Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference, Brother Jude Pieterse, also rejected insinuations that the Roman Catholic Church had an arms cache in Khanya House which was seriously damaged after being set alight by arsonists on Wednesday morning.

Lieutenant Hennie Crowther, liaison officer for the SAP in the Northern Transvaal, yesterday said only two limpet mines, five empty AK47 magazines and one hand grenade, were

• To Page 3

Weapons story a lie

• From page 1

found by one of the staffers apparently inside a cardboard box at about 2.30pm on Wednesday.

"No huge amount of arms (cache), as reported in newspapers, was found in Khanya House as was reported in the news media," said Mr Crowther. Asked if the limpet mine and the handgrenades were "planted," the police spokesman replied: "There is no evidence that explosives were planted."

Seven people, including two Catholic bishops and an elderly nun narrowly escaped possible death when the building was set alight allegedly by eleven black and white people travelling in a kombi at about 2am on Wednesday. The building was extensively damaged.

28 Sunday 14/10/88

ARGUS 14/10/88

Khanya House 'cache' — church speaks out

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The Catholic Church has given its own account on "arms cache" reportedly discovered in the headquarters of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference.

The Khanya House headquarters were apparently firebombed on Wednesday morning, endangering seven people asleep in the building. They were not injured.

SACBC secretary-general Brother Jude Pieterse said yesterday the building had been left unguarded for about four hours after the fire was extinguished.

At 8am police had arrived. Reporters were shown through the ground floor.

"It was then that one of the staff members told the secretary-general a suspicious-looking package had been found in the documentation office.

"I went to the room and found a package containing a whitish substance."

An employee had told him the package had not been there the day before.

Police had been called again. They had examined the package, said it contained explosives and cleared the building.

"Later I was called back into the office and saw what appeared to be two large limpet mines on the floor."

The policemen had told him they had found two limpet mines encased in "stable plastic explosives."

No forced silence — Esack

Cape Times 14/10/88 (28)

MOULANA Faried Esack, who yesterday slipped on to UCT campus to address a rally on the municipal elections despite police blockades at every entrance, vowed that ordinary people would not be "Stoffelled into silence, acquiescence and cowardice".

"We are gathered here to endorse the call of the SA Catholic Bishops, the SA Council of Churches, the Muslim Judicial Council and others," said the moulana, who is national coordinator of the Call of Islam and a honorary vice-president of Nusas.

Religious leaders were an intrinsic part of the struggle, he said. Archbishop Tutu, the Reverend Allan Boesak and himself would not be where they were today "were it not for the struggle of our people".

"To be civilised today means to be part of the struggle against apartheid," he said.

Responsibility to act positively — Mogoba

SAPA Times 15/10/88 28

QUEENSTOWN. — The newly inducted president of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa, the Rev Stanley Mogoba, says all South Africans have a moral responsibility to act positively and to bring about a different, all-inclusive new South Africa, devoid of fear.

Speaking here at his induction as the first executive president of the Methodist Church to be elected for a consecutive term of three years, Mr Mogoba said such a moral responsibility differed from person to person and from one sector of society to another. However, everyone needed to realise that South Africa had recently deteriorated "into a concentration camp of fear".

Mr Mogoba, who was converted during a three-year term of imprisonment on Robben Island while in solitary confinement, pointed to the "victorious hope" that could flow from positive action.

He said it had been the "the amazing love of God" that had been his great transformer.

He added: "We have a moral responsibility to call on the government to abandon divisive policies and to allow those who have courage to get on with the business of building one nation." — Sapa

Top cop to lead Khotso bomb probe

JOHANNESBURG. — The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, says that a top-priority investigation into acts of violence at the Khotso building in Johannesburg and the Khanya building in Pretoria will be led by a general in the police.

The general, whose name has not been released, is attached to the Criminal Investigation Department.

Sapa did not receive a statement from Brig Leon Mellet, liaison officer of the Minister of Law and Order, about the discovery of explosives and ammunition in Khanya House after Wednesday's arson attack there, as claimed by the SA Catholic Bishops' Conference in a statement on Thursday.

The information was received from a spokesman of the SAP Directorate of Public Relations. — Sapa

Star 17/10/88

Savimbi won't move Unita bases up north

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Dr Jonas Savimbi is adamant that he will not move Unita's bases and supply dumps into northern Angola and away from South African support.

But in an interview with the *Sunday Telegraph* he said Unita could hold its own militarily and would not appeal for renewed South African help even if the the Cubans and Angolans broke through his lines.

Dr Savimbi told the newspaper that he had no intention of bowing to US pressure to move away, geographically and diplomatically, from South African support.

"We are not going to give up the infrastructure it has taken us 13 years to develop and move north to an uncertain future, whatever the pressure or promises the Americans make."

He said he was confident Unita could hold out against Angolan and Cuban forces, which are now keen for an outright victory against him.

Dr Jonas Savimbi.

There was no question of asking the South Africans to re-enter Angola to assist him, he said.

"We would rather deal with any situation ourselves than have to explain to the international community, and especially the Organisation of African Unity, why we were again relying upon South Africans."

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rs after nine rounds:

s:

Wayne Smith 450 pts, Derek Graham 335; Gary Nel 281.

125 Seniors:
Wayne Smith 470; Karl Prestwood 304; Gary Nel 295.

125 Juniors:
Greg Albertyn 400; Paul Heneke 349, Mike Trusler 341.

100 cc Class:
Denis Hewartson 313; Damyn Arpin 231; Colin Lathwood 228.

Star 17/10/88

SA a 'camp of fear' churchman

28

Religion Reporter

South Africa has recently deteriorated into a "concentration camp of fear", the new president of the Methodist Church said at his induction in Queenstown at the weekend.

The Rev Stanley Mogoba said all South Africans had a moral responsibility to act positively and bring about a new country devoid of fear.

He was speaking at the opening of the annual Methodist conference.

Mr Mogoba, who was converted to Christianity during solitary confinement while serving three years' jail on Robben Island, pointed to the "victorious hope" that could flow from positive action.

DUNGEON

He said that speaking from his own experience, he had come a long way from "the dungeon to this place; a long way from that flat mat which was my only bed ... a long way from being endorsed out of two urban areas and seeing my ministry being brought to a halt".

It had been the "amazing love of God" that had been his great transformer, he said.

"I know it because I have experienced it."

PW urged to launch talks with SA leaders

Star 20/10/88

28

Staff Reporter

The Rev Frank Chikane, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, has called on the State President to negotiate with legitimate black South African leaders and to create the conditions necessary for such talks.

Referring to Mr P W Botha's recent diplomatic initiatives in Africa, Mr Chikane said the Government's stated policy of regional negotiation, peace and stability was "very painful and confusing for many people within South Africa who seem to be subjected to an entirely different internal policy".

In a letter to Mr Botha last week ,and made public at yesterday's "Kine Three" press conference, Mr Chikane said that while the State President was striving to talk peace with regional leaders, he had made no move to free many legitimate black leaders who were in jail and detention in South Africa.

"Rather, people continue to be detained and banned, with detentions increasing in the last few weeks," he said.

"Internal black leaders that have attempted to negotiate with you for a peaceful solution to the problems of this country, for example, the National Education Crisis Committee, are in detention for their peaceful efforts.

"Church leaders' attempts at protesting peacefully against bannings and detentions have been met with violence in different forms and a vicious vocal attack from the State," said Mr Chikane.

"We realise the Government could detain us again." Mr Murphy Morobe, Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa and Mr Vusi Khanyile address a press conference at Wits University.

● Picture by Jacoob Rykliff.

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● Picture by Jacoob Rykliff.

28

Catholic clergy reply to Minister

OPEN LETTER TO MINISTER ADRIAAN VLOK

Dear Mr Vlok — The SABC and a number of newspapers have reported that you have encouraged members of our Church to break away from so-called "revolutionary Roman Catholic clergy". This call, made at a National Party meeting in Pretoria, cannot go unchallenged. I would appreciate your answering the following questions:

(1) Could you please give us the names of those so-called "revolutionary Roman Catholic clergymen" as well as the list of offences they have committed to deserve such a title.

(2) In what capacity have you called for division within the Roman Catholic Church? To ask members of the Church to break away from "revolutionary Roman Catholic clergymen" is tantamount to asking them to join the National Party for their salvation.

(3) Are you aware that it is part and parcel of the Catholic Church's teachings to pass moral judgements on political matters? The Vatican II constitution on The Church in the Modern World makes this very clear.

"It is always and everywhere legitimate for the Church to preach the faith with true freedom, to teach her social doctrine, and to discharge her duty among men without hindrance. The Church also has the right to pass moral judgements, even on matters touching the political order, whenever basic personal rights or the salvation of souls make such judgements necessary" Paragraph 76.

Is freedom of religion to be added to the list of restrictions that we have been facing lately?

(4) It would appear that your call referred specifically to the forthcoming municipal elections. Our bishops have written a Pastoral Letter about them in terms of our Church's teachings, which I am sad to say, are often in contradiction with the policies of your political party.

"We are publishing this letter", the bishops wrote, "in our capacity as pastors who have the right and duty to help people form their conscience on matters of social justice. We write because we feel compelled by the love of Christ".

I trust that you still give us the freedom to obey God in terms of our faith, rather than obey men in terms of their political views, or am I wrong?

(5) It might be a good opportunity for you to explain why the General Secretary of our Church was searched recently. It is extremely difficult right now to publish anything about the social doctrine of our Church due to the restrictive laws of your country, and thus to inform our church members accordingly of our teachings.

Yet, it would appear that the pamphlet prepared for the forthcoming elections did not meet with your approval and, therefore, you tried your best to seize all the copies. Why did you not use one of the many powers that you have to prevent its distribution instead?

Methodists slate 'slant' in the media

Cape Times 20/10/88 (28)

QUEENSTOWN. — The media, ranging from the South African Broadcasting Corporation to the "alternative" press, were attacked yesterday by the Methodist Church for "selective reporting".

The church condemned as slanted and biased the SABC's handling of the "Peace Church" document on TV in March and April and called it "a gross misrepresentation of our position in regard to peace".

Considerable anger was directed at the SABC during debates and a resolution urged Methodists "to be aware of the partisan nature of selective SABC reporting, especially in its repeated attacks on those churches openly committed to opposing apartheid and which have declared it a heresy".

The content of this resolution is to be conveyed to the director-general and the board of the SABC.

In a related proposal, the conference condemned what it called selective reporting in the media, including the "alternative" press of all political persuasions, which generally ignored statements and actions by the Methodist Church of SA and its leaders, a church statement said.

The statement said this presented negative propaganda about the church.

The way in which the SABC had "sought to censor the proclamation of the Gospel by refusing Methodist ministers freedom of expression in services that are broadcast, and in news coverage", was also deprecated.

The conference agreed that, in doing this, the SABC was trying to dictate the response of all Methodists to the actions of their church.

Dimension, a Methodist newspaper, was commended to Methodists as a medium which sought to reflect the life, witness and thinking of the Methodist Church "in all its diversity". — Sapa

QUEENSTOWN. — The Methodist Church of Southern Africa has called on all independent countries in the region which impose the death penalty to set up full representative commissions of inquiry to examine all aspects of capital punishment.

A statement said the decision, taken at the annual meeting of the Church's Conference here yesterday, was directed at the governments of South Africa, Mozambique, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and Venda.

The conference called on the heads of state of those states to use their prerogative to declare a moratorium on executions and for commissions of inquiry to include members of the legal, social work, religious and medical fraternities. — Sapa

on Training Courses
strialists.

REPORTS Sapa

orco would be cash flush.
Since then, he said, Minorco, De Beers

SA and Mozambique, and matters
y attractive as there would be no reason
for them to raise their bid."

No church, union decisions on poll day protest

58 B/day 21/10/83

Business Day Reporter

MAJOR church and labour organisations have not taken any decision on a call yesterday by an official of the restricted UDF for a "national peaceful protest" on October 26.

Sapa-AP reports that Titus Mafola, a UDF official, told a Press conference the municipal elections to be held on that date were undemocratic, fradulent and unjust, and were being "forced on our people by the security forces, the state propaganda system and collaborators".

A leaflet said the moment had arrived to call on people "to demonstrate their rejection of these apartheid elections in the clearest way possible". It said the conference had been convened by churches, Cosatu trade unions and UDF affiliates.

However, spokesmen for Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who earlier appealed for a poll boycott, and the SA Catholic Bishops Conference said they did not know of the protest call. The SA Council of Churches could not be reached for comment.

In its reaction, Cosatu said its central executive had discussed the call. Appropriate action would be taken after further discussions in its regional and local structures. The organisation reiterated its belief that the elections were aimed at entrenching apartheid. Spokesmen for a number of large Cosatu affiliates said their unions had not been represented at the conference.

A spokesman for Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok said he was unaware of the appeal.

Transvaal MEC John Mavuso yesterday slated boycott and protest calls as "going against the grain of the aspirations of black people".

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Executions probe sought

Star 21/10/88

Staff Reporter (28)

The Methodist Church of Southern Africa has called on all southern African states which impose the death penalty to establish commissions to examine all aspects of capital punishment.

It has called for such commissions to include members nominated by the legal, social work, religious and medical fraternities.

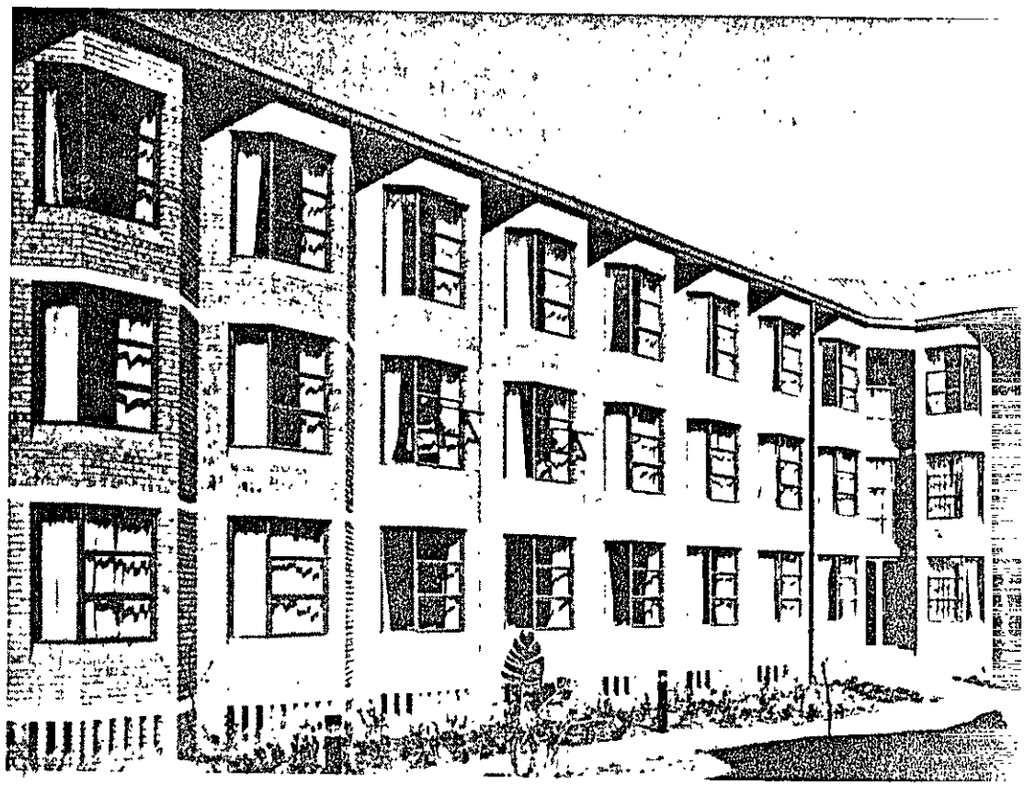
The decision, taken at the Church's annual conference in Queenstown, is directed at the governments of South Africa, Mozambique, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and Venda, according to a church statement.

Pending the findings of these commissions of inquiry, the conference:

- Called on the head of state in each country to use his prerogative to declare a moratorium on all executions.
- Supported re-establishment of the Society for the Abolition of the Death Penalty.
- Decided to ask other Christian churches to join the Methodist Church in its call.

28

FACE TO FACE WITH JOYCE SEROKE



YWCA in South A

QUESTION: Looking at the past 55 years, what do you consider the most important contributions of the World Affiliated YWCA in South Africa to have been?

ANSWER: The YWCA has had many programmes to improve the status of black women. Our role as a woman's movement can only be truly effective when we make concrete efforts and create an awareness of women's issues. The oppression of women, particularly in the rural areas, has often been neglected or accepted as the status quo. As long as women are regarded as second-class citizens they will not be able to make their full potential contribution to society.

Through our leadership training courses we have unleashed the creative abilities and leadership strengths of our members everywhere. Many have, through involvement in their communities, churches and work situation brought about change to create just and peaceful societies.

Abolition of Natal Code

The YWCA in Natal, after passing many resolutions and sending representations to the KwaZulu government, has been instrumental in the abolition of the Natal Code, which declared women minors.

The organisation has been a pressure group on various issues, including resolutions being sent to the Department of Education and Training on the recognition of night schools, permanent employment of black married women teachers, lack of control and the administration of examination papers, and the limit in our primary, secondary and high schools.

Informal education

Through our informal education programmes we have met some of the needs of underprivileged groups which are not reached by others, and the needs of education groups.

For instance:

- Our literacy programmes have helped illiterate women acquire basic education.
- We have motivated our educated and professional members to learn more in order to contribute more to urgent social needs through our leadership development programmes.
- We have organised study tours after which members are motivated to find out what is going on in their own country and to act for change where necessary.

Self-help groups

- We have started self-help groups for unemployed women in rural and urban areas where they are taught sewing, dress designing and handicrafts skills which enables them to earn an income and supplement their husbands' meagre earnings.

Q: What are the major issues facing the YWCA today?

A: We live in a country of uncertainty and violence, of poverty and hunger, a country in which respect for human life is constantly undermined.

It would be easy to become despondent and inactive because the problems in this country seem so big and what we do as a movement seems so small. Because we cannot work with problems facing our country, we have concerntrated on five major priorities – human rights, health, education, forced removals and resettlement of tens of thousands of South African families and income-generating projects.

Alleviating suffering

As a Christian organisation, we are compelled to take responsible action to help alleviate the suffering of others. It is not for us to live placid lives in comfort in this country – there is too much happening which is disturbing, much that we do not fully understand. We need to raise questions and try to find those things which are unjust in our country.

If we stop questioning and become complacent we will stop being a vital force. We know that it will not be easy, but as our World YWCA president, Dame Nita Barrow, said in her opening address at the recent Athens council meeting: "Do not be daunted by hills to climb."

Q: The World Affiliated YWCA of South Africa is largely black in membership. Does this not support apartheid?

Mainly black members

A: Our Purpose states: "The YWCA is an association of women and girls whose policy is directed by its full members who accept its Christian basis. It serves the community without distinction of race, nationality or religion." Yet our membership is predominantly black.

The YWCA in South Africa started in 1886 and was for many years an exclusively white women's organisation. The multiracial content of the Y came much later when Madie-Hall Xuma had the foresight to merge the black Zenzele clubs which were operating in the Transvaal with the YWCAs of Durban and Port Elizabeth, which were originally European.

We are open to all women and girls who choose to be involved, and I think just as blacks have responded, the reponsibility also lies with white women.

Campaigns discouraging

In 1973, Mrs Fis te Siepe was appointed associate national secretary. Part of her job was to interest the white community in the work of the World Affiliated YWCA. But after months of campaigns, the results were discouraging. Maybe the needs of women that the YWCA is meeting are already fulfilled for white women.

We have a faithful core of white and coloured members and have not succeeded in attracting Indian women and more coloured women because of apartheid itself.

In this country, the church and many organisations are victims of conditioning, and we operate according to barriers put to us by legislation. The Group Areas Act for instance. We had a budding YWCA in Lenasia and the fact that we are separated into various racial groups living in far-flung areas, plus the cost of transport, were responsible for this group dying a natural death.

Low profile in South Africa

Q: The YWCA seems to maintain a low profile in South Africa, become more active in so arising out of political fac

A: One of our functions action as agreed by full party organisation, in one women and girls"

We have questioned the migratory labour system, school dropouts. We did march in the streets waving are maintaining a high pr situations in which we can Some of our members are affecting their communities issue, refuse removal and

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YWCA president de

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Events today are not the years ago. We are faced wi and we have to review the we have been operating. Q: the next 50 years is active for change. We must lose

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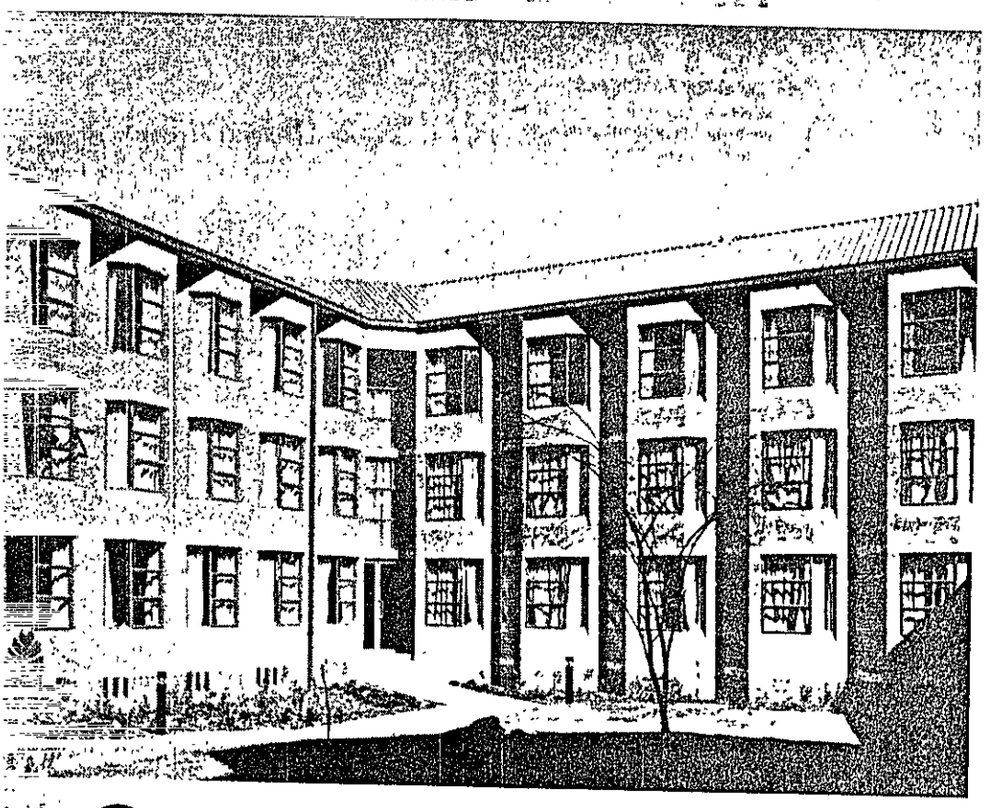

Next week the world affiliated Young Women's Christian Association in South Africa marks its 55 years of existence with the official opening of one of its biggest projects to date – the R4,9-million single women's residence in Dube, Soweto.

The Ys general secretary, Joyce Seroke – who is also vice-president of the world affiliate organisation, gives an outline to SINNAH KUNENE of the aims of the world's largest women's organisation.

South Africa turns 55

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South Africa

A seems to maintain a low profile in South Africa. Should it not become more active in social problems arising out of political factors?

A: One of our functions is "to take action as agreed by full members, as a non-party organisation, in questions affecting women and girls".

We have questioned things like the migratory labour system, education and school dropouts. We did not necessarily march in the streets waving flags, but we are maintaining a high profile role in situations in which we can be effective. Some of our members are involved in issues affecting their communities – the rent issue, refuse removal and many others.

In 1974, at our national conference, we discussed the topic *Women Can Be a Power for Change*, where Sheena Duncan spoke on discrimination in employment and on women's rights.

YWCA president detained

In 1976, the YWCA, a Christian voluntary service organisation, was dragged headlong into politics with the detention of its president, Oshadi Phakati, me and Vesta Smith, who was chiefly responsible for work among coloured members in the Transvaal.

A year later, Ellen Khuzwayo was also detained and all were released without being charged.

Events today are not the same as 50 years ago. We are faced with new problems and we have to review the ways in which we have been operating. Our challenge for the next 50 years is active participation for change. We must lose our fear and complacency in order to speak out against violence, racism, poverty, malnutrition, homelessness and militarism.

Two projects on the go

Q: Do you have any major development projects planned?

A: We have two major projects. One is the building of a school for mentally retarted children in Natal. About R13 000 has already been raised by members at Madadeni. The second is a residence for university students in Orlando East, Soweto, which was completed early this year.

Q: What is the average age of YWCA members? Are there active campaigns or steps to interest and involve young people in the YWCA?

A: Our membership is divided into three groups. Y-Teens are 12 to 17 years old. Try-Ys or Young Adults – 18 to 30 years and Adults – Over 30 years.

Membership drive

We have tried to interest and involve young people through adult YWCA clubs in the various regions. This method has not been successful, because once Y-Teens and Tri-Ys leave for boarding schools, training hospitals or universities, we lose them. We have realised that we need to campaign at these institutions.

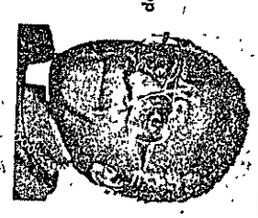
Consequently, during our anniversary celebrations, we are going to have a membership drive and we have printed special pamphlets for this purpose.

Joyce Seroke . . . YWCA has helped improve the status of black women.

CAPE TOWN TUESDAY OCTOBER 25 1988

Call for peace on eve of elections

By KAREN STANDER, DENNIS CRUYWAGEN and ANTHONY DOMAN, Staff Reporters



Archbishop Tutu

AS protest and violence marked the eve of the municipal elections in the Western Cape, Archbishop Desmond Tutu today made an urgent plea for peace on polling day tomorrow.

He called on the government not to provoke violence and on "all those responding to the elections, whether supporting or opposing them" not to allow intimidation.

He also called for a day of prayer and fasting for peace.

Police leave has been cancelled throughout the country to help maintain law and order.

Captain Reg Crewe of the police public relations division in Pretoria said police would do everything in their power to ensure the safety of voters.

● More election reports, page 5.
● Candidates and polling stations, page 13.

He warned that police would act quickly and professionally to deal with anyone intimidating voters.

In the Cape Town municipal area polls will be open from 8am to 8pm.

All ballot boxes will be taken to the Civic Centre, Hertzog Boulevard, on the Foreshore, where counting starts about 8.30pm.

Results will be announced regularly in the concourse by the returning officer, Town Clerk Dr Stan Evans. First results are expected towards midnight.

Yesterday security forces broke up a protest march with batons and teargas as students stoned their vehicles and fire-engines at the University of the Western Cape.

Two security force members were slightly injured, police said.

Three rooms at the university's residences were set alight. The fire was put out by students.

The source said no one was arrested.

Students from UWC and colleges in the northern areas and pupils from schools in the area held an anti-municipal election rally in the university hall yesterday.

They decided to embark on a protest march around the university before returning to the hall to sing Nkosi Sikelele iAfrica.

As the students neared the university entrance some stoned passing vehicles.

Teargas, batons

The source said police intervened, firing teargas as students fled.

Police said police vehicles were stoned many times and teargas and batons were used to disperse groups.

At Modderdam High School pupils walked off the premises yesterday in protest against police action at the school last Friday when seven pupils and two teachers were detained.

All except Mr Don de la Harpe, a teacher, have been released.

Mr de la Harpe appeared in Goodwood Magistrates' Court yesterday and was released on R300 bail, according to his attorney, Mr Joe Ebrahim.

Youths burnt tyres near Cathkin High School, Heideveld, yesterday.

Archbishop Tutu said a meeting of representatives of community organisations had been held at Bishop's Court yesterday "to discuss the situation created by tomorrow's elections".

"Among other issues we discussed a call made in Johannesburg last week for a national day of peaceful protest to be observed tomorrow.

"In the past such calls have often been seen as implicit appeal for work stayaways. It became clear during the meeting that this is not necessarily the interpretation being placed upon the call by democratic organisations on this occasion.

"We in the church cannot speak for the community organistions. They must be allowed to speak for themselves and we reiterate our past demands for free political activity so they can articulate their views.

"However, as leaders of our church, we wish to make the strongest possible appeal that whatever expression is given to the call for a day of peaceful protest, organisations and individuals should be free to act without fear of violence.

Choice

"People must be free to exercise their choice without intimidation on whatever side.

"I want to make an urgent call for a peaceful response to the elections. I call on the government not to provoke violence during the polling and on all those involved in responding to the elections, whether supporting or opposing them, not to allow intimidation.

"I also call on our diocese and all others who wish to join us to fast and pray for peace tomorrow," he said.

● Archbishop Tutu yesterday condemned the Witbank car-bombing as morally abhorrent and counter-productive.

● See page 3.

SABC to carry election results

Staff Reporter

SABC TV and radio will carry tomorrow's municipal election results on national and regional news bulletins but coverage will not be on the same scale as for a general election.

Programmes will not be cut into for individual results.

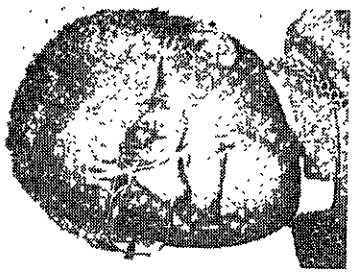
A spokesman for the SABC said results would be broadcast on all radio services during news bulletins and national radio and TV news bulletins would provide summaries of the results.

"We will not be broadcasting individual results as they come in."

National TV and radio bulletins would concentrate on the results from cities and large urban areas, while regional radio would provide regional results.

CAPE TOWN TUESDAY OCTOBER 25 1988

Call for peace on eve of elections



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ment that the city's status was "unshakeable", his spokesman said.

Cape Times 26/10/88

Dr Kistner honoured

28

PRETORIA. — The German Ambassador, Dr Immo Stabreit, yesterday presented the Cross of Merit of the Federal Republic of Germany to a former head of the South African Council of Churches division for justice and reconciliation, Dr Wolfram Kistner.

Church leaders appeal for peace on election day

Cape Times 26/10/88 (28)

Rev Desmond Tutu

Rev Frank Chikane

Staff Reporter

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu and the Rev Frank Chikane yesterday appealed to South Africans not to allow intimidation regardless of whether they supported or opposed today's municipal elections.

They also called on the government not to provoke violence during the polling.

Both church leaders appealed to Christians to join them in day of fast and prayer for peace.

Archbishop Tutu made "the strongest possible" appeal for a day of peaceful protest, emphasising that this did not imply a call for a work stayaway.

He cancelled an overseas trip to remain in South Africa until after the elections and spent yesterday visiting schools and townships urging pupils and residents to heed the call for peace.

"I reiterate what I said when I appealed on September 4 for a boycott of the elections: People must be free to exercise their choice without intimidation on whatever side. Organisations and individuals should be free to act without fear of violence," he said.

Mr Chikane, secretary-general of the South African Council of Churches (SACC), said he feared that "in the light of this climate of repression, and because of frustration and anger amongst the people", there could be an outbreak of violence today.

However, he urged people to observe a day of peaceful protest, saying "no one must resort to violent means especially against any fellow residents, even if they would have chosen to do what others have not chosen to do.

"Let us prove that it is not us that intimidate the people but that it is the forces of apartheid which do so," said Mr Chikane.

"We also wish to appeal to the government to restrain its security forces from creating conditions or from acting in a way that could provoke violence from, or cause violence to, people."

Archbishop Tutu's statement followed a meeting in Cape Town between church leaders and representatives of community organisations to discuss the situation created by today's elections.

"In the past such calls have often been seen as implicit appeals for work stayaways. It became clear during the meeting that this is not necessarily the interpretation being placed upon the call by democratic organisations on this occasion," said Archbishop Tutu.

"We in the church cannot speak for the community organisations. They must be allowed to speak for themselves and we reiterate our past demands for free political activity so that they can articulate their views."

Mr Chikane added that the SACC was especially concerned by the wide scale of harassment and detention of people.

(28) Sowetan 26/10/88

ARCHBISHOP TUTU

Tutu's plea for peace

AS protest and violence marked the eve of the municipal elections in the Western Cape Archbishop Desmond Tutu yesterday made an urgent plea for peace today.

He also called for a day of prayer and fasting. Meanwhile police leave has been cancelled throughout the country to help maintain law and order today.

Captain Reg Crewe of the Police Public Relations Division in Pretoria said police would do everything in their power to ensure the safety of voters.

"Every available policeman will be on duty to make sure that there are no incidents."

He warned that police would act quickly and professionally to deal with anyone intimidating voters.

The history-making election — the first local authority election involving the entire country — will take place over a maximum of 14 hours from 7am to 9pm.

• Archbishop Tutu yesterday condemned the Witbank car bombing as morally abhorrent and counter-productive in practical terms.

The black community had long known the constant uncertainty of "not knowing when next you will be the victim of mindless and indiscriminate violence," he said.

"Many of us and our children have been shot, beaten, teargassed and tortured without regard to 'guilt' or 'innocence'.

"That is why we can identify with the fears of our white brothers and sisters now facing the same prospect.

"We agonise with them and plead with them to enter negotiations for a shared future."

Cleric bought driver's licence

(289 Star 27/10/88

CAPE TOWN — A Worcester clergyman admitted to a Beaufort West magistrate this week that he had bought his driver's licence in Port Elizabeth for R50.

Mr David Vuyani Mafuta (38) of the United Methodist Church, Zwelentemba, near Worcester, was found in possession of a false driver's licence when he was stopped in Beaufort West on Sunday.

Mr Mafuta pleaded guilty to a charge of fraud and a charge of driving without a valid driving licence.

The magistrate found him guilty on both charges and fined him R200 or 90 days for fraud and R100 or 60 days for not having a driver's licence. — Sapa.

Liberal lie exposed, says Tutu

CAPE TIMES 28/10/88

By CHRIS BATEMAN

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu yesterday scoffed at the municipal election result, saying it exposed the myth that English-speakers were liberal.

Johannesburg and Natal voters had come out "in their true colours," said the Archbishop during a press conference at his Bishopscourt residence yesterday.

English speakers had shown they supported apartheid as much as the "much-maligned Afrikaners", he said, while noting "a slightly brighter picture in Cape Town".

English speakers enjoyed the fruits of apartheid as much as Afrikaners and had also supported the government during the 1983 referendum on the tricameral parliament.

The Nationalist-Conservative struggle was "irrelevant to us; all the CP does is express in more blatant form that which is characteristic to the Nationalists".

The Archbishop laughed when asked to respond to a claim by Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, that the 30% turnout of black voters showed significant support for incremental reform.

"If you wrote an exam and you got 30% you would not even be given the opportunity of writing a supplementary exam. You fail," he said.

The 30% turnout had come after the govern-

To page 2

From page 1

ment had spent R4 million on a campaign to stop opponents of apartheid from "merely saying don't vote".

He said most people were brought up on the conventional wisdom that: "If you'll pardon the expression, the Afrikaners are the niggers in the woodpile and that English South Africans are basically more democratic, more liberal".

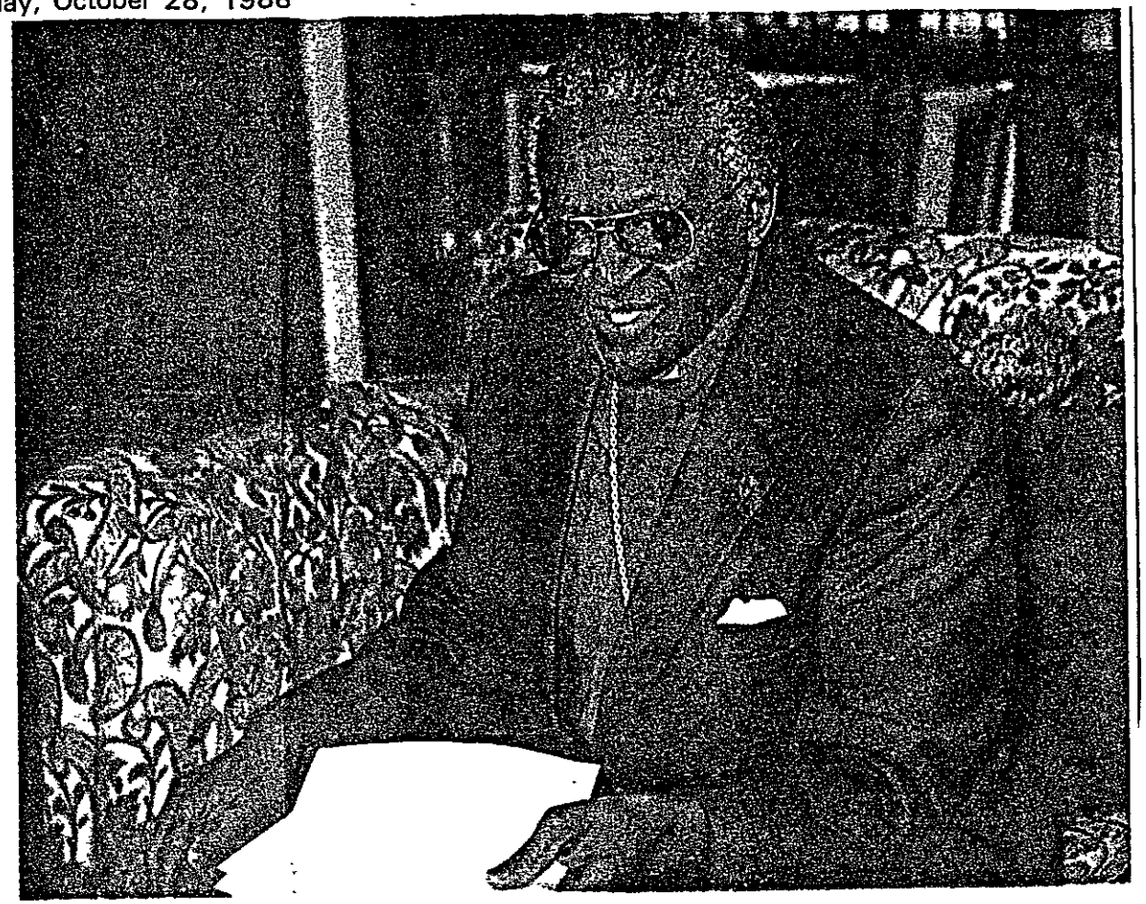
He said this had been shown to be untrue. He hoped that the elections would not be interpreted as change because "people of the same races voted on the same day."

Mandate

The government's intepretation of election statistics amounted to a "quite hilarious heads we win, tails you lose" logic. It was claiming that "hundreds of thousands" had voted and that people elected had "solid mandates".

"How can there be a solid mandate when half the seats for blacks in the country were not even contested for lack of interest? How does a 10 or 12% poll in Soweto constitute a solid mandate?" he asked.

Asked for reaction, a Bureau for Information spokesman said: "We are only here to give you statistics — we can't give you any comment."



VOTE DEBATE ... Archbishop Desmond Tutu at the press conference at his Bishopscourt residence yesterday to discuss the outcome of Wednesday's municipal election.

Picture: ALAN TAYLOR.

Meanwhile Dr Allan Boesak last night told US television that many black people believed that the sooner the CP won power, the better it would be because the masks of reform would be removed. And the Conservative Party MP Mr Clive Derby-Lewis agreed with him, saying South Africa needed "a return to honesty".

However, the Minister of Information, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, who also appeared on ABC's Nightline programme, refused to discuss the municipal election.

Tutu queries police version of 'bomber'

Cape Times 28/10/88 28

By CHRIS BATEMAN

THE brain haemorrhage suffered by Mr Manah Mahlete, 22, soon after his arrest for allegedly carrying a limpet mine near the Minister of Law and Order in Crossroads on Saturday was a "surprising coincidence", Archbishop Desmond Tutu said yesterday.

Archbishop Tutu said it was "incredible" that someone was arrested and seen to have a limpet mine on them and then admitted shortly afterwards to hospital to have a brain operation.

When arrested Mr Mahlete had "mysteriously" felt dizzy and police had rushed him to hospital, Archbishop Tutu said.

He criticised the local media, asking "why don't they say 'but this is utterly improbable'? "This is apart from the fact that a highly trained terrorist, as we are told he is, would have carried a limpet mine when he would have known that the place was swarming with security forces," he added.

He said the police version stretched incredulity "beyond breaking point".

"The only way these guys (the government) are going to stay in power is by using these foul means."

He immediately added with a laugh: "I'm not suggesting that anything happened to that man but it would be very, very surprising if this brain haemorrhage just happened on its own account. He (the victim) was lucky that the police got him. I mean he might have dropped in the street."

The duty medical superintendent at Groote Schuur Hospital said last night that Mr Mahlete's condition was "satisfactory". He was under police guard.

A police spokesman in Pretoria, Colonel Lourens Haasbroek, said on being read Archbishop Tutu's comments that he had nothing to add to a statement issued on Monday.

The statement was that an "alleged terrorist" was being held in terms of the Criminal Procedure Act and that his case had been adjourned in his absence on Monday. Shortly after his arrest the man had complained of dizziness and had been admitted to hospital where he underwent an operation for a brain haemorrhage.

Man, 48, jailed for raping two girls, 10

Court Reporter

AN Eersterivier man was jailed for 10 years by a Cape Town Regional magistrate for raping two girls aged 10 and attempting to rape another girl aged eight.

Corneels Cornelius, 48, of Karoo Street, Kleinvlei, was sentenced on Wednesday to seven years for raping a 10-year-old girl and two years for attempting to rape an eight-year-old girl on October 14 last year.

English bias: Reply to Tutu

Cape Times 31/10/88 (28)

Political Correspondent

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu appeared to believe there was some inherent reason why English-speakers could be expected to oppose apartheid more than Afrikaners, PFP leader Dr Zach de Beer said at the weekend.

"I have never believed that."

Dr De Beer was responding to the earlier charge by Archbishop Tutu that the municipal election results had exposed the myth that English-speakers were liberal.

Archbishop Tutu had also remarked that English-speakers had shown they supported apartheid as much as the "much-maligned Afrikaners", adding that Johannesburg and Natal voters had come out in their "true colours".

Approached for comment yesterday, Dr De Beer said: "Within limits, His Grace is right to point out that very many English speakers do support apartheid.

"The traditional vote of that community against the Nationalists was based on support for the Commonwealth and its symbols — it had little to do with race relations.

"There are, thank heavens, some Afrikaners who favour equal rights, freedom and the rule of law; and there are some English speakers who also support these things.

Archbishop Tutu

Dr Zach de Beer

"But language group is not the determinant of people's views."

Dr De Beer said that in both Johannesburg and Durban the results were actually better than the PFP had expected.

"The Nats gained outright control in Johannesburg but they had had effective control for 10 years anyhow. What is good is that the PFP opposition has been somewhat strengthened.

"In Durban, it is clearly the more liberal-minded people who predominate in the new council," he said.

● Meanwhile, a major controversy continues to rage about whether the turnout for the black, coloured and Indian local authorities election constituted a solid mandate for the government's constitutional policies.

The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said significant numbers of people of all races participating constituted a "victory for evolutionary change over violence".

The extent of voter participation was a victory for democratic processes over revolutionary processes and the results indicated that all communities were ready to exercise greater control over local affairs, he said.

Labour Party leader Mr Allan Hendrickse said the high polls showed that calls by church leaders for a boycott of the elections had been ignored.

The acting leader of the NPP, Mr Boetie Abramjee, said the encouraging turnout had once again proved "that those who were opposed to the election had failed in their attempts at keeping voters away from the polls".

However, the Five Freedoms Forum countered that only 1,5 million of the 26 million blacks in South Africa were registered voters, "making a 23% poll meaningless as it in fact represented only 1,13% of the black population".

The Transvaal Indian Congress said it saw the outcome of the election as a vote of no confidence in the government, saying that more than 81 000 of the 100 000 Indians eligible to vote cast their ballots.

...ing central to the redevelopment of Newtown in the plan produced ward-winning design for the multimillion revitalisation of the area.

Members of the public are welcome.

Pulpit 'is no place for politics'

(28) Star 31/10/88

Religion Reporter

Mrs Carol van Loggerenberg of Rosebank intends collecting signatures from churchgoers who do not want to hear about politics from the pulpit. She then plans to send the list to the heads of the churches.

She said: "You feel the duty of the clergy is to preach the word of God — not to tell people what they should do with their democratic right.

"Over the past few months there have been a few hand-outs at my church which I consider to be very political and out of order in the church.

"I, like most other people, have read many articles in the media in which churches of various denominations have held meetings at their highest levels and made decisions regarding political matters."

Mrs van Loggerenberg concluded: "Church leaders must know that churchgoers are not interested in hearing about these things from the pulpit."

Patients at risk from medics' over-long hours, says report

Star 31/10/88

Medical Reporter

The over-long hours worked by hospital interns may impair patient care, says a research report published in the latest edition of the *South African Medical Journal* (SAMJ).

While the doctor's first concern should be for the good of his patient, exhausted doctors cannot function properly, says the report.

Interns, or medical graduates, working at provincial hospitals are often required to work up to 70 hours a week, sometimes for 36 hours at a stretch with only a couple of hours' sleep in between.

In a survey of among interns at Johannesburg hospitals, 70 percent of those working in the departments of medicine found the demands placed on them "intolerable", and almost as many felt they "could not cope".

"Interns routinely work under conditions of cumulative and repetitive sleep deprivation and because of the nature and extent of their work programmes they do not follow normal sleep-wake cycles.

"Prolonged repetitive sleep loss results in memory loss, decreased concentration and a consequent decrease in efficiency and accuracy," the report points out.

Research results published in the *New England Journal of Medicine* concluded that work schedules depriving interns of normal sleep could produce negative mood changes and transient psychopathic disorders and impair efficiency of performance.

"Apart from the detrimental effect that such behavioural, cognitive and emotional deterioration may have on the intern, it is worrying to contemplate the damage that might be inflicted on the patient," warns the SAMJ report.

Many interns surveyed reported a loss of interest in medicine at the end of their internship.

"Further research into the conditions under which interns work is urgently needed," the SAMJ says.

Kaizer Matanzima in T'kei church row

CP 20/11/88 (28)

CP Reporter

SWIFT action by Transkei police and soldiers prevented what could have been an ugly scene between a faction of the Methodist Church of Transkei, led by Paramount Chief KD Matanzima, and one of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa.

Chief Matanzima – accompanied by his wives Nozuko and No-Europe – arrived at the Ezibeleni church while a service conducted by the rivals was in progress.

When it became apparent that trouble was brewing someone called the police and soon afterwards soldiers arrived.

The Matanzima group attempted to drown out the preacher by continuously singing hymns until Chief Matanzima himself warned his group to keep quiet.

When Chief Matanzima and his group left some members of the rival faction advanced on them and the security forces stepped in.

A senior police officer told *City Press* that a group led by Chief Matanzima had, the previous week, attempted to interfere at the church at Ilinge.

"To put it more bluntly," the policeman said, "the Matanzima group hijacked the church premises belonging to their rivals by being first to arrive in church before the normal time and starting their service.

"When the rival group – who own the building – arrived, the service was in progress. Again police had to be rushed there to quell possible trouble."

Two years ago Chief Matanzima, accompanied by Chief Zondwa Mtirara, was at the centre of a similar row at the Ngengelizwe church in Umtata. After an altercation, they had to duck flying chairs. Police had to restore order.

28 B/Day 21/11/88

Well then, how's this for an answer to Tutu?

KEN OWEN

ON MY desk lies a pile of draft constitutions sent to me in response to the recent plea in this column for a liberal answer to Archbishop Tutu. The response, including letters and telephone calls, has been extraordinary, suggesting a desperate search for answers.

Usually, I refuse to read any "plan to save the world" until it has built a constituency of supporters, but I have scanned these constitutions and have come to my usual conclusion: firstly, they are premature, and, secondly, they try to pre-empt negotiated compromise.

Indeed, the attempt to solve the problem by imposing constitutions on the country is typically South African: bureaucratic, and mildly authoritarian. It displays a preference for structures over processes which is really foreign to liberalism. Chris Heunis is the prototype, even if his constitutional ideas are different.

The alarming thing about these responses is the extent to which liberal thinking has atrophied. Most astonishing, I think, is the failure of any single person to suggest that the answer to Archbishop Tutu lies in stimulating the process of wealth-creating growth that has transformed countries from Britain to Singapore and from Japan to Italy.

Harold Laski, the famous socialist, described liberalism contemptuously as "the creed of the merchant". He was right. It is, at heart, a revolt by commercial interests against the overweening state, represented in medieval Europe by the rule of kings and in the modern world by the totalitarian state, whether fascist or communist.

The lesson of Britain's decay into seediness under socialist governments, and its revival under Mrs Thatcher — suddenly, the British are rich and we have become poor — seems to have been lost on South African liberals.

Even the lesson of Soviet failure, spelled out by Mikhail Gorbachev, seems not to have penetrated the liberal consciousness here, although Gorbachev's description of a failed Soviet society fits the South African national-socialist state like a glove.

Of course, by the time any idea reaches Cape Town it is bound to be about 30 years out of date in Europe. That is why political debate among opponents of apartheid is still dominated, especially at the universities, by neo-Marxist theories that have lately been collapsing in ruins around the world.

More or less liberal societies, employing market theory in combination with modern technology, have demonstrated that per capita incomes can be raised within a single lifetime from US$100 a year (that is, about R20 a month per person) to US$7 000. Socialist societies, from Ghana to the Soviets, have demonstrated the opposite: they subside slowly but inexorably into poverty.

Ironically, Khruschev's bombastic threat to "bury" the US has been fulfilled in reverse. The socialist societies have been "buried" by the free market economies of the West and the Far East, but we in SA have been diligent in our ignorance of these great events.

It is a tragedy that SA, a modernising society for most of the past century, has in the past two decades slid into intellectual backwardness. At the universities, economics is taught mainly by sociologists, using poor Hobbes as a foil for their Marxist thrusts. One major company, I know, has decided in desperation to put 35 000 employees through a simple course on market economies to try to offset the damage.

In the wider society, the influence of a totalitarian bureaucracy has produced a deadly conformity. Young South Africans seem to me to have become pathetically dependant creatures, grasping desperately for one or other orthodoxy. They have not been trained for freedom.

The liberal intellectual elite which, as Charles Simkins has pointed out, once set the tone of political thought in all communities in this country, has been very careless in allowing Marxist thought to become the dominant orthodoxy at the universities (If you doubt me, try engaging any university student in a conversation on Hayek or Von Mises, or on any modern liberal thinker. Their knowledge stretches no farther than the prejudices of their teachers).

There is another dimension to the discussion which I would have expected to emerge from responses to Archbishop Tutu: the core political problem in SA is to accommodate an infinite diversity, so complex and subtle as to defy any attempt to define the divisions.

Verligte Nationalist thinking breaks down on the impossibility of defining race, but it is no easier to define this society by other criteria. Moreover, we are a society changing at breakneck speed, so that any attempt to construct a permanent order is likely soon to be undermined.

Liberalism, which seeks the maximum individual liberty compatible with equal liberty for all, is uniquely suitable to this kind of multi-faceted society. For SA, more than most countries, the best government is the least government, and the emphasis of the law should fall on the preservation of individual rights.

The demands of economics, in this country, come together with the demands of a just political order: a weak central government, charged with the defence of the borders and the currency, and with upholding the common law; a severely decentralised system of administration; weak taxing powers; a multiplicity of jurisdictions; and maximum freedom for individuals and for markets.

The cause of failure in modern societies has been well charted: the centralisation of power, the extension of bureaucracy, the proliferation of controls, the protection of cartels and vested interests, economic interventions to redirect the flow of wealth, discrimination between classes, growing militarism, patronage and corruption.

It is no accident that these are also the instruments of political tyranny, or that they are so much in evidence in SA today. President Botha is destroying his country, as Nkrumah destroyed Ghana, not because he is an evil man, but because he is ignorant.

The enemy of freedom, the oppressor, is the state itself.

For liberals, this analysis should suggest many avenues of immediate political action: to revive liberal teaching at the universities; to support decentralisations of power; to support privatisation and almost any deregulation, especially of markets; to co-operate with the informal sector and strategies of "black empowerment"; and so forth.

Two things are lacking: firstly, a clear policy which spells out, in convincing detail, the manner in which liberals seek to disperse power between competing power centres; and, secondly, a set of policies covering local government, RSCs, regional developments, Bantustan authorities and provinces.

There is a great need for a series of liberal task forces to work out, in considerable detail, how to apply the formula for success of the liberal, free-market countries to the specific conditions of SA.

That is the proper answer to Archbishop Tutu's strategy of destruction.

Delmas verdict queried

Star Times 28

Staff Reporter

BROTHER Jude Pieterse, secretary-general of the SA Catholic Bishops' Conference, said yesterday that he and the entire conference could not understand how the Delmas trial verdict had been reached.

The bishops found it specially difficult to understand the judgment as no "specific acts of a treasonous nature" had been named, he said.

The bishops said the three UDF men and the SA Council of Churches worker who were convicted of treason last week were "committed to their country and their people" and wanted to remove injustices and inequalities inherent in the apartheid system.

In Pretoria, meanwhile, the Department of Foreign Affairs said the statement by the US State Department criticising the outcome of the trial was "completely unacceptable".

The US government on Monday denounced the verdict.

The department said yesterday that the government found it "improper" that the US should interefere in the matter. — Staff Reporter, Sapa

Churches urged to take action

Sowetan 23/11/88

(28)

REV Chikane

HARARE — Secretary general of the SACC, the Rev Frank Chikane, said yesterday the time had now come for churches to abandon mere rhetoric and take concrete measures to combat apartheid, the Ziana news agency reports.

Mr Chikane told the conference of the World Council of Churches in Harare that South Africa had launched a diplomatic offensive aimed at promoting its image as being a "reasonable regime that wants to talk" while it is still carrying out repressive measures at home.

He cited the State President, Mr P W Botha's recent visits to Mozambique, Zaire and Switzerland as some of the examples of the diplomatic offensive.

"Handshakes also took place when (President) Botha visited West Germany after a respectable leader had died," he said.

While this was taking place, Mr Chikane said, repression against South Africans had been intensified.

This was evidenced by the banning of organisations, executions which were taking place, attacks on church buildings and the banning of newspapers, he said.

South African churches had, therefore, agreed to move beyond talking to action. — Sapa.

Church 'compelled to convert State'

28

CAPE TOWN — The South African state was illegitimate on theological and political grounds, the president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, Dr Allan Boesak, told a literary conference.

Addressing about 200 people on "Church versus State," at *The Weekly Mail* Book Week last night, Dr Boesak said the State was illegitimate on the political grounds because it did not represent the majority of the people.

And because the State included "God" in the formulation of the Constitution and opened Parliament with prayer, the Church was compelled to tackle the State on theological grounds and call for its conversion, he said.

Father Albert Nolan of the Institute for Contextual Theology said priests, pastors, bishops and even moderators were not really prepared for the sort of crisis in which they found themselves in South Africa.

Unlike the traditional role of the Church in Europe, theology had become public debate in South Africa and part of the struggle for liberation. — Sapa.

Churches must act, says Chikane

Cape Times 23/11/88

HARARE — A leading SA anti-apartheid activist and clergyman, the Rev Frank Chikane, said yesterday that the time had now come for churches to abandon mere rhetoric and take concrete measures to combat apartheid.

Mr Chikane, general secretary of the SA Council of Churches, told the conference of the World Council of Churches here that SA had launched a diplomatic offensive aimed at promoting its image as being a "reasonable regime that wants to talk" while it was still carrying out repressive measures, like detentions and bannings, at home.

SA churches had agreed to move beyond talking to action, Mr Chikane said. — Sapa

My view of Tutu's challenge

LETTERS
PO Box 1138
Jo'burg 2000

Dear Sir,

I READ with interest Ken Owen's reply (Business Day, November 21) to Archbishop Desmond Tutu's challenge to provide an alternative to sanctions which will expedite the demise of apartheid.

First, let me say that I consider his challenge perfectly justified, considering that it comes from a man who, though an adult South African citizen, head of the Southern African Anglican Church and a Nobel Laureate, nevertheless does not have the vote.

My interpretation, however, of the Archbishop's challenge is different from yours. I do not believe he seeks an alternative ideology so much as a practical suggestion to end the apartheid system.

As I have attempted to point out to American audiences over the last 10 years, there is, in fact, no instant solution which will transform the South African scene, sanctions and disinvestment notwithstanding.

There is only the long-term effect to economic expansion within the country itself — leading to growth and the creation of jobs. These are the factors responsible for the non-cosmetic changes which have already taken place, such as the repeal of job reservation, the recognition of black trade unions and the acceptance of the permanence of blacks in the urban areas.

Power takes many forms, and the slowly increasing economic muscle which blacks can use as they are drawn into the national economy at rising levels of skill will be the major factor which will redress imbalance in privilege and wealth in SA. This solution is long term, and understandably blacks want fundamental change now, and the end of apartheid.

But the alternative will lead to isolation and a wrecked economy — this may give moral satisfaction to some who oppose apartheid, but the disastrous unintended consequences thereof must surely be weighed in the balance.

HELEN SUZMAN, MP
Hyde Park
Sandton

Stern warning against rise of right-wing

AS rightwing terror came into the open in South Africa last week, mainline churches in the Western Cape warned their members against emergent right wing church groups.

Thousands of information pamphlets detailing the history and aims of these groups were distributed to churches.

The pamphlets were endorsed by the Board of Social Responsibility of, the Church of the Province of South Africa,' the Justice and Peace Commission of the Roman Catholic Church, and the Christian Citizenship Department of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa (Cape of Good Hope District).

Among the groups mentioned are the United Christian Conciliation Party (UCCP), which participated in the recent municipal elections, and the Western Cape Council of Churches (WCCC) which was formed in opposition to the Western Province Council of Churches.

"Countless little groups have arisen in townships to teach people to think of heaven and not of their suffering here on earth," the pamphlets said.

Ironic

"It is ironic that the emergence of rightwing church groups (RWCG) corresponded with the Eloff Commission report which rejected all forms of 'political theology' whether for or against the state.

"According to the Eloff Commission report the true gospel addresses 'only truly spiritual purposes', and politics are best left to the secular forces of 'national interest' — in other words, to the national security apparatus of the state.

"We now discover, however, that having tried to exclude the participation of the institutional churches from the political arena, the state is encouraging and facilitating the direct involvement of the reactionary RWCGs in the political struggle.

"This should be a matter of real concern to all Christians."

Pamphlets

The pamphlets claimed that the RWCGs misused theology and Christian symbols.

"They abuse the Christian faith to legitimise injustice and oppression.

"They use the teachings and the language of churches to further the ends of the state and its allies.

"They deny the absolute sovereignty of Christ over all dimensions of human life by confining it exclusively to spiritual matters.

"In brief, the RWCGs promote belief in a God who cares little about real suffering."

This contradicted both Jesus identification with human suffering on the cross, and the hope of new life implicit in the resurrection.

"As Christians we cannot ignore this kind of heresy and idolatry," the pamphlets said.

Right wing church groups, whatever their original intentions, had been drawn into the structures created by the state to deal with the crisis in the country.

"RWCGs encourage ministers and priests to sit on the Joint Management Committees and co-operate with other initiatives of the National Security Management system, which under the guise of development are meant to upgrade communities.

"In reality, however, they also identify people who work for the liberation of the oppressed.

"Consciously or unconsciously, RWCGs are part of the attempt by the state to undermine the work of the churches and others who work for the good of the people.

"RWCGs also seem to be involved in the destabilisation campaigns of the South African government across the border.

"Members of Frontline Fellowship are reported, for example, to lend direct support to groups such as Renamo and Unita," the pamphlets claimed.

RWCGs directly supported government campaigns and had been active in canvassing for the October municipal elections.

"They promote participation in the National Statutory Council. They actively promote the anti-sanctions campaign.

"They confuse and divide communities, furthering the state's strategy of 'divide and rule'. They support the national and international campaign to present a positive image of South Africa as a Christian country where apartheid is giving way to a broadening of democracy.

"They suggest that communism and not apartheid is the real problem. South Africa is promoted as being part of Western Christian civilisation, and this is presented as an excuse to legitimise its many crimes."

The pamphlets questioned the RWCGs' oppostion to communism.

"RWCGs claim their opposition to communism is because it is an atheist ideology.

"Is the real reason not a subtle attempt to justify the exploitation of the capitalist system in South Africa?

"If communism can be shown to be 'all bad', the implication seems to be that capitalism is OK.

"Our faith demands that all ideologies (capitalism included) be subjected to the careful critique of the gospel which is always more concerned for the poor than the rich.

The message of the RWCGs were always negative.

"They attack prophetic church leaders like Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Dr Allan Boesak and the Rev Frank Chikane, as well as the World Council of Churches, South African Council of Churches, the South African Catholic Bishops Conference, the Western Province Council of Churches and similar organisations.

"They misuse Christianity to dissuade blacks from active protest and resistance, and demoralise those who engage in the struggle for justice and liberation.

"The question is what are they 'for'? It appears to be the maintenance of the existing order."

The pamphlets said RWCGs came "in many shapes and sizes".

"Some are highly organised, and put out glossy newsletters to lengthy mailing lists.

"These include the Gospel Defense League, Tradition Family and Property, Frontline Fellowship, Jimmy Swaggart Missions, Signposts Magazine, The Catholic Defence League, United Christian Action and the Conference for Christian Action, in turn, form umbrella bodies to link groups together."

Other groups were very small, operating only in a single township and with few links to other RWCGs.

In some areas, however, small groups were being brought together in co-ordinating umbrella bodies like the WCCC, the UCCP, the Bophutatswana Ministers Fraternal; the Reformed Independent Churches Association; a group called Jesus Christ for Peace in South Africa; and the Christian Alliance of South Africa, which recently invited Foreign Minister Pik Botha to be the guest speaker at its conference

The pamphlets called on people to find out more about these groups, their activities and their "links with the forces of oppression"

"But beyond that, we need to read in the Bible about similar experiences which the people of God had with false prophets and gospels during biblical times.

"How did the true prophets respond to these experiences

"By drawing on the resources of our faith we can best respond to those who defend the oppression of the poor in the name of the Christian faith.

"The bahaviour of the RWCGs is wrong. It is sinful.

"It is our evangelical task to proclaim the liberating gospel of Jesus Christ which exposes the damage inflicted on true faith by the false doctrines and ideologies of the false teachers who have today come among us"

Church leaders to meet ANC

Cape Times 25/11/88

JOHANNESBURG. — A top-level delegation of church leaders is to meet African National Congress leaders in "an African country" today, the South African Council of Churches said yesterday.

The church delegation includes the SACC president, Bishop Manas Buthelezi, Cape Town's Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the Rev S Magoba, president of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa, the moderator of the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa, the Rev M Moore, and the Rev Frank Chikane, the SACC's general secretary. — Sapa

...Heidelberg a year ago.

conducted.

Even if found, there is no guaran-

...was of Gemini finding the black boxes, he replied: "Your guess is as good as mine".

One of life's big challengers is the Church

Star 25/11/88 (28)

Mainstream churches in South Africa are divided in their views on capital punishment. **CARINA LE GRANGE**, The Star's **Religion Reporter**, asked church leaders to state their views on the issue.

Two Afrikaans churches officially condone the death sentence, two English-speaking churches are strongly opposed and the Catholic Church sees an emerging movement against capital punishment.

"The Ned Geref Kerk (NGK) has always accepted the death penalty — and I think on good grounds. Biblically there are adequate reasons to accept the death penalty. But this does not mean it must be used too often — and there are reasons to believe that it is used too easily in South Africa. I say this despite the fact that we accept the principle," said the moderator of the NGK, Professor Johan Heyns.

The moderator of the Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk (NHK), Professor Bart Oberholzer, said he was personally in favour of the death penalty.

"The NHK has never spoken out against the death penalty. It accepts that the State must do its duty and that it needs the death penalty to do this. The death penalty gives expression to society's concern over human life. The Bible clearly states that human life falls under the special care of God and that a State which does not have capital punishment does not protect the lives of its citizens, and shows that it does not value human life in general. Therefore I believe in the death penalty," said Professor Oberholzer.

President of the Methodist Church, the Rev Stanley Mogoba, said the Methodist Church was strongly opposed to capital punishment and this year had called for a review of the death penalty. It had appealed to all independent countries in southern Africa which upheld the death penalty for certain offences to set up full representative commissions of inquiry to examine all aspects of capital punishment.

The Rev Canon Winston Ndungane of the Anglican Church said his church was vehemently opposed to the death penalty and called on the Government to abolish capital punishment.

"The church affirms that all human life is of infinite value and that only God gives life and that humankind must not take it. It believes that whatever the strength of arguments in favour of capital punishment, the deliberate, planned killing of any human being debases those who carry out the execution, those who must witness it and all those who are members of societies which authorise it," he said.

Father Emil Blaser, Bishop Vicar for Justice and Peace in the Catholic Diocese in Johannesburg said: "Traditionally there are at least two arguments in favour of the death penalty. One, the argument that crime should not go unpunished and two, that the State has a right to prevent criminals from perpetrating crime against humanity.

"However, there is widespread abhorrence to its practice today and this can be seen as a sign of the times. There is a growth in moral awareness in the Catholic Church which is all part of the development, in theory, of the sacredness of human life from the womb to the tomb.

"For centuries there has been a growing awareness that the death penalty is neither useful nor necessary.

"The State does have the right to defend citizens from criminals and serious crimes, but the church increasingly challenges the use of that right to justify capital punishment."

Churchmen, ANC in six-hour Harare talks

Weekend Argus Africa Service

HARARE. — Leading South African churchmen and a top-level ANC delegation met for six hours in Harare yesterday.

The talks focused on uniting efforts to topple apartheid, the question of attacks on civilian targets, and the possible release of Nelson Mandela and other political leaders.

The ANC delegation was led by the movement's president, Mr Oliver Tambo, and the churchmen included Archbishop Desmond Tutu; Archbishop Peter Buthelezi, representing the Southern Africa Catholic Bishops' Conference; the Rev Michael Moore, moderator of the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa; Bishop Manas Buthelezi, president of the South African Council of Churches; Bishop Bruce Evans of the Anglican diocese of Port Elizabeth; the Rev Stanley Mogoba, president of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa; the Rev Jacobus Steenkamp, representing the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Southern Africa; and the Rev Frank Chikane, general secretary of the South Africa Council of Churches.

A joint statement afterwards said the two delegations met to discuss "the worsening situation" in South Africa and "a call was made to all the people of South Africa who desire a peaceful and democratic society to make a commitment to unity".

Civilian targets

On the question of attacks on civilian targets, the statement said the ANC "explained that the increase in attacks of this nature had also caused serious concern among its leaders and members. Some of these operations had been carried out by agents of the apartheid regime".

"The ANC reiterated its policy that it was opposed to attacking civilians."

The situation in some of South Africa's townships where violence had reached "alarming proportions" was also reviewed and "it was agreed that the shameful situation in the Natal townships, in Kwanobuhle in Uitenhage and other areas, should be ended immediately".

The statement continued: "It is the responsibility of all of us, the liberation movement, church leaders, UDF, Cosatu, Inkatha, Azapo and other group, to do everything possible to end this destructive fratricidal strife."

At a joint Press conference earlier Archbishop Tutu said it was important to keep reminding the world that the ANC was made up of people "who care enormously about their country". They were not bloodthirsty ogres, he said.

The meeting came against the backround of a World Council of Churches conference on solidarity with the "frontline" states, which was attended by representatives of churches from 42 countries.

A statement issued at the end of the five-day conference said delegates had resolved to "actively campaign for the isolation of the apartheid regime", which they accused of a "campaign of terror against the frontline states".

Department of Justice told prison

PRETORIA — A Justice De

Churchmen, ANC in six-hour Harare talks

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(28) 27/11/

Roxanne Jordaan . . . men need liberation from fear.

Women's struggle linked to apartheid

Female emancipation aims toward transforming and freeing society at large

By VASANTHA ANGAMUTHU

BLACK women have to strive to make their voices heard if they want to effect change in their lives and play a more meaningful role in society, according to church minister, Roxanne Jordaan.

Addressing the annual general conference of the National Assembly for Women in SA in Johannesburg at the weekend, Jordaan said the nature of South African society, based on economic exploitation and oppression, meant that women were still in the shackles of inequalities based on gender, race and class.

She said these various components of apartheid meant that women had to determine their own vision of their emancipation, without losing sight of the quest for freedom within the national struggle for liberation.

"South African women are affected in various ways by the structures of apartheid. They are often paid less than men for the same job. They have to work so much harder to prove that they too can do a job previously only done by men."

She said women were oppressed in their own homes by their husbands and brothers and that black women were further discriminated against by virtue of apartheid.

She said women could not be liberated without the liberation of society as a whole.

"Our struggle is not solely for the emancipation of women, or to enhance our position in the economic world, or to make ourselves equal to men, but to dismantle the structures of apartheid in order that we move forward to a transformed society, freed of the inequalities based on race, class, creed and gender.

"Those women who have been able to live and work in more favourable conditions geared towards personal development on an equal basis with men are fortunate, but they only form a small percentage of SA women.

"It therefore calls for such women to join arms with their struggling sisters to work together for the time when each person will have the opportunity to develop her full potential and creativity."

The women present agreed that the change could not be done by any one person but only when women banded together to decide on strategies for a transformation of society.

Jordaan also stressed that it would be meaningless for all women in South Africa to come together to make strategies for the transformation of society without taking into consideration that the position of women was not only affected by gender and class, but also by race.

"The nature of the women's struggle is not to work to the exclusion of other committed women's groups, but to network in order that once we have been able to focus on and tackle some of the race-class issues and structures, we would be able to speak with one voice.

"Although our fight is also against oppression in our homes by our men, we need to identify exploitative apartheid structures which enslave men and women.

"Men also need to be liberated from the psychological oppression of fear to understand the urgency of the women's struggle The women's struggle is a struggle for the realisation of the full potential of all people "

Several options were presented to women in their role in of dismantling apartheid – choices that exluded what Jordaan termed co-option on community councils

"We could pray for a change of heart on the part of the government or sit with our arms folded and pray for foreign intervention and decide that violence is the only way out or engage in internal resistance

"The issue of negotiation is an important reality. Will we be engaging in negotiation politics, or will we work towards a constituent assembly?

Jordaan's attack on the use of sexist language and its acceptance by women was contested by speaker Louise Tager, who said that changing terminology was not the important task at hand.

The use of sexist terminology, Jordaan said, allowed men to hold leadership positions in organisations and trade unions even if they were dominated by women.

"Women have a vital role to play in the dismantling of apartheid and in working towards a non-racial, non-sexist democratic society.

"It is not a fight between maids and madams, but a fight for a vote in a system where a maid would have a choice as to whether she would be a maid or not.

"It is not a struggle to free ourselves from caring for our children but a battle to redefine the reproductive role of women It is not a struggle to take over male structures and replant them in our lives and organisations, but to transform such structures to be free from any kind of sex discrimination.

"The nature of the women's struggle is bound up in its quest for national liberation. It has to be worked for in a committed way

"Liberation is not a commodity that can be bought or which will be given to those who are oppressed, for no government abdicates power as an act of charity," Jordaan said, urging that women employ the principles of a non-racial, non-sexist society in working towards their liberation.

Cape Times

Doctorate for Chikane

28

GRONINGEN, Netherlands. — The Rev Frank Chikane, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, Soviet Nobel Peace laureate Dr Andrei Sakharov and five other men will be awarded honorary doctorates on June 16, 1988 (Soweto Day) from Groningen State University.

The university's spokesman, Dr W Janssen, said the award went to Mr Chikane "because he practises a theology which wants to point out the opposing forces in a conflict-ridden society".

Meer 'obediently' boycotts Book Week

Staff Reporter

SOCIOLOGIST Professor Fatima Meer, has pulled out of a literary conference in Cape Town out of "obedience" to the Muslim Judicial Council, which is boycotting controversial author Salman Rushdie.

Rushdie, due to address the Weekly Mail Book Week this week, has caused an uproar in the Muslim community with his latest book *The Satanic Verses*, which has been banned in South Africa under the "blasphemy" clause of the Publications Act.

Professor Meer, a panelist at the session on history in the Baxter Theatre last night, attributed her protest action to Muslim obedience.

The Muslim Judicial Council yesterday called for a boycott of the Book Week.

Professor Meer said her withdrawal was not a move against Rushdie who she praised as a "literary genius". Her action was, as a Muslim, in accordance with the council decision.

Rushdie was due to deliver a keynote address on censorship on Monday but was delayed in London because of ill health. He is expected to arrive in time for the Friday session and will give the censorship address on Saturday, according to Book Week organisers.

The Call of Islam has said Rushdie should be allowed to speak and be confronted on his views in debate.

● The subject of tonight's programme is "Contemporary Afrikaans Prose: The Reality". On the panel are Gunther Pakendorf, Etienne van Heerden, Jeanne Goosen, Lucas Malan and Koos Prinsloo.

FEEDING THE MULTITUDES . . . Bishopscourt staff serve tea and biscuits to the 200 Old Crossroads squatters who arrived to discuss problems of poverty unemployment and hunger yesterday. Picture: ALAN TAYLOR

Cape Times 3/11/88

Squatters call on Tutu

Crowd gathers to ask relief from poverty and hunger

By CHRIS BATEMAN

NEIGHBOURS in Bishopscourt were intrigued yesterday as at least 200 Old Crossroads squatters queued for tea and biscuits in the courtyard of the official residence of Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

The crowd, which spokesmen said gathered to "ask for relief from poverty, hunger and unemployment from our father, the Bishop", grew slowly over an hour as taxis and buses arrived. At least five police vehicles monitored them in stages from discreet distances.

Archbishop Tutu was in Nairobi to preside over a six-monthly All-Africa Conference of Churches meeting and the Vicar-General of Cape Town, Dean Colin Jones, invited the unexpected guests in.

After some confusion as to whom the leadership was, several women volunteered to hold discussions with Dean Jones, the three Bishops Suffragan (Charles Albertyn, Geoffrey Quinlan and Ed McKenzie) and Canon W Dungani.

Before the closed-door discussions, which lasted over an hour, Dean Jones and a Mrs Elsie Nkumbuzi had a brief debate over sanctions and whose responsibility aid for squatters was.

Mrs Nkumbuzi asked that Archbishop Tutu return from overseas trips, "take bread and give piece for piece for all the people who are poor, sick and hungry".

Dean Jones said that while the archbishop could do this, "the sickness is apartheid".

"You have not just been poor since Tutu supported sanctions. You've been poor long before that," he added.

Asked whom he discerned as the leadership, Dean Jones said spokesmen claimed they were not an organised group; "but obviously they are".

In a joint statement read by Dean Jones to assembled media afterwards, participants said they had agreed that the fundamental cause of black suffering in South Africa was apartheid.

A further meeting was planned after agreement was reached that black people "suffer together and so must work in unity to end apartheid".

Asked who had paid their fares, taxi drivers said they were Old Crossroads residents and had volunteered their services.

A Bishopscourt resident walking his dobermans, Mr Herman Cools, commented: "Tutu's crowd are not spontaneous and this crowd are probably not either. Who speaks for them? Who knows what they really want?"

He thought that if the "whole story" came out, Archbishop Tutu would probably lose more followers than "those behind these people".

Won't some liberal please offer Tutu a better policy?

(28) B/Day 7/11/88

KEN OWEN

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu keeps challenging opponents of sanctions to give him a better way to change this country than to smash it by sanctions. The answers he gets from liberals are about as clear and as convincing as Chris Heunis's constitutional plans.

Let me say at once that I have done my fair share of cowering behind "liberal principles" — the rule of law, the liberty of the individual, tra-lee tra-la — and that I am as uncertain as any other South African liberal about many questions of policy.

In an attempt to come to grips with liberal policy, Business Day recently organised a discussion by a group of the country's truly outstanding liberal thinkers: Charles Simkins, the leading liberal theoretician of our day; Ann Bernstein, the most practical deviser of liberalising policies; Zach de Beer, business-trained leader of the PFP; and Duncan Innes of Wits to act as a devil's advocate. The discussion was led by John Kane-Berman who has done a quite brilliant job of focusing the work of the Institute of Race Relations on questions of reform, rather than on the old do-gooding charity stuff.

I have just been re-reading the recorded transcript of their discussion, and it leaves me deeply disturbed. There is so much work to be done before liberals can claim to be offering an alternative to the inchoate, but liberalising, reform policies of Chris Heunis.

Any fool can criticise Heunis, and many do. To spell out alternatives — to give the Archbishop a credible alternative to sanctions — is not so simple. I list below a series of questions to which I personally would like to have answers. Others will no doubt add to the list.

Every liberal knows (and most South Africans suspect) that the country will not come to rest until every adult has an equal vote. But how, then, will we avert the tyranny of the majority? A civilised state is judged by its treatment of the weak, of the minorities, but Africa offers no examples. Even Botswana, everybody's favourite African democracy, is fallible on the question of the treatment of the San.

The usual liberal answer is to trot out a bill of rights, but the Business Day discussion group recognised that it is as easy to tear up a bill of rights as to tear up a constitution. They wondered what to do.

Simkins suggested rule by grand coalition — a share in executive power for every group with significant support — but even that does not answer the question. Lebanon used to rule by grand coalition. De Beer tentatively put forward a federal constitution (not a race federation). Even if every federal state was predominantly black, the federal structure might act as a brake on the power of the central government, he thought.

That, I suppose, is true enough, but it hardly goes far enough to persuade nervous white voters to relinquish their desperate hold on power. In fact, the real instruments of power, hardly came up for discussion: who would control the armed forces? Or the police? Or the tax collectors?

Should South Africa, like the old Dutch States-General, base a separate army in each state, to be committed to battle only if that state agreed? Should we have a police force in each state, assisted by a weak but expert federal investigative division like Scotland Yard or the FBI? Should the tax base be divided in order to weaken the central government?

How, indeed, would the borders of the federal states be drawn? Do we smash the Bantustans (and at what cost?) or institutionalise them as components of a federal system?

It is all very well to pretend that the solution would be thrashed out at a national convention, but that is a cop-out. It is, after all, the function of political parties to define choices, and to present them to the electorate.

Let's change the subject entirely, to questions of wealth distribution. Not even communists, these days, argue that it is just to give equal rewards for unequal effort. (The communist slogan used to say: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his need." Mikhail Gorbachev, in his book on *perestroika*, modifies the slogan to say: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work.")

But socialists still peddle the big lie that capitalism operates by "trickle-down"; in fact, it operates by what might be called "lift-up" because it depends on economic growth to create opportunities and to change the relationships between classes of people.

In all Western societies, there is a real question how much of the national resources must be devoted to welfare and how much to growth. In South Africa, the question is hardly mentioned, not even by liberals.

Innes takes refuge behind that meaningless phrase, the "mixed economy" (all economies are "mixed"), and Simkins resorts to the sophisticated idea formulated by John Rawls that the society must be organised to maximise the benefit to the least well-off people. He does not say how.

As political thinking, this sort of thing is just appalling. What growth rate should South Africa aim to achieve? Two percent, five, or ten? If, like Taiwan and Japan and several other countries, we achieved a growth of ten percent a year, our wealth would double in seven years, and the poor would be twice as wealthy (without any redistribution) as they are today. No welfare system known to man can match that performance.

Why, then, don't liberals ask what must be done to achieve that growth rate? What savings rate is needed? What level of consumption? What infrastructural development? How would a liberal government overcome a shortage of black teachers? What kind of education? How much tax is appropriate? Etc.

The Business Day discussion group even showed a marked ambivalence on land issues, insisting at one point (quite correctly) that racial prohibitions on land ownership were intolerable, but searching at another point for ways to protect black landowners against being "bought out" by white agri-business.

The liberals cry for the repeal of the Group Areas Act, and that is also correct, but except for Tony Leon's young Progs in Johannesburg, they have given minimal attention to the problems of transition. What, if anything, should be done to stabilise land prices in suburbs which attract large-scale settlement? Liberals don't say, and they don't seem to care.

Indeed, it sometimes seems to me that the liberal discourse is as callous towards the fears and needs of poorer whites as the Nationalists are towards blacks. That may be morally justifiable, though I doubt it, but so long as whites have a meaningful vote and blacks do not, it is disastrous at election time to give an impression of disregard for legitimate white interests.

Anyway, it is very hard to see why Archbishop Tutu should abandon his destructive course of action if no liberal — among all the liberals who condemn sanctions — can persuade him that liberal policies can secure for all South Africans the liberty, the security, and the prosperity which they all seek.

Anglicans told to cut ties with SA

Star Times 7/11/86

28

LONDON. — The Church of England has been threatened with legal action unless it disinvests from South African-linked companies.

A pressure group, the newly-formed Christian Ethical Investment Group, this week told the Church Commissioners — who handle the church's R9,8-billion assets — that legal opinion contradicted their argument that they could not lawfully pull out of South Africa.

The patron of the group is the Bishop of Oxford, the Rt Rev Richard Harries.

Bishop Harries stressed at the weekend that, although the proportion of shares held in South African-linked companies was small, the companies involved employed a total of 17 000 people in SA.

A spokesman said that returns on SA-linked investments made up less than half of one percent of their total annual income — R503,1 million.

Their investments include shares in about 65 companies with South African links, including ICI, GEC, Beecham, British Oxygen, Shell and BP.

Pope's man slates govt

CAPE TIMES 2/11/88 (28)

PRETORIA. — Angry mourners at a service for dead Italian POWs interrupted a politicised sermon by the Pope's Southern African representative near here yesterday when he censured the government for continuing apartheid and muzzling the press.

One of the guests of honour present during Monsignor Mario Cassari's sermon was the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, who is responsible for applying the emergency media regulations.

Mr Botha represented the government during the annual commemorative ceremony of the Zonderwater Ex-Prisoners of War Association.

Monsignor Cassari, the charge d'affaires of the apostolic delegation in Southern Africa, said in his sermon that the media were unable to "publish the truth" or to report "what the Pope actually said".

He spoke in Italian and an aide to Mr Botha said the minister had been oblivious of what was being said. He only realised that the sermon was of a political nature after a section of the predominantly Italian crowd of several hundred started protesting noisily against it.

Monsignor Cassari was able to continue only after the Italian Ambassador, Dr Mario Persigielli, appealed for calm.

Dr Persigielli said in an interview afterwards that he considered it highly unfortunate. "I think if somebody wanted to show his dissent in such a ceremony, the only proper way would have been to walk away."

He defended Monsignor Cassari's right to say what he thought was right, because Monsignor Cassari was a political diplomat for the Pope.

Dr Persigielli said Monsignor Cassari did not deviate from his prepared sermon on account of the interruption.

According to an English translation of the sermon, released by Monsignor Cassari's office in Pretoria, he said it was sad and serious to witness among the country's many ills "what the mass media are having to cope with".

Many South African newspapers were "continously hunted" and threatened with being shut down, suspended or censored — these were facts which had already occurred, "including the one of a few days ago" (the temporary closure of the Weekly Mail).

Newspapers were therefore unable to publish the truth about what was really happening or about what had been said — "including what the Pope actually said".

Monsignor Cassari acknowledged the government's reform measures, but said "the chief culprit — discrimination in the name of race — remains". He questioned whether the "sacred" white race which "meditated upon morally criminal plans" experienced brotherly love and a desire for peace.

Mr Botha said in his speech, delivered earlier, that it was to the Italian community's credit that Italians were "loyal and patriotic citizens of South Africa". — Sapa

Boesak calls for State reform

Sowetan 7/11/88 (28)

THE SOUTH African state was illegitimate on theological and political grounds, the President of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, Dr Allan Boesak, told a literary conference in Cape Town.

Addressing about 200 people on "church versus state", at the *Weekly Mail* book week last week, Dr Boesak said the State was illegitimate on the political grounds because it did not represent the majority of the people.

Because the State included "God" in the formulation of the constitution and opened Parliament with prayer, the Church was compelled to tackle the State on theological grounds and call for its conversion, he said. — Sapa.

'Problem is at home'

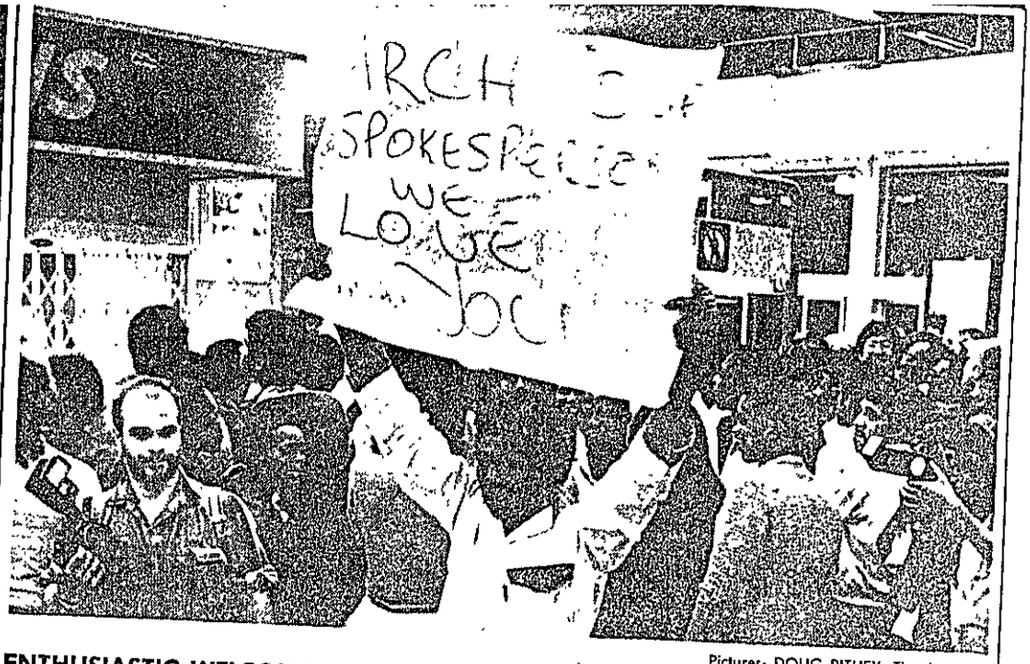
Sowetan 7/11/88

(28)

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu said on Friday that the South African Government would not solve its problems at home with diplomatic initiatives in the rest of Africa.

He also told a Press conference in Nairobi, where he is attending meetings of the All Africa Council of Churches, that black South Africans would be disappointed if Republican George Bush wins the US Presidential election.

Tutu said South Africa's apartheid system is the cause of instability throughout the southern subcontinent. — Sapa.



Pictures: DOUG PITHEY, The Argus.

ENTHUSIASTIC WELCOME: Part of the crowd of placard-waving supporters who met Archbishop Desmond Tutu when he arrived at D F Malan Airport.

ARGUS 8/11/88

Opponents missing as 1 000 greet Tutu

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Staff Reporter

ABOUT 1 000 people gathered in the arrivals hall at D F Malan Airport to greet Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu on his return from the All Africa Conference of Churches (AACC) in Nairobi.

The crowd stood on chairs, singing, ululating and waving placards to welcome the Archbishop, who is president of the AACC.

There was no sign of an opposing faction from Crossroads which had expressed its intention of meeting the Archbishop.

Bystanders said some people carrying anti-Tutu posters had arrived earlier but left when they saw the large crowd supporting the Archbishop.

Although few of the crowd last night got a glimpse of Archbishop Tutu as he was whisked through the arrivals hall, the atmosphere was exuberant.

Police removed placards, some of which read: "Archbishop — our spokesperson", "We love you", "Viva Tutu", "You talk our language" and "Down with exploitation".

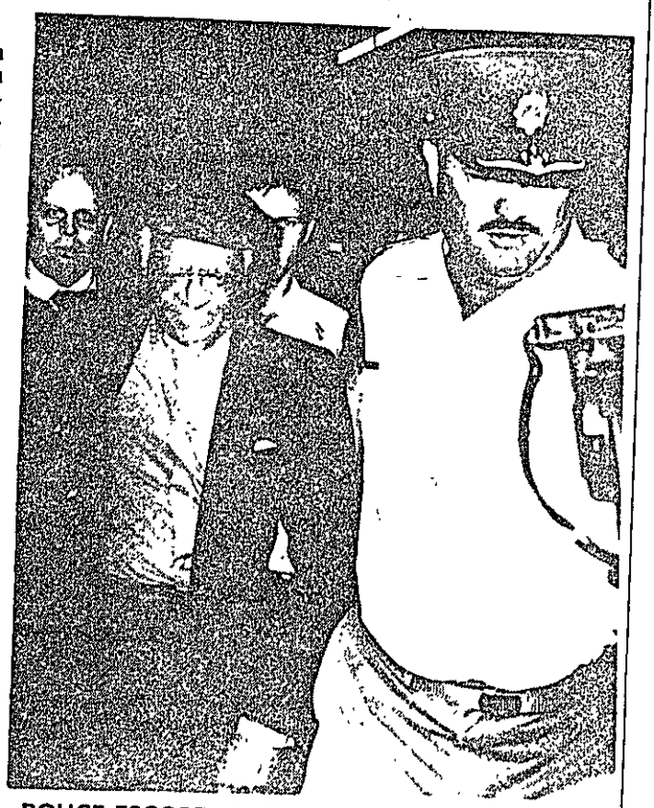
Cordoned off

Many of the posters had been made from cardboard boxes.

Archbishop Tutu was the first person off the 7.50 pm flight and was quickly taken through the cordoned-off arrival section while police used dogs to keep the crowd back.

Kitskonstabels and policemen formed a human chain to stop the crowd from following the Archbishop out of the building.

Many cameramen and journalists were also prevented from leaving the building while the impatient crowd stood on chairs, chanting and singing while some people exhorted them to remain calm.



POLICE ESCORT: Archbishop Tutu is led through the crowd by a policeman.

Newsmen apologise to Pik

JOHANNESBURG. — The Board of the Foreign Correspondents Association of Southern Africa has apologised to Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, who was heckled, hissed and harangued by diners during a question-and-answer period at the association's annual dinner on Saturday night.

A board spokesman said: "We regret the incidents. The FCA dissociates itself from actions that broke professional standards or represented a discourtesy to the invited speaker." — Sapa.

National Religious Party later in the day.

Meanwhile, retired General Rafael Eitan, whose right-wing Tzomet Party won two seats, met Shamir and said he preferred a broad government with Messianic fervour.

Despite their total rejection of the Zionist creed that established the modern Israeli state — the more extreme among them condemn it

bour alignment, which, while allowing Shamir to keep the Prime Ministerial portfolio until the next election, would keep the ultra-orthodox from a position of real power.

ANGLICAN PROPOSALS ON NUMBER OF BLACKS 'ARE ILLEGAL'

Own Correspondent

LONDON — Proposals to ensure the Church of England's general synod included a minimum of 24 black members contravened the Race Relations Act and were illegal, a leading barrister said yesterday.

John Gummer, a government Minister and synod member, said the recommendations, contained in a report from the church's committee for black Anglican concerns, "were wholly wrong and patronising to black people".

The legal clarification will strengthen the hand of opponents of the proposals, which they condemn as "apartheid in reverse", because any legislation on the issue will now require parliamentary approval.

Gummer predicted the synod would throw out the report after Thursday's debate, in spite of strong support for it from Archbishop of York John Habgood.

The report, chaired by the Bishop of Croydon, Wilfred Wood, proposed the number of black members should be "topped up" if it fell below a guaranteed quota of 24 out of the 574 new members at the next synod elections in 1990.

The extra members would, if necessary, be selected from among failed black candidates who received the same or fewer votes than failed white candidates, a provision which synod lawyers believed would infringe section 1 of the 1976 Act.

Supporters of the recommendations had hoped that the changes, if approved by the synod on Thursday, could have been enacted after a relatively minor alteration of internal church regulations.

In the light of the legal advice, however, the synod will be told that its only means of circumventing the Act is to frame a Measure, a move which will require final parliamentary approval.

28

8/11/88

FOCUS

THE Dutch Reformed Church, the most influential in South Africa, condemns political activism by clergymen. But it has swayed government policy with behind-the-scenes lobbying.

Sowetan 9/11/88

Govt policy swayed with behind scenes lobbying

THE QUIET DIPLOMACY OF THE NGK

28

By LAURINDA KEYS of Associated Press

Recently, church head Johan Heyns has spoken to President P W Botha about imprisoned African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela and the fate of the Sharpeville Six, a group of blacks sentenced to hang for participation in a mob murder of a black town councillor.

Heyns, whose church title is moderator, would not reveal details of the discussions. "We are active in these sort of deliberations," but cannot claim credit for the Government's decisions, he said. "The church and state are completely independent."

The church's quiet diplomacy ususally is undertaken on a personal level between church leaders and some of their parishioners. Ninety percent of the all-white Cabinet, plus most of the white-dominated parliament, are members of the church.

Two years ago, the church, known by its Afrikaans initials as the NGK, adopted a document called *Church and Society* which declared apartheid a mistake, termed racism a sin and said the church could no longer dictate specific political policies.

Fifty ministers and 30 000 people left the 953 000-member NGK to form a new right-wing church. Within the main church, which represents about 38 percent of the 5-million white population, a conservative league was formed to try to repeal the document.

The document said the church had been wrong to spend decades giving biblical justification to apartheid and advocating certain discriminatory laws, such as a ban on mixed marriage.

Its new view, the church said, was that the Bible cannot be used to support any political model, either apartheid or integration.

Uphold

Heyns, elected to head the church during the 1986 synod that adopted *Church and Society*, said: "That did not imply we have nothing to say to government. The Bible explicitly tells us there are certain major, universal, applicable, ethical norms which are of paramount importance for political policy."

Church and Society urges the National Party government to uphold scriptural norms, says the withholding of political rights is an affront to human dignity and asks the authorities "to give on-going and sympathetic attention" to regulations which people find offensive.

Some critics argue the church does get involved in politics — church leaders recently urged congregations to sign anti-sanctions petitions — but that its involvement is tolerated because it is regarded as "the National Party at prayer."

"Some individuals in English - speaking churches see in the NGK a government-supporting church. That worries me," said Heyns "We do not support the Government, but we have so many members in government we are responsible to them spiritually."

Event

The church is in the difficult position of seeking to represent the interests of its flock, mainly white Afrikaners, although it is officially open to all races — calling for speedier change of policies it once said were biblically justified — and trying not to be seen engaging in politics in a country where, Heyns says, "everything is seen from a political view."

An event in July illustrated the complexities of the church's position.

An editorial in the church magazine, *Die Kerkbode*, caused a stir by questioning the morality of indefinitely stationing South African troops in Angola.

Confusion developed when Heyns allowed the Defence Minister to release a comment to newspapers on his behalf. The comment appeared to undercut the editor of the church magazine.

Tutu

Heyns issued a public defence, saying, "The questions raised . . are perfectly legitimate Those are the questions in the hearts of our people"

The pro-government English-language newspaper, *The Citizen*, then warned the Dutch Reformed Church in the same tone and phrasing it normally uses with Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu and other activist clergy whom the NGK leaders have accused of un-biblical conduct.

The church "should tread carefully when it comes to questioning the South African presence in Angola," said *The Citizen's* editorial. "It is unwittingly contributing to a deliberate attempt by radical and left-wing organisations to break the morale of servicemen and the civilian population."

Two months later, South African troops withdrew from Angola

A few weeks after church leaders said they had spoken to Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok about detentions without trial, particularly of children, Vlok announced all emergency detainees under 16 had been released.

The Church said that since the Government has made it legal for people of different races to marry, it is wrong not to make provision for them to live together where they choose Last month, Parliament's white chamber passed a Bill to allow the country's first legal, multiracial residential areas

Alliance

Heyns and other Dutch Reformed Church leaders disagree strongly with what they call the "political activism" of Tutu and the Rev Allan Boesak, head of the mixed-race Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa and president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches.

The Alliance disassociated itself with the NGK over apartheid and Boesak opposes reconciliation until the white church uses its influence more emphatically to end apartheid and bring about a one-person, one-vote political system.

The NGK says its members should obey the authorities, and supports the Government in maintaining law and order. Boesak says the Government is illegitimate, on both theological and political grounds, and favours a church-led campaign of civil disobedience

"We personally think that the moment they (activist clergymen) are going to prescribe to the Government what structures should be created, they deviate from a pure, church and biblical view. They become politicians," Heyns said.

"That is exactly what we did in the past — present to the Government a political model." — Sapa-AP

"We personally think that the moment they (activist clergymen) are going to prescribe to Government what structures should be created they deviate from a pure, church and biblical view. They become politicians."

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Sam Mabe Sub-editing, headlines and posters by Sydney Matlhaku. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

• Write to the Editor at PO Box 6663, Johannesburg 2000. Nom-de-plumes can be used, but full names and addresses should be supplied or the letter will not be published.

PREACHING LOVE ... Mother Teresa speaks to the congregation in St Raphael's Church in Khayelitsha yesterday.

Picture: OBED ZILWA

Teresa pours out love for the poor

Cape Times 9/11/88

By PETER DENNEHY

MOTHER TERESA of Calcutta yesterday told a Khayelitsha congregation: "We must do something beautiful for God together."

The tiny, wizened and slightly stooped 77-year-old nun clutched her rosary at a press conference and said she had "come to give general love and care to the poorest of the poor and to help the sick and dying".

Mother Teresa said she had brought four sisters with her who will stay to start a mission in Khayelitsha.

One of them, Sister Bethany, said she had spent the first nine years of her life in Rondebosch. The others are from India and Rwanda.

More than 100 well-wishers gathered behind the security gates at the VIP lounge at the airport where she was met by Archbishop Stephen Naidoo, Cardinal Owen McCann and the Mayor of Cape Town, Mr Peter Muller.

This is her first visit to South Africa, though she was first invited here 10 years ago. Her order, the Missionaries of Charity, operates in 85 countries, she said.

Mother Teresa, the 1979 Nobel Peace Prize laureate, brushed aside political questions and said she did not even know if the people she was coming to serve were black or white, as they were "all children of God".

Asked whether the existence of apartheid had affected her decision to come to South Africa, she said she "did not know that apartheid or something like that exists". "I have never mixed up in politics. We are a religious congregation. An invitation was sent to me and I answered back 'yes'."

After the press conference, she went into the church nextdoor where a service was in progress and preached about loving and sharing.

With a surprisingly strong voice, she said: "Hunger is not only for bread, it is for love. Nakedness is not only lack of clothes, but of human dignity. Homelessness is not only lacking a brick house, but being unwanted and unloved, in a big city full of riches."

What counted was not how much we gave, but how much we loved, she said.

Mother Teresa will stay in Cape Town until Friday, when she leaves for Port Elizabeth and Durban.

The Argus, Wednesday November 9 1988 7

A message of love for the city's poor and destitute

PRESS CONFERENCE: Surrounded by cameramen, Mother Teresa arrives for her press conference in Khayelitsha with Bishop Naidoo.

Pictures. LEON MULLER, The Argus

CO-WORKERS: Mother Teresa and Mrs Margaret Cullis share a few thoughts.

By BRONWYN DAVIDS
Staff Reporter

MOTHER Teresa's arrival in Cape Town last night, to an ecstatic welcome from about 200 cheering followers, marked the launch of her ministry to the destitute of Khayelitsha.

Proclaiming a message of love for the city's poor, the quietly-spoken 78-year-old Nobel Peace Prize winner dismissed suggestions that her mission was politically inspired.

"I did not know that apartheid or something like that existed. I never mix up in politics because I do not know But what I know is that we are a religious congregation and the invitation was sent and answered by us. And since that time we have been trying to find ways and means to come and serve and put our love in action."

She told reporters at a press conference at the St Raphael's Church in Khayelitsha shortly after her arrival that colour was irrelevant.

Asked if it was significant that she had chosen to establish her mission in a black township, she said. "I did not know if they were black or white. They are all children of God White, black, green, yellow, whatever, you are all children of God, created for greater things, to love and be loved

"The presence of the sisters among you is a gift from God. We must do something beautiful for God and this will give you the opportunity to share the joy of loving."

The four sisters who will start the Missionary of Charity Convent in Khayelitsha are Sisters Audrey and Kulpushpa from India, Sister Bethany from Britain, who spent her first nine years in Rondebosch, and Sister Consega from Rwanda

"We have come to give tender love and care to the poorest of the poor We will work with the children, the destitute, the ill, the elderly — whatever the need is," Mother Teresa said

When asked what form her ministry will take in Khayelitsha, Mother Teresa said Missionaries of Charity feed, clothe, give medical care and love to the needy.

She was accompanied by Archbishop Stephen Naidoo, Mrs Margaret Cullis, International Link, and Mrs Louisa Patriscio, Africa Link of the International Association of Co-workers of Mother Teresa.

Tomorrow night at 8pm she will address a public meeting in the Good Hope Centre.

Picture DOUG PITHEY, The Argus

FIRST GLIMPSE: An awe-inspiring moment for this little boy in Khayelitsha.

Something beautiful for God

MICHAEL MORRIS, Staff Reporter

MOTHER Teresa, Calcutta's soft-spoken saint of the slums, cast a small shadow before the altar of St Raphael's in Khayelitsha last night.

Three candles and a Cadac gas lamp glowed behind her. Now and then her slight frame lit up brilliantly as flashlights popped and the clicking of cameras punctuated her appeal.

"The hunger is not only for food, it is also for love.

er". Many wore lapel badges bearing the Nobel Peace Prize winner's favourite refrain: "Do something beautiful for God."

Then she appeared, to cheers and applause from the crowd.

As the procession of cars passed through the gates, the crowd of about 200 surged forward, surrounding Mother Teresa's car. People reached out to touch her or pass her flowers.

A marimba band welcomed Mother

28

Picture: DOUG PITHEY, The Argus.

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"The hunger is not only for food, it is also for love.

"Homelessness is not only not having a home, it is also being unwanted and unloved. Many cities, big, rich cities are filled with people who have nothing, nobody wants them.

CHEER

"But this is a beautiful city and no man, no woman and no child is unwanted — together we are going to do something beautiful for God."

The world's most famous sister of charity had come to Cape Town.

A cheer went up from the crowd lining the windows of the airport terminal as Mother Teresa stepped from the plane two hours earlier, small and stooping slightly, with a bag in each hand.

Declining help from Archbishop Stephen Naidoo, she made her way across the puddled tarmac.

Reporters and television crews shuffled anxiously beyond the entrance to the VIP lounge where Mother Teresa and her entourage met the Mayor, Mr Peter Muller, and Deputy-Mayor Mr Gordon Oliver.

A crowd of followers in the rain pressed against the gates chanting: "We want Mother ... we want Mother". Many wore lapel badges bearing the Nobel Peace Prize winner's favourite refrain: "Do something beautiful for God."

Then she appeared, to cheers and applause from the crowd.

As the procession of cars passed through the gates, the crowd of about 200 surged forward, surrounding Mother Teresa's car. People reached out to touch her or pass her flowers.

A marimba band welcomed Mother Teresa to Khayelitsha's St Raphael's Church, and minutes later, exuding calm as she toyed with her Rosary in her lap, Mother Teresa faced the spotlights and lenses and questions.

"How does Khayelitsha compare with the slums of Calcutta?" one reporter asked.

She said: "I will have to go around for a week to meet the people, be close to them and to look at what's happening to them and then probably I'll be able to answer. Being my first visit, I cannot give an adequate answer at this time."

What about apartheid?

She would not be drawn.

"I was once asked in China, 'What do you make of a communist?' and I said a communist is a child of God. So it is the same here — white, black, green, yellow, whatever. You are all children of God created for greater things, to love and be loved."

She added: "It is not how much you give, it is how much you love."

Finally, she was asked how fit she was.

Her eyes sparkled and her wrinkles deepened. "I'm running about the place," she said.

Star 10/11/88

Attack 'linked to expulsion'

(28)

By Kaizer Nyatsumba

The petrol-bombing of a Soweto cleric's home on Tuesday night may have been linked to a controversy surrounding his expusion from a bible college where he taught six months ago, the Rev Lucas Ngoetjana said yesterday.

A former lecturer at the Soweto-based Full Gospel Church of God Bible College, Mr Ngoetjana said the president of the church, Pastor M L Badenhorst, expelled him because he was a temporary employee.

Pastor Badenhorst, however, told people Mr Ngoetjana was expelled because he taught liberation theology, according to Mr Ngoetjana.

Mr Ngoetjana said he suspected the petrol-bombing of his home had something to do with his expulsion.

Mr Badenhorst denied the person responsible for the attack on Mr Ngoetjana was associated with his church.

"The church has taken a clear stand against apartheid and discrimination, and also a very strong stand against violence. The church is not aware of any threats or violent actions planned or taken against Pastor Lucas (Ngoetjana)," said Mr Badenhorst.

Mr Ngoetjana said minor damage was caused to his Zone 3 Pimville, Soweto, home, but the petrol bomb had burnt his curtains, broken the kitchen window and left the stove blackened. No-one was injured.

He said he was with friends when he received a call from his wife around 11 pm, telling him that a man who called himself John had been looking for him.

Mr Ngoetjana said his wife told him the man did not know him and he looked suspicious, so she asked him to leave. He was later seen roaming around the house.

The cleric said he called his neighbours and asked them to find out who the man was. A few minutes later he received a call from his wife telling him that the house had been petrol-bombed.

A member of an organisation called Concerned Evangelicals, Mr Ngoetjana said Mr Badenhorst gave him a two-week ultimatum to choose between the college and the organisation.

Mr Badenhorst said Mr Ngoetjana was expelled for "his conduct which was contrary to the rules of the church".

Boesak in church clash

(28) South 10-16/11/88

Allan Boesak

A DEEPENING rift in the leadership of the NG Sendingkerk has led to another showdown between moderator Dr Allan Boesak and his conservative deputy the Rev Sakkie Mentor.

This week they clashed over a special synod planned for February to clarify the church's stance on apartheid and talks with the white NG Kerk.

At a "heated" five-hour meeting of the church moderature on Tuesday, Mentor was "taken to task" for his alleged role in a concerted campaign to stop the crucial synod from taking place, according to reliable sources.

He was confronted on his position regarding certain letters sent to members in an attempt to influence congregations to vote against the holding of the synod.

• Turn to page 3

(28)

10-16/11/88 South

• From page 1

Boesak

The outcome of the meeting was that the church on Wednesday sent "urgent telegrams" to 32 church circuits throughout the country dissociating itself from any letters unofficially sent to them, church scribe Dr Andries Botha confirmed.

Mentor described accusations that he was behind plans to influence congregations to veto the synod plans as "utter nonsense".

He believes the synod is "an unnecessary spending of time and money".

Differences

Differences in the church leadership have been exacerbated by the adoption at the 1986 synod of the Belhar Confession which declares apartheid a sin and its theological justification a heresy.

Mentor opposed the confession, but eventually had to sign it. He and Boesak differed on its interpretation and implications for the church.

The synod is expected to overwhelming endorse Boesak's view of liberation theology, leaving the politically conversative faction "isolated" and out in the cold.

Muslims backed in 'armed struggle'

Supreme Court Reporter

MUSLIMS are encouraged and supported by their religion to take up whatever means are available to fight oppression, the Supreme Court has been told.

Moulana Faried Essack, who said he was regarded by the Muslim community as an expert on Islam, was giving evidence in mitigation of sentence in the Ashley Forbes trial yesterday.

Four of the 14 accused, Forbes, Nazeem Lowe, Anwa Dramat and Ashraf Karriem, are Muslims.

Moulana Essack said Islam literally meant "peace" and a struggle for justice was a prerequisite for the establishment of peace.

APARTHEID

"Islam lays down a specific response to injustice. It links resistance with injustice," Moulana Essack said.

"Apartheid itself is a travesty of whatever justice means."

Moulana Essack said the Muslim Judicial Council, which represents the majority of Muslims in the Western Cape, had declared apartheid a heresy and forbidden participation in apartheid structures.

He said the Koran encouraged and supported Muslims to take up whatever means were available to fight oppression.

"This has been used as a justification for people to be involved in the armed struggle," Moulana Essack said.

"The Koran condones and at times encourages the armed struggle."

VIOLATIONS

Moulana Essack said two incidents in particular enraged Muslims in the Western Cape in 1985 when there was an intense revival of Islam as a model of resistance to unjust rule.

This was the violation of the sanctity of the St Athans Road and Park Road mosques where police fired teargas inside and went in with their boots on.

Moulana Essack said the African National Congress and the Freedom Charter had particular appeal for Muslims because of the "open and warm" acceptance of groups and minorities in South Africa.

Because Muslims comprised only 1,32 percent of the South African population their particular concern was the survival of their religion and culture.

"As the Freedom Charter became more easily available, people began to look at what kind of guarantees there were for Muslims," Moulana Essack said.

"The Freedom Charter allows for the right and necessity of groups and minorities to exist in South Africa."

(Proceeding)

NOBEL PRIZE-WINNERS . . . Two Nobel peace prize-winners, Mother Teresa and Archbishop Desmond Tutu, met at the Mayor's function at the Old Townhouse yesterday. She won her prize in 1979, he won his in 1984. Picture: ALAN TAYLOR

Mother Teresa's prayer answered

Cape Times 11/11/88 28

By PETER DENNEHY

MOTHER Teresa prayed to St Joseph on Wednesday that she would find "a convent for her nuns" in Khayelitsha by lunchtime that day — and by lunchtime her prayer was answered.

That afternoon she had made up her mind and chosen the site — an old-age home owned by the Catholic Welfare Bureau in Z Block.

She and her nuns immediately moved into the new premises in Z block and spent the night there.

Asked whether she had ever been as quick to find a place, she said it had been "quicker in Washington".

Archbishop Stephen Naidoo's press secretary, Mr Sydney Duval, said the nuns would possibly set up a mission closer to St Raphael's Church eventually, but the present premises were sufficient for their needs now.

Mother Teresa had also said she would like more land in Khayelitsha to put up a place for the frail, the elderly and the dying.

Mother Teresa, who is a Nobel Peace Prize-winner, met Cape Town's own Nobel Peace Prize-winner, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, yesterday at a lunch hosted by the Mayor, Mr Peter Muller. But she ate nothing.

The two prize-winners chatted briefly in the garden, where Mother Teresa was introduced to many other dignitaries including church leaders of various denominations and religions, the Administrator of the Cape, Mr Gene Louw, the Western Cape RSC chairman, Mr Piet Loubser, and virtually all Cape Town's city councillors.

Mother Teresa told Mr Louw that the major need in Khayelitsha was for jobs. He replied that it took money to create jobs, and his administration was doing what it could.

When she told him she wanted to work among the sick and the dying, he told her that his administration would soon be spending another R50 million on welfare institutions.

After she was welcomed by the mayor, Mother Teresa urged anyone who found a man, woman or child who felt unwanted and unloved to "please get in touch with my sisters".

Tutu, clergy pray for ANC accused

Cape Times 11/11/88 (28)

Supreme Court Reporter

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu, accompanied by the Dean of Cape Town and other clergy, yesterday during the tea adjournment, prayed for Ashley Forbes and his co-accused in the Supreme Court.

The Archbishop was accompanied by Bishop Charles Albertyn, Bishop Geoff Quinlan, Bishop Edward MacKenzie and Reverend Chris Ahrends. The churchmen were given the front seats in the public gallery.

Forbes, speaking from the dock, where his co-accused had turned around to face the Archbishop and his party, welcomed the clergy on behalf of the accused and said they were honoured to have "the people's leaders" with them.

Archbishop Tutu then prayed for "justice to be done" and for the family and friends of the accused.

"I ask that God give the holy spirit to the judge and his assessors so that would be able to do justice."

PW rejects State lottery

28

ARGUS 15/11/88

PRETORIA. — President Botha today rejected a Transvaal National Party congress resolution calling for a State lottery.

But he said if all the churches agreed he would have the desirability of private lotteries investigated.

He told congress he did not want to be unreasonable but was "personally against" gambling. He would not allow State machinery to be involved in lotteries.

"It will enthrone the Goddess of Chance in this country. It will undermine the work ethic." — Sapa.

● See page 3.

Kidnap accused collapses during cross-examination

JOHANNESBURG. — A man charged with kidnapping an SACC employee collapsed in the witness stand during cross-examination by the prosecution at the Regional Court here yesterday.

Mr Denzil Mellors, 19, of Brakpan North, has pleaded not guilty to kidnapping SACC employee Ms Beverley Fasser in Khotso House on April 11 this year and telling SACC secretary-general the Rev Frank Chikane he was going to blow up Khotso House.

The suspended trainee prison warder has admitted unlawfully possessing a pistol and ammunition but has denied pointing a firearm and stealing a gun and ammunition from his brother.

Mr Mellors collapsed as the prosecutor questioned him on his intentions in allegedly holding up Ms Fasser, ordering her to tell the SACC switchboard a bomb would explode at Khotso House, and phoning a news agency employee to say he was a "counter-revolutionary".

The hearing was adjourned to November 24.

Sapa-Reuter. Two others died later in hospital in the city of ... said.

Sabotage, blackouts and arrests on eve of poll in Chile

SANTIAGO — Saboteurs dynamited three electricity pylons and blacked out a 1 600 km strip in Chile last night only hours before Chileans were due to vote in a presidential plebiscite. Star 5/10/88

Seven million Chileans are eligible to vote in the plebiscite on whether President Augusto Pinochet should stay in power for another eight years.

Police said the high tension pylons were blown up in rural areas near Santiago, knocking out the electrical grid system of central Chile.

More than 1 200 people have been arrested, 102 injured and three killed in the run-up to today's vote, according to human rights groups.

Opponents of the general have received death threats and some have had their homes attacked. The threats appear to have been spurred by opinion polls predicting defeat for General Pinochet.

If he wins less than 50 percent of the vote, the constitution says he must call multi-candidate elections by December next year and step down three months later.

23

In Washington, State Department spokeswoman Ms Phyllis Oakley said the United States government had received reports that the military might nullify the results and had expressed its concern to Chilean Ambassador Mr Hernan Errazuriz.

The ambassador told US State Department officials that the Chilean government would honour the result. — Sapa-Reuter-AP.

The leaders of several opposition groups hold a press conference in Santiago to denounce any attempt at electoral fraud by the Pinochet regime during today's plebiscite.

flag [illegible] mony. It is, after all, a wholly French matter."

Pastor defies CP policies

28

Star 16/11/88

A fundamentalist church leader pledged today to defy Conservative Party policy on local level — "even at the risk of being fined or jailed" — if CP town councils tried to hinder multiracial schools or church meetings.

Pastor Ray McCauley, founder of the Rhema Bible Church in Randburg and a leader of the International Fellowship of Christian Churches (IFCC), was reacting in a statement to Sapa to what he said were threats made to a multiracial school run by the Word of Life church in Springs.

The school has 150 pupils, 40 percent of them black, coloured or Indian. It had been threatened with closure since the CP gained control of Springs in the municipal elections, the statement said.

Mr McCauley said his church would not bend to CP pressure.

"We believe that apartheid is an abomination and is contrary to the clear and simple teaching of the Bible which declares that God is no respecter of persons black or white, rich or poor," he said.

Mr McCauley added: "I am obligated to put the scriptures above any law that contradicts the Bible." — Sapa.

Moderator of NGK calls to Tutu and Boesak for forgiveness

ARGUS 16/11/88 28

Professor J H Heyns

By ANDREA WEISS
Staff Reporter

NED Geref Kerk moderator Professor J A Heyns has made a personal appeal to NG Sendingkerk moderator Dr Allan Boesak and Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, for reconciliation and forgiveness.

In an open letter to Die Kerkbode, Professor Heyns calls on his "blood brothers in Christ" to heed the gospel and work towards forgiveness and reconciliation.

Professor Heyns says the letter is not written on behalf of the general synodical commission but as a "Christian to Christians".

"This is why I do not want to stress differences but to examine everything we have in common.

RECONCILIATION

"We are all people who have confessed our knowledge and love of Jesus Christ and wish to obey him in word and deed.

"We are all agents of reconciliation. What we do should not be in conflict with what we say, neither in our public or in our private lives.

"As servants of the Word we often say things to the world that we haven't heard from our common Father; we insert more in our message than we find justification for in the Word," the letter reads.

"Please understand me correctly. It is easy to say more than the Gospel does. And when we closely sympathise with and are sometimes drawn into the political events around us, we can easily go beyond what the Word of God allows.

"Has Jesus not taught us to forgive each other and did He not talk of 70 times seven? Forgiveness surely means to start again with the hope of possible improvement and new insights."

"Dr Boesak, let us stop telling the outside world that the chairman of the general synodical commission is a liar," he pleads.

Signing the letter "your brother in Christ", Professor Heyns concludes: "I eagerly await your favourable reaction."

● Dr Boesak said he would not respond to an invitation through the Press.

"Although it might be necessary for Professor Heyns to engage in a publicity stunt right now, I think the issue is far too serious for that.

"I will not respond to an invitation via the Press and I advise him to write or phone me and I will respond personally," Dr Boesak said.

It was obvious that Professor Heyns was trying to put him and Archbishop "in a spot" by raising the matter in this way, he added.

"But this is not the way to deal with colleagues."

INSIDE: Weather 2, Letters 14, Finance 20-21, Racing 22, Sport 23-24, TV programmes page 3 of Tonight.

The Argus, Wednesday

Catholics 'maybe', other churches 'no' to lotteries

ARGUS 16/11/88 (28)

By KAREN STANDER
Religion Reporter

THE church has reacted with a resounding "No!" to a suggestion by President Botha that private lotteries may be investigated with a view to legalising them.

Only one mainline church approached yesterday — the Roman Catholic Church — said it had no objection to the principle of lotteries.

Mr Sydney Duval, spokesman for Archbishop Stephen Naidoo, said the Catholic church would have no objection provided the lottery was fairly and properly run, was for a good cause and people genuinely benefited from it.

In contrast, the Ned Geref Kerk, the NG Sendingkerk, the Anglican and Methodist churches gave the thumbs down, ranging from outright condemnation to mild disapproval.

Possibility

At the Transvaal National Party Congress yesterday President Botha rejected the concept of a State lottery but said he was willing to have an ex-chief justice investigate the possibility of a private lottery, provided the churches had a united positive attitude.

NGK moderator Professor Johan Heyns said the NGK had always been and was still very much against lotteries, State-run or otherwise.

The church believed that they undermined the work ethic, causing people to try to get rich in a short time without working for the money.

Sendingkerk moderator Dr Allan Boesak said his church would not support the idea.

Unjust system

"We would say to President Botha that if apartheid goes — and along with it the very heavy cost of maintaining the unjust system — there would be enough money for all South Africa's citizens. Then we wouldn't need lotteries."

The Rev James Gribble, chairman of the Cape of Good Hope District of the Methodist Church, said his church had severe problems with lotteries or any other form of gambling including horse-racing.

There were several reasons for their misgivings:

- The concept of "chance" or "luck" became the operative principle rather than "God's providence";
- For someone to win, others had to lose;
- Gambling degraded the principle of "honest work" with people looking for the highest return for the least possible outlay; and
- While charities benefited from lotteries, there was nothing to stop people contributing the money without the need for the "carrot of a possible windfall".

"Materialism"

The Very Rev Colin Jones, Anglican Dean of Cape Town, said that while the Anglican Church had no official policy on lotteries, he thought the church would frown on any kind of get-rich-quick scheme.

"It's the function of the State and the churches to care for the underprivileged.

"Until the political and economic system is just, things like lotteries are a small and insignificant way of trying to solve the problem. Lotteries encourage materialism."

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ignoring an ap...
"And the biggest sign of ...
blacks allowed' outside our parliamen-
tary debating chamber?" Mr Andrew
asked.

Multiracial issue: Pastor to defy CP

CAPE TIMES 16/11/88 28

JOHANNESBURG. — A fundamentalist church leader pledged yesterday to defy Conservative Party policy on local level — "even at the risk of being fined or jailed" — if CP town councils tried to hinder multiracial schools or church meetings.

Pastor Ray McCauley, founder of the Rhema Bible Church in Randburg and a leader of the International Fellowship of Christian Churches (IFCC), was reacting to what he said were threats made to a multiracial school run by the Word of Life church in Springs on the East Rand.

The school has 150 pupils, 40% of whom are black, coloured or Indian. The school had been threatened with closure since the CP gained control of Springs in the municipal elections.

Mr McCauley said his church, which also has a multiracial school, and all other multiracial schools associated with the IFCC, would not bend to CP pressure.

"We believe apartheid is an abomination and contrary to the clear and simple teaching of the Bible," he said. "Therefore, it is our duty to obey God and His Word first, even if this means disobeying the town councils.

"We are not the cause of this conflict and we do not want to clash with the Springs Town Council, but they will leave us no alternative but to defy them if they try to place any restrictions on our school or church." — Sapa

Crowds milled around Church Square in front of the Palace of Justice in Pretoria as the treason trial reached its climax with the start of judgment on the 438th day of the marathon hearing. ● Picture by Etienne Rothbart.

SA gambling row is still bitter 100 years later

Staff Reporter MICHAEL MORRIS examines an old issue

PRESIDENT Botha's conditional promise to investigate private lotteries as an extra source of revenue for social services rekindles a controversy as bitter now as it was more than 100 years ago.

Millions of gambling rands are lost each year to casinos in the homelands and Bophuthatswana's Bop Bonds, money which many believe could be kept in the country through a state lottery and spent on health and welfare schemes.

Transvaal National Party congress delegates debated the merits of the idea this week, but President Botha was firmly in opposition. He did, however, agree to have the concept of a private lottery investigated as long as it was approved by the church.

Fears of invoking clerical ire — particularly from the Calvinists — and, as President Botha put it in Pretoria, "enthroning the Goddess of Chance" at the expense of the "work ethic" lie behind the legal confinement of gambling.

Horse racing, albeit carefully regulated, has always enjoyed official approval, proving a rich source of provincial revenue. But South Africa's aversion to other forms of gambling, and lotteries in particular, goes back a long way.

Natal promulgated a Law to Provide for the Discouragement of Gambling in 1878. There was the Cape's Lotteries Prohibition Act of 1889, the year in which the Transvaal passed its own *Wet Tegen Hazardspelen.*

There has been what one historian called "a welter of overlapping provincial and central legislation" to curb profiting from chance.

It was in the 1930s that the attraction of a national bet was brought home to South Africans.

Rhodesia's State Lotteries Act of May, 1935, was introduced after a referendum in which the vast majority expressed favour. Only a year later South Africans bought more than 70 percent of the tickets.

President Botha . . . firmly opposed

A South African government clampdown over the next few decades — letters containing lottery tickets or money sent out to pay for tickets were seized — took its toll on the Rhodesian "Sweep" and takings dwindled. It began recovering only in the early 1970s.

In 1977, South Africa launched its own brand of national lottery.

Defence Bonus Bonds, later Bonus Bonds, were greeted with sharp criticism by the churches and others, but the scheme won enough support from the wider public to make it a multi-million rand concern. It ran for eight years before the government bowed to pressure and ended it.

In that time the bonds earned state coffers more than R1-billion and R76,8-million was paid out in prizes. In fact, more than R100-million is still invested in the scheme and 2 320 prizes totalling R1,6-million have yet to be claimed.

The suspension of the Bonus Bonds scheme switched South Africans' attention to Bop Bonds, which were introduced in 1984 to raise development capital for Bophuthatswana.

These are not sold in South Africa, but have proved an attractive flutter for visiting South Africans. There is a special Bop Bonds desk at Sun City and other outlets elsewhere in the homeland.

The scheme has been revamped and a new series of Bop Bonds is going on sale, earning five percent interest a year. Holders stand to win a R100 000 prize every three months and smaller sums monthly.

So far, Bop Bonds have earned the homeland government about R11-million.

SOWETAN, Thursday November 17, 1988

CHURCHES REJECT LOTTERIES

28

THE church has reacted with a resounding "no!" to a suggestion by President Botha that private lotteries may be investigated with a view to legalising them.

Only one mainline church — the Roman Catholic Church — said it had no objection to the principle of lotteries.

Mr Sydney Duval, spokesman for Archbishop Stephen Naidoo, said the Catholic Church would have no objection provided the lottery was fairly and properly run, was for a good cause and people genuinely benefitted from it.

Outright

In contrast, the Ned Geref Kerk, the NG Sendingkerk, the Anglican and Methodist churches gave the thumbs down, ranging from outright condemnation to mild disapproval.

At the Transvaal National Party congress this week President Botha rejected the concept of a state lottery but said he was willing to have an ex-chief justice investigate the possibility of a private lottery — provided the churches had a united positive attitude.

PRESIDENT Botha.

NGK moderator Professor Johan Heyns said the NGK had always been and was still very much against lotteries, whether they were state-run or otherwise.

The church believed that they undermined the work ethic, causing people to try to get rich in a short time without working for the money.

Sendingkerk moderator Dr Allan Boesak said his church would not support the idea.

Apartheid

"We would say to President Botha that if apartheid goes — and along with it the very heavy cost of maintaining the unjust system — there would be enough money for all South African citizens. Then we wouldn't need lotteries."

The Rev James Gribble, chairman of the Cape of Good Hope district of the Methodist Church, said his church had severe problems with lotteries or any other form of gambling, including horse-racing.

There were several reasons for their misgivings:

- The concept of "chance" or "luck" became the operative principle rather than "God's providence;"

SOWETAN Correspondent

sowetan 17/11/88

- For someone to win, others had to lose;
- Gambling degraded the principle of "honest work" with people looking for the highest return for the least possible outlay; and
- While charities benefitted from lotteries, there was nothing to stop people contributing the money without the need for the "carrot of a possible windfall."

The Very Rev Colin Jones, Anglican dean of Cape Town, said that while the Anglican Church had no official policy on lotteries, he thought the church would frown on any kind of "get rich quick scheme."

"It is the function of the State and the churches to care for the underprivileged.

"Until the political and economic system is just, things like lotteries are a small and insignificant way of trying to solve the problem. Lotteries encourage materialism."

THE Rev Boesak ... get rid of apartheid.

Only Catholics, Presbyterians in favour

Most churches reject the idea of lotteries

Star 17/11/88 (28)

By Paula Fray

Lotteries — private or State-run — have been given an emphatic thumbs-down by most churches in South Africa.

Their rejection comes after a suggestion by President Botha at the Transvaal National Party congress that private lotteries might be investigated with a view to legalising them.

The President rejected the concept of a State lottery but said he was willing to have a former chief justice investigate the possibility of a private lottery — provided the churches had a united, positive attitude.

As yet, only the Roman Catholic Church and the Presbyterian Church have not rejected the idea totally.

Leaders in the Presbyterian Church have said the church preferred to leave the issue of lotteries to the individual's conscience. "In principle we wouldn't have anything against a lottery based on raising funds for charity," they said.

Mr Sydney Duval, spokesman for Archbishop Stephen Naidoo, said the Catholic Church would have no objection provided the lottery was run fairly and properly, was for a good cause, and people genuinely benefited from it.

The other mainstream churches have rejected the idea.

The president of the Methodist Conference, the Rev Stanley Mogoba, said yesterday that the church's stand was clear: "We are against lotteries and any form of gambling."

The church was against raising money where someone depended on luck.

The Nederduitse Gereformeede Kerk, which voiced its opposition even before the motion was brought to congress, yesterday reiterated its view.

Work ethic

NGK moderator, Professor Johan Heyns, said the NGK had always been and was still very much against lotteries, whether State-run or otherwise.

His church believed lotteries undermined the work ethic, causing people to try to get rich in a short time without working for the money.

Sendingkerk moderator Dr Allan Boesak said his church would not support the idea. "We would say to President Botha that if apartheid goes — and along with it the very heavy cost of maintaining the unjust system — there would be enough money for all South Africa's citizens. Then we wouldn't need lotteries."

The Very Rev Colin Jones, Anglican Dean of Cape Town, said that while the Anglican Church had no official policy on lotteries, he thought the church would frown on any kind of "get-rich-quick scheme".

"It is the function of the State and the churches to care for the underprivileged. Until the political and economic system is just, things like lotteries are a small and insignificant way of trying to solve the problem. Lotteries encourage materialism."

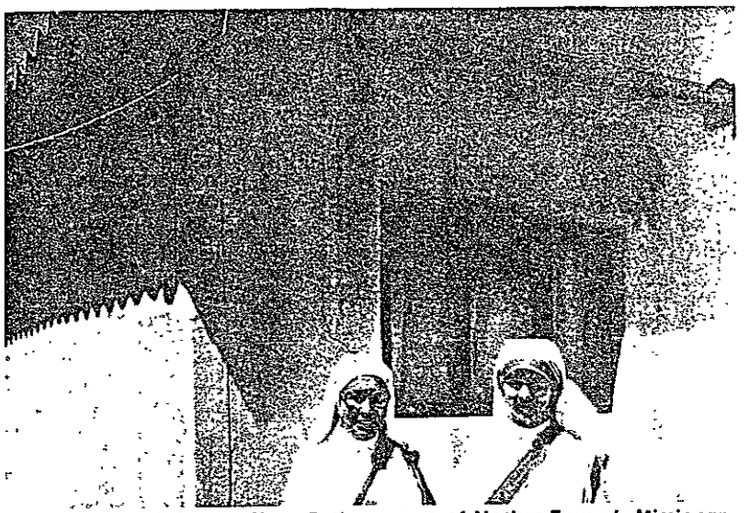
Pastor Ray McCauley, head of the Rhema Bible Church and a leader of the International Fellowship of Christian Churches which represents 500 churches in South Africa, said he was also opposed to lotteries.

"We are against lotteries and gambling of any sort on a biblical basis where the winner gains at the expense of others."

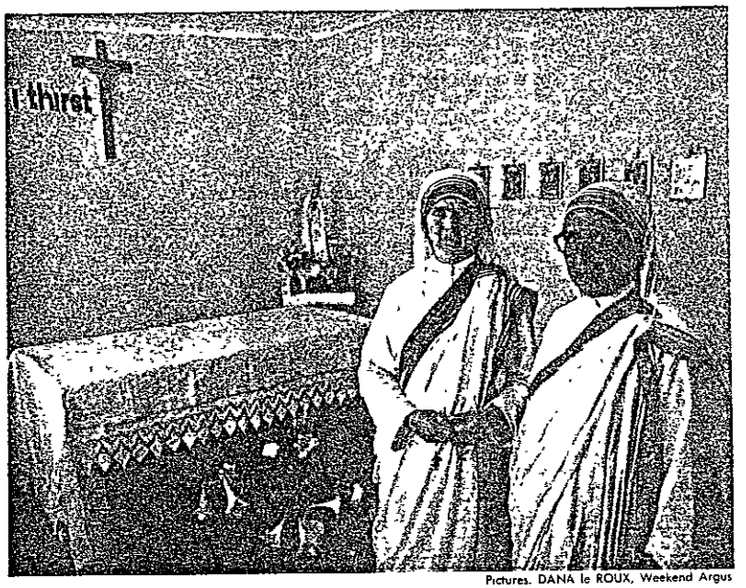
NEWS

Mother Teresa's loving apostles

When she left Cape Town recently, Mother Teresa, founder and superior general of the Missionaries of Charity, left behind four cotton-girded nuns, Sisters Audrey, Bethany, Concessa and Kulpushpa. GORRY BOWES-TAYLOR gritted teeth with two of them in a Khayelitsha south-easter sandstorm.



Sister Audrey, left, and Sister Bethany, two of Mother Teresa's Missionaries of Charity nuns, outside their temporary home in Khayelitsha.



Pictures. DANA le ROUX, Weekend Argus

The Khayelitsha chapel with its crucifix, the words "I THIRST" and Sister Bethany, left, and Sister Audrey.

YOU come quaintly upon their washing outside their house, the blue-bordered Indian cotton saris that Mother Teresa has made famous, and calico habits. *Five* face cloths — oh, those belong to the next door house.

Just Sister Audrey and Sister Bethany are here, the other two, Sister Concessa and Sister Kulpushpa are on their rounds, so to speak. All four live, temporarily, in a four room sandbag, butter-colour house in Khayelitsha, one of the old age homes built by the Catholic Welfare Bureau.

They sleep in one room: "Our dormitory!" says Sister Audrey, another room is a chapel with a contentedly holy air, another an office and we sit in the front room which has as yet unpacked cardboard boxes (labelled MOTHER TERESA, CAPE TOWN), holy statues, wild thistles in vases, fresh vegs in a veg basket and a sink with a single cold tap.

"Overwhelmed"

They are here, these Missionaries of Charity, to offer their services to the community — basic welfare and nutrition services. They have chosen their site for their convent, next to St Joseph's Church around the corner and they will operate from there.

"We've been overwhelmed with the kindness and acceptance here," says Sister Audrey. "There is so much trust. So many offers of help." Some loaves of interesting looking bread arrive, and there is talk of an offer of a car.

Mother Teresa's Missionaries of Charity the world over — as well as India they are established in other places in Africa, the West Indies, Central America, the Phillipines, Singapore, New Guinea — work with the poorest of the poor.

"In India, we work particularly with abandoned children.

"We look after mentally retarded children who have no families. I don't yet know about conditions here, in India they would be abandoned in hospital by parents who can't afford them.

"We've done a lot of adoptions, not of the mentally handicapped, but of the physically disabled."

They hope, they say, to get into those fields here.

"And then, of course, we plan to provide a home for the dying destitutes. This is big work in Calcutta. We also do catechetical work — teaching the faith, and an important part of our services is visiting people in their homes when they need comfort."

Their help is spiritual, and practical in the sense that they will clean homes and get the washing done, but there is a need for a medical Sister and Mother Teresa has said she would try to send one.

In India the Missionaries of Charity are helped by co-workers — a formal association started by Mother Teresa of volunteer nurses and doctors. There are about 10 000 mainly lay co-workers in South Africa: "They make clothes and do a marvellous amount of charitable work," says Sister Bethany.

"And, of course, spiritual," says Sister Audrey. "They pray together and try to live in the spirit of our society, to have concern for their neighbour, to spread love

"Mother always says love begins in your own home."

Rondebosch

They live and work in poverty, Mother and her nuns, but theirs is not an impoverished life. The poorest of the poor, the Sisters say, give more than they get.

"They're so appreciative and you learn so much from them. As Mother says, they don't put it into words, its a look in the eye and a touch of the hand." says Sister Audrey.

Sister Audrey, superior, is from Bengal Sister Bethany, until she was nine, lived in Rondebosch. How did they meet Mother Teresa?

"I met her many years ago," Sister Audrey says, "when she first started the Missionaries of Charity There were just 20 sisters then, in India. Then I ran away, you see, I spent some time abroad. Searching. I went back 10 years later and she said — and she asks very direct questions, she looks right into your eyes — what are you doing with your life? And I said to myself oh be careful!"

"God inspired me to become a Catholic before I met Mother," says Sister Bethany, "then I went to Calcutta to ask Mother if I could join her. She said yes straightaway, usually they make you wait if you're a convert."

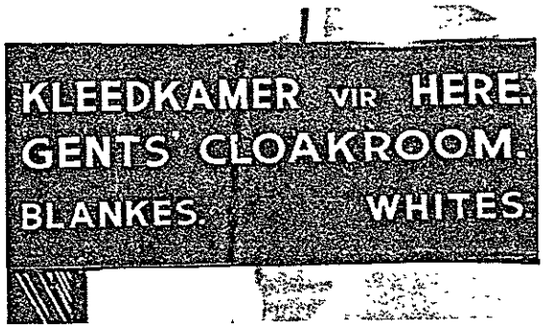
Where did they meet up with each other?

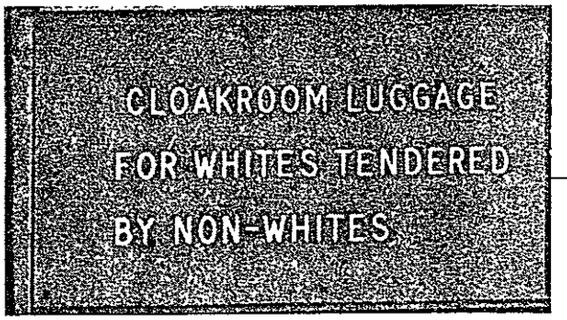
"Sister Kulpushpa and I were in Dar-es-Salaam waiting for the South Africa group to meet," says Sister Bethany. "We were then sent to Dodoma in Tanzania where Sister Concessa was and we took her with us to Nairobi, where we first met Sister Audrey."

"We didn't choose to form this community, it was chosen for us, but we get on very well!" says Sister Audrey.

What on earth (or in heaven) would happen if they didn't like each other? Oh, they both say, laughing, we'd have to practice all our Christian virtues!

Their day, which starts at 4.40 is structured for some hours of prayer, meditation and holy mass. There is also an hour of what Sister Audrey nicely calls adoration before dinner, and after dinner a little five or 10 minutes with the Lord. Then night prayers, then bed between 9.30 and 10.





Threat to economic reform

From The Argus Correspondent in Johannesburg

BOKSBURG-style apartheid threatens to halt economic reform in almost two-thirds of the Transvaal towns which had hoped to open their trading centres to all races.

The Conservative Party controls 12 of the 19 Transvaal areas whose applications to be declared free trading areas are still pending, according to lists supplied by the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning.

The CP has vowed to do its utmost to see that these towns' central business districts (CBDs) stay "white". At least six of the town councils involved have already decided to fight their pending desegregation, says a CP spokesman, and the rest are set to follow suit.

The towns controlled by the CP are Carletonville, Lichtenburg, Randfontein, Rustenburg, Middelburg, Swartruggens, Wolmaranstad, Balfour, Boksburg, Heidelburg, Secunda and Standerton.

Applications from the previous town councils for open trading areas in these towns are still being investigated by the Group Areas Board.

Mr N Terreblanche, deputy chairman of the board, which recommends which applications should be granted, says the CP's chances of halting desegregation depend on how far the process has gone.

The 12 towns are still in the investigation stage and the new town councils may submit extra reports — which are likely to contradict those submitted by the previous councils — objecting to the declaration of free trading areas.

Meanwhile, Boksburg's apartheid drama, which has attacted world-wide publicity, will not necessarily be repeated in other Transvaal towns controlled by the CP — not because other CP town councils have been scared off by the furore but because apartheid has been firmly established under former National Party rule.

Spokesmen for various CP-controlled councils said that, because separate amenities had been the rule rather than the exception in their towns, the councils did not have to reintroduce apartheid: it was still alive and well.

Mr Cas Pieterse, chairman of Vanderbijl Park's CP-controlled management committee, said: "Vanderbijl has been white all along."

Although the town's CBD had been declared open under NP rule, most black businesses were around Serfontein Square, an area close to the black taxi rank which was not visited by whites, he said.

"In other words, the NP was just as conservative as us.

"Most public facilities are still white, so we need not do much to segregate them. Where there are small cracks, for example where swimming pools are used by blacks on specific times of the day, we will take action."

Mr David Swanepoel, chairman of Delmas's management committee, said the CP-dominated council had accepted a resolution that the previously open town hall in future be used by whites only. The two NP members on the council had supported the recommendation, he said.

"For the rest we don't have a problem because other amenities are still segregated thanks to the previous NP council."

The Nylstroom town clerk, Mr Burger Pienaar, said that in the Waterberg "things are going very well indeed" thanks to the "vision" of the previously NP-controlled town council.

There were separate facilities for various population groups, with the result that most white facilities had never been desegregated.

In conversation with Desmond Tutu

HEARING Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu criticised as a "political priest" and also for his calls for sanctions against the South African government, the Kenilworth parish invited him for a question-and-answer evening to hear for themselves what he had to say.

This edited transcript of the meeting on Tuesday night was compiled by KAREN STANDER, Religion Reporter. Questions submitted by parishioners were put to Archbishop Tutu by a panel and other questions were asked from the floor.

Question: Reading your biography, one of the things that crossed my mind was that you did an enormous amount of reading. One of the questions we have relates to education, specifically areas such as school boycotts, violence at schools ... Why you do not loudly disapprove ... stressing that education, even if inadequate, is precious and important. Following up there's another question which relates to why overseas donations are being used to educate refugees abroad rather than locally.

Answer: I was very committed to teaching. I taught in two high schools for four years on the Reef. I left teaching when Bantu education was introduced into high schools because I didn't want to have any part in what I had always believed to be a travesty of education, something which was meant to turn our children into perpetual serfs. The remarkable thing is that it was those children, who had had nothing but Bantu education, who in '76 indicated that there is something in human nature that refuses to be manipulated, which is a wonderful tribute to God and humanity.

I was one of those in Johannesburg who sought to persuade children who were boycotting to return to school. I was not a member of the National Education Crisis Committee, but as Bishop of Johannesburg I was certain that it was important even if they were getting less than half a loaf, indeed what I believe is a poisonous gruel, that it would be better for the children to return to school. My commitment to this is indicated by the fact that I am now Chancellor of the University of the Western Cape.

With regard to violence I think people will almost always hear what they want to hear. However much I say I deplore all violence, people will not hear that.

When you say that, the teaching of the church is also quite clear, that there will come a time, there can come a time, when certain conditions are fulfilled that it would be justifiable to use force if every other avenue has been closed to you.

If you have lived in the townships and you have been the victim of buckshot, teargas, police dogs and bullets you wonder who is violent. Some of the things that one could tell you, you would believe that we were trying to produce tear-jerkers and were trying to lay it on thick.

I am chairman of something called the Education Opportunities Council which has provided scholarships for South Africans to study abroad, because that has been the mandate from those who gave the money, mainly for South Africans to study at American universities. The same organisation has been given funds to help educate children in this country.

I am committed to helping as many children as I can to get out of the claustrophobia of South Africa. I know what it has done for me and what it has

speak of God as the creator and all that he created is good, not just good, but very good.

This is a tremendous assertion that is being made when you realise that in most ancient philosophies the only thing which could be thought of as good was spirit. All physical matter was intrinsically regarded as evil, even in itself. And so the Christian doctrine of creation says God's material creation is not hostile to the spiritual.

Christianity is the most materialistic of all the great religions, meaning that here we have a faith in which God makes use of material things as the means of conveying to us the very face of God — settlements, water, oil, bread — and having a face that integrates, refuses to compartmentalise and say this is religious, this is secular. All matters for God ... If we say there are aspects of our lives in which God's writ does not apply, we must ask ourselves whose does.

I would not be a Christian if the things which matter to people — their accommodation, the education of their children, where they live, how they live — didn't matter to God.

If it didn't matter to God that people are in detention without trial, that people in Port Nolloth are in danger of being kicked out of their tents, if Khayelitsha or Crossroads did not matter to God, it wouldn't be a God I worship. But mercifully, it is. It is a God who says to a king: "When you receive my spirit, (it is) so that you have my righteousness. My righteousness is shown specifically by reflecting my character, which is a character which indicates a bias for those who are weak ..."

In the old testament there seems to be a thread that speaks about a God who keeps having this particular concern ... This God who is the merciful one who wishes to do good for us, not because we are good, but because he is that kind of God, can then show his mercy graciously, freely and without price. And when he grabs you by the neck you have had it.

I was trying to say that the church gives guidance as to what the teachings of our Lord would be and in matters of ethics and morality it's not always a straightforward issue.

The church has, over the years, produced a position called the just war theory about when it would be justifiable for Christians to go to war. Did Jesus allow for Christians to be anything other than outright universal pacifists? I believe that we have seen a very serious deflection from our Lord's standards, but the point is the church has said to Christians if you have Nazism on one side — which is a horrible evil — and you have the evil of war, Christians must not normally go to war, what do you do?

Do you let Hitler throw children into gas chambers or do you say it is so utterly evil that to stop

meet, for them to have decent holidays and things of that type. Almost every single priest is unable to put aside money to be able to build himself a home. Can you imagine the strain for the wife when she thinks "what happens if my husband collapses now?"

The church will say she can live in the rectory for three, maybe six months but after that your're on your own. It's an incredible thing that they have not all gone to mental asylums. What happens to them when they retire? There is no home. We are lucky. Leah and I are fortunate that for some time I worked for the South African Council of Churches and we were able to build our own house and therefore I can speak much more passionately and dispassionately.

When your priest has a day off, how wonderful if you'll help him keep it because almost all priests have to keep being reminded they are not married to the job but to their women. And clergy wives are constantly having to be jealous of their husbands' work. I hope you understand, I'm sure you do ... Yes, it is an obsession.

Q: You appear to support the growing movement which recommends a balanced priesthood with the ordination of men and women. What are your current views of the role of women in the church and what influences in your life led to these views?

A: It is again taking the Bible seriously. God created man in his own image, male and female ... It is not good for men to be alone. We are incomplete without one another.

Isn't it marvellous how the Scriptures constantly refer to what we would call feminine characteristics of God, like the passage in Isiah where God says: "Can a woman forget the child she bore?" God is expecting you to say no, because that is utterly inconceivable. Then God says, that might actually happen, but I won't forget you. The unforgettability of God's love can be reflected only in the unforgettability of a mother's love.

am desperately, desperately worried. I had just come back from England and was living in Soweto. I said to him unless we do something I am fearful of what is likely to occur. He dismissed my letter with contempt. He said I was being used by the PFP, because how could a slow thinker ever think up a thing like that. (laughter).

A few weeks later June 16 erupted. They took away my passport but when I was general secretary of the SACC in 1980 I said to Mr Botha please can church leaders come and see you so that we can put some proposals to you.

We went to see him. He was still Prime Minister then. We put forward proposals that not everybody could claim were radical. We said abolish the pass laws, commit yourselves to a common citizenship for all South Africans in an undivided South Africa and stop forced population removals and institute a common education system.

That's piffling. In 1980, if they had done just those four things ... I said to him then, I will stand on the roof and shout to our people please give them a chance, they are now talking real change.

Again they dismissed us as if we didn't count. I have spoken to him even now and all we are saying is, do you think you could recognise that we are human beings, that when you tickle us we laugh, when you scratch us we bleed. All we want is to have a place in the sun in the place of our birth. We are not talking about takeover, certainly not yet. We are talking about sharing. Until people recognise that we are talking about political power, that's the name of the game, not can we remove that sign over there.

That's not the level of our political ambition and I haven't yet come across an example in history where people have actually voluntarily agreed to proposals of sharing power. And so you need some kind of pressure. But if someone here or anywhere else is able to say to me here is an alternative which will end apartheid and it is a non-violent alternative, I will accept it.

If you can show me something that will end apartheid so that we have the kind of country that all of us think we want, I keep saying I'll be the first to sing hallelujah.

I don't want sanctions. I said to the State President, I love this country, I love it passionately and I think I love it more than you for we fought against the Nazis, you didn't. (applause)

Q: You are on record as saying our goal is the destruction of apartheid ... You have challenged those who oppose sanctions to offer a non-violent option that will end apartheid or force the government to the conference table.

Here are some of the concerns expressed by those members of the parish who oppose sanctions: sanctions cause suffering and hatred among innocent people, they cause the erosion of the economy, the flight of foreign capital and highly-qualified personnel, both of which are unlikely to return, and both of which are vital to sustain the economy.

Sanctions will lead to a floundering third world or subsistence economy. Sanctions will lead to unemployment and hardship, hunger and violence. Sanctions on weapons have only led to a burgeoning arms industry in this country. Sanctions are undemocratic. If Cosatu truly faces sanctions unions could selectively withdraw labour from key companies, forcing them to get out. Sanctions can be seen as just like apartheid, a violent structure. How do you

white people are beginning ... to realise that we are serious. We are going to have a part in the government of this country and we are saying to you, we are going to win but we don't want you to be defeated, we want you to be part of the victory (applause).

Q: I think it is true to say that one of the great obstacles to political change are the fears of the whites, of us sitting here tonight. We fear the instability that might result from a sudden change of government and feel threatened by this. We feel the tables may be turned and we fear the reaction of the black majority. We fear the loss of control and most of all we fear the unknown. How can we help one another to overcome these fears?

A: I think the fears are understandable and I am always amazed at the number of whites who actually do want fundamental change in this country which means a re-ordering of the political disposition and I do take my hat off to them.

Sadly your media do you a very grave disservice with some of the things they say about Zimbabwe because it is so important for white South Africans to know what is happening there.

It does have problems. For a very long time after independence, one of the men who had run the show and was intent on killing those who are now in government, remained a member of Parliament, Mr Ian Smith. You would have thought one of the first people blacks would have wanted to get rid of would have been Mr Smith. He's still around.

You know of course their annual growth rate has been higher than ours. Come along and see the state of the roads, the suburbs, beautiful houses in salubrious settings, people walking around. Normal people walk the streets. I have not seen as many armed people in Zimbabwe as I've seen ... have you been to Jan Smuts recently?

But what I'm saying in the end, the only way will be able to have guarantees — not written on paper, because we know in this country they are not worth the paper they are written on ... ultimately the only guarantee you can get is a personal guarantee. I know it is going to be all right because my friend Desmond says so. That is the basis of human relationships. And I can't give you a guarantee, I can only say to you I wish the government would say that arch-terrorist (Oliver) Tambo should be shown on TV and interviewed by the most hostile interviewer. Why are they scared of letting the speak for themselves?

Because everybody who's been to meet the ANC says Thabo Mbeki is a wonderful young man and one of the things you want to do, certainly as a black South African, is to weep, to say, why are we so wasteful?

What we need is a course of human ecology. We have been so wasteful of human resources. People forget that Tambo is an Anglican who wanted to become a priest. He's a lawyer by training, but wanted to become a priest and only the banning of the ANC stopped him going to theological college. He already been accepted by the Bishop of Johannesburg.

When I was in Nairobi, Johny Makatini, a member of the executive of the ANC came to see me and we had eucharist together. They won't believe me but I just want to tell you that they are human beings.

Q: Inaudible, but on the issue of communism.

A: So what. Britain and Russia fought against Hitler. I am not saying it is true, but I am saying t

dinary the kind of conditioning you get when you live in a situation where your humanity is not called in question directly, is constantly being eroded by the kind of experiences you have.

Q: People say you are a political priest. Your years in teaching and in the ministry suggest that while you were an enthusiastic and outstanding teacher, and a natural leader at theological college, you were not really involved in politics at that time. Could we perhaps look at how you moved from that position.

A: Yes, please. I find the Christian faith a tremendous thing because it all fits in so well when you

almost a our churches and cathedrals which claim to be those of people who are opposed to violence, we have how many memorials to war?

All I am saying to you is repeating the teaching of the church. The church doesn't say: go to war. The church doesn't say: use violence. But it says, when can it be justifiable for people who live in an imperfect world to do that which is imperfect?

Q: Our clergy have recommended you highly for your pastoral care. You remember their birthdays and you send them birthdays cards. You know their wives' names and you send them cards and you even remember their wedding anniversaries. Would you tell us why you consider these actions important?

A: Oh dear. Perhaps about the only thing I would like to boast about and say ... about the one thing God has given me is wanting to be a pastor and it is a tremendous privilege. It is one thing that I miss enormously, sitting in an office for very long periods, just being able to visit, especially old people who are some of God's greatest saints and finding how deeply appreciative they are for what you do. And you think you've come to minister for them and you discover almost always that they are ministering to you. And I have a very good staff, so they do all these things.

Q: It is clear you do care for your clergy. Can you give us advice on how we, the laity, can care for the clergy?

A: I'm enormously impressed by all the people that God has given me as my fellow-workers, the clergy, but perhaps even more impressed by their wives (laughter). I will have to rephrase that. No, I actually mean that — I'm not quite sure that parishioners are aware of the incredible pressures under which clergy wives live because of the quite disgraceful lack of stipend that we give. I haven't had one single priest come to me and complain about this. If we are going to have breakdowns in clergy marriages it's going to be because a church which claims to be compassionate and caring has been singlularly — apart from a few exceptions — uncaring.

When clergy wives have to go to work it is not because they are bored. It is almost always because it is virtually impossible for them to make ends

in the church when we do not have the ministry, the whole ministry, ordained and lay, open to all its members.

If women can undergo the most radical thing, which is baptism, I cannot understand how we could ever think that gender alone could be an obstacle to ordination. I don't. I long so much for many of us to be exposed to the ministry of ordained women. I had that experience when I was on sabbatical at the General Theological Seminary for three months where the professor of preaching was a woman.

I have to tell you that I have a pet aversion. I do hate seeing women in dog-collars. I hope that someday they will produce something which is distinctive but something which is also distinctively feminine and they are not seen as trying to ape us.

Q: How do you reconcile Paul's views on women in the church with your own?

A: Paul spoke as the Jew he was. They say that his church used to pray and say, "thank God I'm not a woman". And somebody said we have not heard the woman's retort "when God created man, she was still experimenting". (laughter) Paul was not infallible and there are parts of the Bible — I hope that this is common cause — that have fallen by the wayside. You don't say that at every Easter you have to slaughter a lamb, do you? But the Scriptures have said that is what you must do at Passover.

Q: Why do you spend so much time overseas?

A: Because it's nice. (laughter and applause). I actually accept only a fraction of the invitations I get and most come from churches.

Christians in other parts of the world have very great admiration for the church in South Africa, not for Desmond Tutu, but because it seems to be doing in many instances the sort of things they long to be able to do themselves.

When I go to Russia, the church in Russia says, can you bring greetings. It can only be because I am seen as a representative of a church which is virile.

I often say to people overseas: "You shouldn't feel sorry for us, you should envy us because we have a situation where it is quite clear what is wrong and what you should be standing for. In your part of the world it is often very difficult to know what makes you distinctively Christian ... "

Today I have on my desk an invitation from the President of France which says can you come on December 10 when they are celebrating the 40th anniversary of the signing of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in Paris because you are a Nobel laureate. One has some sort of responsibility to the world.

Q: Perhaps we should start by asking whether you are indeed in favour of trade sanctions against South Africa and whether you are in favour of multi-national companies disinvesting from South Africa.

A: Yes and no. Yes in so far as you say you are looking for a non-violent way of ending apartheid and I hope that people will have read what Mr Pik Botha said today about the to-do in Boksburg — where he says all of what is happening there is going to bring worse sanctions than the United Nations ever dreamt of because, he says, of apartheid. Which is what we are saying and they go and give me credit.

I love this country. I love this country passionately and I would not like to see it destroyed. That is why I go to talk to the ANC.

I'v been three times in the last 1½ years. One time I said why don't you suspend your armed struggle and call the government's bluff. I wouldn't do that if I was longing to see this country destroyed.

I was there last Friday because I was concerned, as other people were concerned, about attacks on civilian targets. I have made an appeal to the government, appeals that I started making in 1975.

You are aware that I wrote a letter to Mr Vorster when he was Prime Minister in 1976. I said to him I

A: There are so many things that you can say. They mentioned sanctions just now with the approval of government in Boksburg. They used sanctions against Lesotho. I didn't hear too many people around saying they were opposed to sanctions, saying you shouldn't use sanctions.

You by your political policies depress the economy, you adopt policies that don't make sense morally, economically, politically.

The migratory labour system. Very few employers are going to want to invest in a worker who is only with them for 11 months and they're not sure he's going to come back next year. A worker who is separated from his family is an unhappy worker and therefore a less productive worker.

I went to business people and said go and say to the government, don't talk politics, say to them that this doesn't make economic sense.

You say it (sanctions) is a policy that drains away capital and skills. Is it sanctions? Is it not apartheid?

Just tell me anywhere in the world where you could come along and say, I want you to apply sanctions over there to a country that is seeking to develop policies that are fair and just. Why is it possible to sell the notion of sanctions at all? You couldn't imagine that everybody ... there may be some rogues in the US congress, but you can't say that everyone is a rogue. Even Mrs Thatcher who is opposed to sanctions has said she has applied minimum sanctions.

They lead to unemployment. You can provide me better with statistics of the number of blacks who are out of jobs because of structural unemployment. That is to say that things are structured in this country in such a way that there are people who will never have jobs.

What of all the blacks who were kicked out of jobs on the farms because of mechanisation — did we hear anybody say, please don't mechanise because we are going to throw peole out of jobs? Why don't we have labour intensive policies rather than capital intensive mechanisation when we've got so many people around.

And as to suffering — did Crossroads happen because of sanctions? Did Khayelitsha? Were the three and a half million people uprooted and dumped as if they were rubbish in the Bantustans because of sanctions or was is not a deliberate decision on the part of the government? Did District Six happen because of sanctions? I called for sanctions in 1986, District Six has been around for over 21 years.

I find it very difficult to accept what seems to me a newfound altruism. For as long as blacks did not seem to have leverage we could appeal until we were blue in the face and nobody paid much attention.

Now sanctions are hitting whites as well and they are beginning to stand up and take notice. Sanctions, some say, have forced the government to leave Angola.

Why has it been that white people have not said "But why are we spending over R1-million a day in a war about which we have nothing to do really?"

We are spending R1-million a day, R365-million a year on the war in Angola which we were told at one time we were not actually waging. There was nobody in Angola but we were spending money.

I am quite certain that there are people who are genuinely concerned, I am too. But it is quite interesting that the only time they can get blacks to demonstrate against me is when they organise them. Are our people so stupid that they will say that guy is costing us so much trouble that they need to be organised to demonstrate against him.

But to think I would be able to go into a black township — I went to Port Elizabeth where they had organised the first demonstration in Zwide. They knew I was coming to preach, there were 6 000 people there, why do they come? Why don't they say the minute we see him we will tear him limb from limb? It is white people basically, and why, because

them into communists because they had the Sovi as allies? No.

The ANC issued a statement in August about vilian targets. Did it appear here? No. Your gove ment will quote selectively and most white So Africans, because it suits them, will believe it.

I still say, let the ANC speak for itself, let th be on TV and if they issue statements, let the wh statement appear and you hear for yourself a judge. Let people come and sit around a table a then judge.

Let each of the groups provide their manife and let the people of South Africa be free to dec for themselves. I thought that is what is known democracy.

Q: React to this statement, it's not mine, I j want you to react on it, that here in South Africa have radicals on the left and radicals on the ri and sensible humans in the middle.

A: No, it is one of the things that we have in t country, the way we use words. One man one v raises a lot of hassles with a lot of people and wh you ask do you oppose adult suffrage, people h and ha.

Radical, what does radical mean? Going to t root. I would consider it an insult in this country be called moderate. How can you be moder against apartheid?

How do you make accommodation with Nazis You don't say can we try to improve it, you say must be uprooted.

And I am radical if they want to say so, but th use it as a swear word, like liberal. If someone a if you are liberal you might want to ask them come outside. It used to be such a nice term. T word has been evacuated in its meaning. If you a liberal it means now you are interested in reform am not interested in reform, I don't want apartheid reformed, I don't want it made slightly more co fortable, I want it removed and if that makes radical, I'm glad to accept it.

Radical is on the right? Right of what? The CP declaring more clearly the policy of the Nats, w introduced the Population Registration Act? It's the Conservatives and is it off the statute books? are classified as cows, an insult to God, and we s leave it on our statute books.

Mixed Marriages. Who went on an orgy, putt up signs to separate this, the other? It's a mess a I'm not impressed with their reform and you ou to know that if you say let's give reform a chan you're talking to yourselves, not the vast major of blacks because we're not interested in reform

I get upset when the liberal papers say that form has stalled.

Reform has not even started. Until people acc that what we are talking about is the vote and pol cal power because it gives you access to all kinds power. Anything else is crumbs of concession when it suits the master, we will let you have a lit bit of that. As to right and left, they are terms most inapplicable in this country.

Q: Several questioners said they knew you throu the Press and often as a campaigner, too often ov seas. They wanted to know more of you as your r as pastor in this country for all Anglicans.

A: We are going to have to be a church which where our Lord is. Where people are hurting, wh our Lord is trodden underfoot, where he is spat that is where this church is going to be if it is go to be the instrument in God's hands for the extens of His kingdom ... reconciliation is costly becaus cost God the death of His son and it can't be chea for us.

In some ways the hostilities and angers of m white people probably indicate the authenticity our witness, that it must be true because if it wa they would love you ...

I love desparately to be loved. But there's so thing that I find slightly more valuable, to try be as obedient as I can be to what I believe Go wanting me to do.

●Archbishop Tutu was given a standing ovati

Archbishop Desmond Tutu greets Dr Ivan Toms

PIC: YUNUS MOHAMED

South 1-7/12/88 (28)

Toms back to work

CONSCIENTIOUS objector, Dr Ivan Toms, walked out of Pollsmoor prison on Wednesday, determined to resume his township community work.

Unbowed after nine months in prisons, he said: "I stand by my principles and I'm prepared to serve the rest of my sentence.

"I plan to continue my work in the poor community."

Toms jailed for 18 months for failing to report for an army camp, was released on R1 000 bail pending the outcome of an appeal against his sentence.

He was released after an application to the Supreme Court, Cape Town, for leave to appeal against his sentence was granted, and a bail application to the Wynberg court was successful.

His bail conditions require him to report at the Wynberg police station every Sunday, and surrender his passport to the clerk of the court.

Stand up for human rights, Tutu urges Bishops pupils

ARGUS 2/12/88 (28)

Education Reporter

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu today urged Diocesan College (Bishops) pupils to stand up for human rights, truth, justice, decency and human dignity.

He said at the school's prize-giving ceremony that the individual was the indispensible agent of change.

"You can make your contribution. You can make your mark. You should not be daunted by the task before you."

The individual's contribution could inspire and embolden others who were more timid.

"Stand up for the truth in the midst of a welter of distortion, propaganda and deceit," he urged.

Justice, goodness

"Stand up for human rights where these are being violated with impunity in your land.

"Stand up up for justice and goodness and love and compassion and gentleness where they are trampled underfoot by injustice, oppression, hatred, evil and harsh cruelty.

"Stand up for human dignity and decency at a time when they are in short supply."

He quoted Nazi victim Pastor Niemoller, who said in 1937: "They came for the communists and I did not speak up because I was not a communist.

"They came for the Jews and I did not speak up because I was not a Jew.

"They came for the trade unionists and I did not speak up because I was not a trade unionist.

"They came for the Catholics; and I did not speak up because I was not a Catholic.

"Then they came for me — and there was no one left to speak up."

Archbishop Tutu said he had visited India a few years ago.

"I was not prepared for what hit me."

Decribing a Calcutta slum, he said: "Stagnant pools of stinking water were all over the place, lean-to hovels and shacks, and swarms of flies everywhere.

"Pot-bellied children on spindly legs with running noses and flies covering their faces pottered around listlessly with their saried mothers."

But one person, Mother Teresa of Calcutta, had had a remarkable impact on the city, opening a home for derelicts and a school for the untoucables and starting a feeding scheme.

He said Mother Teresa was a frail, almost fragile, tiny person, but a veritable dynamo.

"We can all make a difference to our world.

"For most of us, perhaps, it won't be in as spectacular a manner as Mother Teresa. But it will make a difference we can if we set about making our own contribution."

'I don't want SA to be destroyed'

Sanctions: Tutu for and against

B/day 2/12/88

CAPE TOWN — Archbishop Desmond Tutu said this week he was for and against sanctions against SA.

The Kenilworth parish, hearing Tutu criticised as a "political priest" and also for his calls for sanctions, invited him to a meeting on Tuesday for a question-and-answer evening.

The questions ranged from sanctions to women in the priesthood.

"Yes and no," Tutu said in reply to a question whether he was in favour of sanctions and whether he was in favour of multinational companies disinvesting from SA.

● TUTU

"Yes in so far as you say you are looking for a non-violent way of ending apartheid, and I hope people will have read what Pik Botha said ... about the to-do in Boksburg — where he says all of what is happening there is going to bring worse sanctions than the UN ever dreamt of because, he says, of apartheid. Which is what we are saying and they go and give me credit."

He said he loved SA passionately and would not like to see it destroyed — that was why he talked to the ANC — three times in the last 18 months.

Tutu said he wrote a letter to B J Vorster when he was Prime Minister in 1976 and said he was worried. "I was just back from England and was living in Soweto. I said unless we did something I was fearful of what was likely to occur."

Vorster dismissed his letter with contempt and said he was being used by the PFP. A few weeks later unrest erupted on June 16.

In 1980 he saw the Prime Minister, P W Botha, and put forward proposals. "We said abolish the pass laws, commit yourselves to a common citizenship for all in an undivided SA, stop forced populations removals and institute a common education system."

Tutu told Botha in 1980 if they had done that, he (Tutu) would have stood on the roof and shouted to the people to please give them a chance. But again they were dismissed as if they did not count.

Tutu said: "I don't want sanctions. I said to the President, I love this country, I love it passionately and I think I love it more than you, for we fought against the Nazis, you didn't." — Sapa.

3/12/88

28

Cape Times, Saturday, De

Tutu speaks of 'unbelievable' poverty in India

Staff Reporter

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu told the boys of Diocesan College at their prize-giving ceremony yesterday of his harrowing experience during a recent trip with Mother Teresa's Missionaries of Charity in Calcutta.

"The squalor in the slums was unbelievable," he said. There were swarms of flies everywhere and even on the faces of the pot-bellied children.

"Much of this you can see in slums and ghettoes here in Cape Town, yet the poverty in India has a peculiar quality about it," he said.

It was all so sombre and depressing. People were living and dying as if they were just animals. He had to step across homeless people lying like corpses in white shrouds on the streets.

"One person (Mother Teresa) did not shrug her shoulders at the magnitude of the problem," he said. "She has made a difference. We can each make a difference.

"The world has been changed by individuals who inspired many blacks to oppose apartheid.

"You should not be daunted by the enormity of the task before you," he said. "Stand up for human rights in this land where they are being disregarded with impunity."

• Archbishop Tutu handed out an impressive array of prizes to scores of high achievers at the school including seven maths Olympiad finalists.

In rugby, Bishop's has also achieved successes, the first team losing only one match in the past three years.

Anglicans opt for selective sanctions

W/E ARGUS 3/12/88 (28)

KAREN STANDER
ckend Argus Reporter

leaders of the Angli- Church have come out vour of "targeted" eco- ic and diplomatic pres- on South Africa, believ- it has potential to bring ut relatively rapid ge.

his is the strongest support s given Archbishop Des- Tutu, who has repeatedly ised that his sanction are made in his personal city.

he church leadership's deci- was taken at the synod of ops in Port Elizabeth. stand will be read from its throughout the country row.

he bishops said they would tify specific areas for ac- after further investigation consultation with church ers.

we recognise the moral di- mas which the advocacy of sure can create for us and approach this issue with toral concern for all the ple of Southern Africa," y said in a statement.

Sinful

In our understanding of eth- issues, means are impor- as well as ends. In the uth African context we wish to choose forms of ion which will avoid as far possible the creation of fur- unemployment.

The bishops said the practice racism, embodied in South ica in the policy of apart- id, had come to be recog- d all over the world and by y religion as sinful.

What was distinctive in uth Africa they said, was in spite of what the gov- ment called its reforms, the l of racism still found ex- ssion and protection in offi- al policy.

The possibility that men and omen would change their minds in response to God did not relieve Christians of their obligation to work by other means for the eradication of evil.

"There is nothing to indicate that apartheid will disappear without some form of pressure. The continuance of apartheid threatens to destroy the whole fabric of society in Southern Africa.

Loyal, faithful

"In seeking non-violent means to abolish apartheid we believe we are being faithful to God, loyal to all our people and patriotic citizens.

"We feel it would be wrong to suggest that reliance on international pressure alone will solve our problems. We therefore call for the exertion of pressure — internally and externally.

"Internally we recognise that Anglicans of all races have often been in the forefront of the search for change and we encourage them to accelerate their efforts.

"Internationally, boycotts have achieved some telling results, most recently demonstrated by the long-term effects of the sports boycott.

"The imposition of fincancial pressures in 1985 — when an American bank refused to roll over South African loans — was followed rapidly by the repeal of the pass laws and by visits of prominent businessmen to talk to the ANC.

"We believe that the imposition of carefully selected and specifically targeted forms of pressure, including economic and diplomatic pressure, holds potential to bring about relatively rapid change.

"We intend going beyond this general statement and identifying specific areas for action but we should like first to involve our people in the process by asking for their views and initiating further investigation."

Church seems headed for clash with State

Anglicans call for economic pressure

Star 5/12/88. (28)

By Lloyd Coutts

The State and the Anglican Church seem to be headed for a renewed clash after the weekend acceptance by bishops that selected economic and diplomatic pressures could bring about relatively rapid change in South Africa.

The bishops' acceptance of this theory appears to support Archbishop Desmond Tutu's hardline pro-sanctions stance and seems certain to worsen relations between the Government and the Anglican Church.

In a statement after a synod in Port Elizabeth, the bishops said there was nothing to indicate that apartheid would disappear without some form of pressure.

"For that reason, we concur with the Lambeth Conference's call for 'maximum pressure' ... on the South African Government, aimed at producing a genuine process of change towards the establishment of democratic political structures in a unified state

"The continuance of apartheid threatens to destroy the whole fabric of society in southern Africa. In seeking non-violent means to abolish apartheid, we believe we are being faithful to God and patriotic citizens."

The bishops intended going beyond their general statement by identifying specific areas for action. "But we should like first to involve our people in the process by asking for their views and initiating further investigation."

The statement said the bishops realised the moral dilemma which the advocacy of pressure could create for them.

Unemployment

"In our understanding of ethical issues, means are important as well as ends.

"In the South African context, we would wish to choose forms of action which will avoid, as far as possible, the creation of further unemployment."

They said it would be wrong to suggest that reliance on international pressure alone would solve the country's problems and called for pressure both internally and externally.

"Internationally, boycotts have achieved some telling results, most recently demonstrated by the long-term effects of the sports boycott.

"The most recent imposition of financial pressures in 1985 — when an American bank refused to roll over South African loans — was followed rapidly by the repeal of the pass laws and by visits of prominent businessmen to talk to the African National Congress.

"We believe that the imposition of carefully selected and specifically targeted forms of pressure, including economic and diplomatic pressure, holds potential to bring about relatively rapid change."

The bishops felt their Christian objective and hope had to include

- Making every effort to eradicate the racism which was tearing South African society apart.
- Overcoming the polarisation between black and white — a polarisation which existed in their own church.

Italian threat to SA gold — report

Star 5/12/88

LONDON — South Africa faces damaging economic sanctions from the huge Italian gold jewellery industry, according to a report in *The Guardian*.

The newspaper said the Italians, "who consume an estimated 33 percent of the Republic's annual gold production" were considering ways of buying gold from other countries.

The value of the "Italian connection" was said to be $3 billion (about R7,2 billion) a year

The Guardian said that at an unpublicised meeting last month in Vincenza, the northern Italian town which is the world centre of the industry, representatives of the leading employers' association said their gold manufacturing members would be happy to find other sources if the price was right.

"The meeting was attended by the World Gold Commission and the three national Italian trade union federations

"The developments, targeting what many campaigners see as the ultimate sanction against South Africa, took both the commission and the unions by surprise," said the report.

The Guardian quoted the chairman of the commission, Mr Jim Robbins, as saying: "I came away with the impression that the Italian manufacturers were seriously intending to do something quickly.

"The chances of them buying substantial amounts of gold from other sources is very high.

"Our hope is that this will immediately create a secondary market for South African gold.

"They will still be able to sell it but probably at a discount, which will seriously damage their foreign earnings."

Bush against sanctions

Star 5/12/88

The United States president-elect, Mr George Bush, has reaffirmed that he is not in favour of sanctions against South Africa.

He said he shared the same opinion in this regard as President Reagan.

Mr Bush's comment on sanctions was conveyed to the Rev Pat Robertson, who was reporting back to him after his fact-finding tour of South Africa.

Mr Robertson told Mr Bush that sanctions were hurting the very people they were intended to help.

Mr Bush reportedly told Mr Robertson he wanted to encourage US blacks to visit South Africa and examine the situation for themselves. — Sapa.

● See Page 17.

Happiness is . . . being

Proud father . . . Vijoenskroon farmer Peter Allem embraces his son, Fu at Sun City yesterday. Allem, whose inclusion in the elite eight-man fi with a one-shot victory over American Don Pooley.

Golf split looms over ch of Allem to play Sun Ci

By Graham R

SUN CITY — A bitter split is looming in South African professional golf, ostensibly over the selection of winner Fulton Allem for the elite Million Dollar Challenge field ahead of other top SA golfers.

But Phil Ritson, Allem's coach in the United States, yesterday described the controversy as "disgusting, disappointing and a festering sore that should be cut out quickly and thrown away".

Mr Ritson, the former professional at Killarney Golf Club and now based in the United States, believed the Allem storm was merely the tip of an iceberg.

WIDELY QUOTED

He believes there were serious undercurrents and personality differences between promoter Sam Feldman of Showtime International and Jimmy Hemphill, executive director of the South African Professional Golfers' Association. Mr Feldman is also Allem's manager.

Mr Hemphill has been widely quoted, as SAPGA spokesman, as saying that Order of Merit winner John Bland deserved selection before Allem.

Mr Ritson said he certainly did not believe Allem was on the PGA "hit list" because of hints that he may abandon the South African Sunshine Circuit in favour of the US.

He added that PGA president Denis Hutchinson and profesio Cobie le Grange and Jeff tainly bore Allem no ill-w think the criticism could h John Bland whom he regar friend and great golfer"

He defended Allem's sel City on the basis of his s year's Million Dollar, his in the World Series in Ohi ning more in his first yea States than any South Afri

Mr Ritson said that in really great players like S and Greg Norman, Allen fully justified "He is st regard him as one of the golfers I have ever seen, ever, had an attitude th times upsetting" to those still had to learn the art of

Mr Feldman said he wo conference this week t statement. Mr Hemphill not quarrelling with All but felt Bland had deser play the great tournament

● See Pages 25

Church starts defiance move

Sowetan 5/2/88 (28)

SOWETAN REPORTER

A NATIONAL church-sponsored defiance campaign started yesterday with priests urging Anglicans to identify selected targets for boycott action and churches — including Catholics — join the move to end apartheid.

The action by the synods of the bishops of the Church of the Province, amounting to qualified support for Archbishop's Desmond Tutu's sanctions call, is a prelude to the "Standing for the Truth Campaign" involving calls for the release of detainees, opposition to the Group Areas Bill and a call for the end to the death penalty.

"We believe the imposition of carefully selected and specifically targeted forms of pressure, including economic and diplomatic pressure, holds potential to bring about relatively rapid change. We intend going beyond this general statement and identifying specific areas for action but we should like first to involve our people in the process by asking for their views and initiating further investigation," the Anglican bishops said in their statement.

Parishioners will be asked for their views and to identify selected targets for boycott action which will not, as far as possible, cause further unemployment. This is the first time the leadership of a leading denomination has moved to take such drastic action.

It is expected that a formal list of targets may be published later.

The "Standing for the Truth" campaign, starting on Saturday, is being organised by a national co-ordinating committee of church leaders, including the South African Council of Churches and the South African Catholic Bishops Conference.

Explaining the campaign, Diakonia director Paddy Kearney said: "We believe the 40th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is an excellent opportunity to address one of the major human rights violations in South Africa, namely that hundreds of people are being held under emergency regulations, some for longer than two-and-half years."

Can only whites be liberals?

LETTERS

PO Box 1138
Jo'burg 2000

28

B/Day 5/12/88

Dear Sir,
THE CALL to liberals to respond to the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, Desmond Tutu, is unpolitical, uncalled for and racist.

It assumes that only whites can be liberals and that any black who utters the usual, sterile anti-apartheid diatribe is a nationalist, anti-liberal or a non-liberal.

The current anguish of liberals is part of their contradictory, facile and inconsequential tradition — as attested by the absence of any meaningful role in resolving the great issues that confronted the West.

The claim that Tutu represents black aspirations must be examined in the light of his ecclesiastical position. Tutu, a black African, works within an institution created by whites, an alien organisation imposed upon the African race after they had been brain-washed into believing that the mode of worship of their ancestors was savage and sinful.

Further divisions of Africans into denominational tribes, in addition to the ethnic ones, were introduced. Now we have black Anglicans, Baptists, Catholics, etc, according to which white missionaries succeeded in securing a corner in Africa to make the Africans into spiritual clones and clowns — real atheists as the Greek work *atheosti* originally meant whoever has abandoned the religion of his forefathers.

The founder of the Anglican Church, Henry VIII, did so to secure the liberation of the English spirit and nation from the clutches of the Church of Rome and thereby reversed the effects of Roman missionary work in England.

As an assimilado, Tutu is really a liberal. It is for this liberal, then, to explain to the African race how it is expected to be free when its soul is still chained to alien churches, more so in his case to the English spirit that is so deeply inspired and animated by liberalism, an English heritage par excellence.

Had Tutu been truly engaged in the struggle for the liberation and upliftment of the African race he should have been in the vanguard in the formation and development of African religious institutions and traditions, to usher in an African renaissance or reformation, as did the Martin Luthers, the English Puritans and others who removed the fetters of Rome from their people.

TUMELO MPHAHLELE
Soweto

☐ **KEN OWEN responds: I try to avoid speaking on behalf of blacks. I think black liberals should speak for themselves.**
☐ **This letter has been shortened. — Editor.**

☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

Dear Sir,
IT SEEMS that not a single liberal soul has responded to Ken Owen with what he considers a satisfactory liberal answer to Archbishop Tutu.

However, he is confident that his column headlined "Well then, how's this for an answer to Tutu?" "is the proper answer to Archbishop Tutu's strategy of destruction".

But is it?

In a nutshell, his article is a plea to replace State control with free enterprise.

For years Owen has, with the utmost ardour, tried to convince government that this would be the answer to all our problems — without the slightest response.

If they perceive that Owen is using it now as a strategy to force the abolition of apartheid, I fear he would have cooked his goose completely.

Until someone can offer a suggestion that would entice government voluntarily to divest itself of full control of the economy, apartheid and everything else, the Archbishop is not likely to ask foreign governments to let up on the pressure, because every other peaceful avenue runs into a government dead-end sign.

ELSA KEMPE
Bedfordview

28 Cape Times 5/12/88

Cape

Bishops support 'pressure', not sanctions

By BARRY STREEK

ANGLICAN bishops in Southern Africa yesterday came out in strong support of "selected" forms of economic and diplomatic pressure against South Africa — but they stopped short of calling for sanctions.

By not endorsing sanctions, the bishops have distinguished their position from that of the head of the Anglican Church in Southern Africa, Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

Archbishop Tutu has publicly supported sanctions in his personal position, but stressed that his views are not necessarily those of the church.

He has repeatedly said he did not want sanctions, but felt they were one of the only non-violent ways of bringing an end to apartheid.

The bishops, in a statement read out in churches yesterday, clearly did not go as far as Archbishop Tutu in identifying the kinds of international pressure against apartheid they would support.

They said: "There is nothing to indicate that apartheid will disappear without some form of pressure being applied."

For that reason, they supported the Lambeth Conference's call for "maximum pressure aimed at producing a genuine process of change towards the establishment of democratic political structures in a unified state.

"The continuance of apartheid threatens to destroy the whole fabric of society in Southern Africa.

"In seeking non-violent means to abolish apartheid, we believe we are being faithful to God, loyal to all our people and patriotic citizen," the bishops said.

They felt it would be wrong to suggest that reliance on international pressure alone would solve South Africa's problems.

"We therefore call for the exertion of pressure against apartheid both internally and externally.

"We believe that the imposition of carefully selected and specifically targeted forms of pressure, including economic and diplomatic pressure, holds potential to bring about relatively rapid change.

"We intend going beyond this general statement and identifying specific areas for action, but we should like first to involve our people in the process by asking for their views and initiating further investigation," the bishops said.

Archbishop Tutu

garded as possibly infected.

Anglican bishops outline pressure strategy

B/Day 5/12/88

'Targeted' sanctions

CAPE TOWN — The leadership of the Anglican Church has taken a stand in favour of "targeted" economic and diplomatic pressure on SA, believing it has potential to bring about "relatively" rapid change.

This is the strongest support it has yet given Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who has emphasised up until now that his sanction calls are made in his personal capacity.

The decision was taken at the Synod of Bishops' meeting in Port Elizabeth. Its handling by the church would depend on local leadership, a spokesman said.

"In our understanding of ethical issues, means are important as well as ends. In the SA context we should wish to choose forms of action which will avoid as far as possible the creation of further unemployment", the synod said.

'Telling results'

"We feel it would be wrong to suggest that reliance on international pressure alone will solve our problems. We therefore call for the exertion of pressure — both internally and externally.

"Internationally, boycotts have achieved some telling results, most recently demonstrated by the long-term effects of the sports boycott.

"The imposition of financial pressures in 1985 — when an American bank refused to roll over SA loans — was followed rapidly by the repeal of the pass laws and by visits of prominent businessmen to talk to the ANC.

"We believe that the imposition of carefully selected and specifically targeted forms of pressure, including economic and diplomatic pressure, holds potential to bring about relatively rapid change."

The bishops said they would identify areas of action after consulting church members. — Sapa.

200 attend support service for Bester

Argus 6/12/88

Staff Reporter

ABOUT 200 people attended a service in support of conscientious objector Charles Bester in St George's Cathedral last night.

The Cape Town Conscientious Objectors Support Group held the service. In a tape-recorded message Bester gave thanks for the congregation's prayers and support.

● The Charles Bester Support Group has deplored the sentence.

"We deeply regret that the State has seen fit to impose this maximum sentence on Charles Bester," the group says.

"His religious conviction, his sincerity of faith, his integrity of conscience ... have inspired all who heard him during his defence.

"His vision for a new South Africa will one day prevail."

Catholic bishops slam restrictions on Sisulu

Cape Times 6/12/88 (28)

JOHANNESBURG. — The Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference has welcomed Friday's release of New Nation editor Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu and several other detainees, but crtiticised the conditions of their release.

In a statement yesterday, the SACBC said the releases of Mr Sisulu and Mr Eric Molobi, national co-ordinator for the National Education Crisis Committee, in particular were welcomed.

"We are, however, disgusted at the restrictions placed on them. These limit to such an extreme degree the exercise of their regained liberty that they are tantamount to house arrest.

"This is a serious injustice. No convincing reasons have been given for this reprehensible action."

The statement added the denial of Mr Sisulu's right to take up again his editorship of the Catholic-sponsored New Nation can in no way be justified.

It said those detained "are the very leaders to whom the government should be speaking, and one day will have to speak to, so that the problems of our land may be resolved peacefully". — Sapa

ports. The accident resulted from a washaway after rains. — Sapa.

have not accepted membership.

Church group slams govt on restrictions

B/day 6/12/88

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — The SA Catholic Bishops Conference (SACBC) said yesterday that, by restricting released detainees, government was committing a serious injustice against the people with whom it should be speaking.

The SACBC board said restrictions on Zwelakhe Sisulu and Eric Molobi had limited their regained liberty to an extreme degree and the constraints were tantamount to the status of house arrest.

It said: "The denial of Zwelakhe Sisulu's right to resume his editorship of New Nation could not be justified."

An SACBC spokeman said these were the very leaders with whom goverment should be speaking, and one day it would have to speak to them to resolve peacefully the problems facing SA.

"For this reason we deplore the continued detention of hundreds of others and we call on the authorities to stop using executive action to beat down those who oppose their unjust policies."

Top city clergy protest at Bester jail term

ARGUS 7/12/88

28

SENIOR clergymen of the Anglican diocese of Cape Town have expressed their concern at the six-year jail sentence imposed on Charles Bester, a conscientious objector.

In a statement today they called on the authorities to review "the excessive sentences imposed on young men who have serious moral and religious objections to serving in the SADF".

The chapter, headed by Archbishop Desmond Tutu, comprises the most senior clergy of the diocese.

The statement said: "The chapter ... expresses its concern that in a country which claims to be Christian the young man Charles Bester has been sentenced to six years' imprisonment because of conscientious objection based on Christian conviction.

Support assured

"We call upon the authorities to review the excessive sentences imposed on young men who have serious moral and religious objections to serving in the SADF. We assure all those who have similar objections of our understanding and support.

"We send our greetings to his family and assure him and them of our prayers. We also send our greetings to Dr Ivan Toms, who has been released from prison pending an appeal against his sentence."

Commenting on the jailing of Bester, the leader of the National Democratic Movement, Mr Wynand Malan, said South Africans should not allow their consciences to be numbed.

"We should all register our protest at a law which can send a young man to jail for six years for refusing on religious grounds to serve in the SADF."

Will appeal

Meanwhile Bester's attorney, Miss Kathleen Satchwell, said in Johannesburg today that an appeal would be instituted against the sentence.

She told a Press conference called by the Conscientious Objectors Support Group that her client could benefit from the appeal of another objector, Dr Ivan Toms, who spent nine months of a 21-month sentence in Cape Town's Pollsmoor Prison before being released on bail.

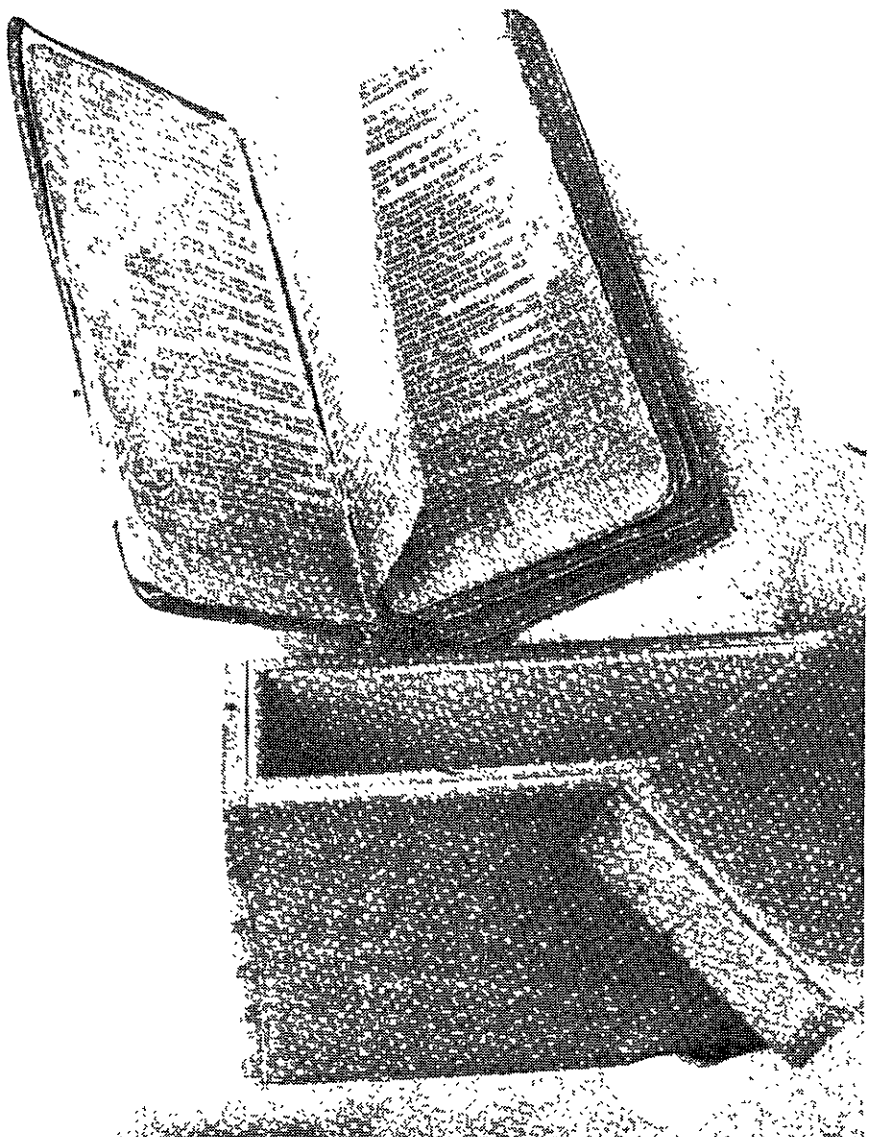
Miss Satchwell's office said an application for an appeal would be lodged soon, but the hearing would take place only next year.

Picket protest

Today about 25 supporters with placards lined Jan Smuts Avenue to protest against the jailing.

A National Union of South African Students spokeswoman said the picket was mounted by Nusas and the Conscientious Objectors Support Group between 7.15am and 8am. — Sapa.

Pear tree links Genadendal to its birth in 1738



A close-up of Magdalena's Bible.

Staff Reporter

IT will be a very special Christmas in Genadendal this year — because of a pear tree.

Genadendal's whole history is tied up with a pear tree planted by the Moravian missionary Georg Schmidt in 1738 — 250 years ago when the town was founded.

The tree stood for 100 years before it was blown down in 1838. A second tree grew from the same root and stood for about 125 years.

To the astonishment of the townsfolk a third tree shot up in 1962 and this year is bearing fruit for the first time.

While Schmidt worked among the Khoi people in the Riviersonderend Valley he taught them how to read and write. He gave a Bible to a woman named Magdalena, whom he had baptised, and she kept it in a leather bag.

Eighteen years after Schmidt left the area the Moravians sent three other missionaries to resume his work.

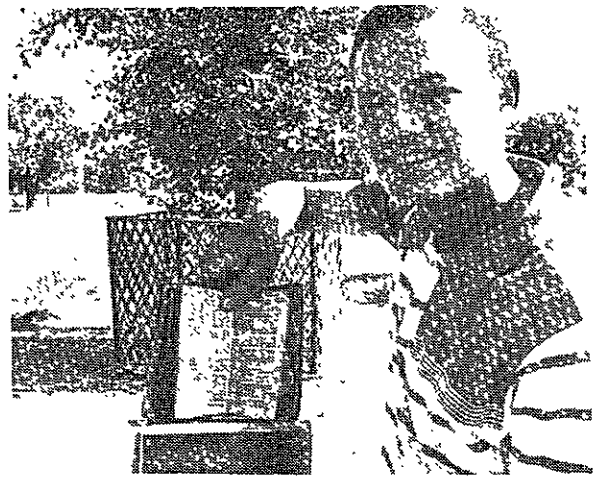
It was on Christmas Eve in 1792 that they arrived and found the ruins of Schmidt's home with a great pear tree in the garden — and met Magdalena, who showed them the Bible.

They listened in amazement when she asked her daughter to read from the Bible. She read from Matthew 2 — about the three wise men from the East.

The Bible still exists. It is kept in a wooden box — made from the wood of the original pear tree — and is a treasure housed in the Genadendal Museum.

And on Christmas Day the Bible will be put to use again at a special service — under the new pear tree.

An early graphic shows Magdalena, carrying the Bible that Georg Schmidt gave her, as she meets the three missionaries.



Special service will be held in its shade

LEFT: Museum assistant Mr Samuel Baatjies with the precious Bible and the box in which it is kept.

Pictures: DION TROMP, The Argus.

The historic church on the site of the misssion in Genadendal.

Churchmen deplore halting of service

Argus 8/12/88 28

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Church leaders have deplored the stopping of a prayer service here for the Delmas trial accused and have attacked the police for "crossing the line between freedom of worship and its violation".

The service at the Central Methodist Church on Tuesday was interrupted and stopped by armed policemen.

The Rev Peter Storey, chairman of the South Western Transvaal district of the Methodist Church, said yesterday: "The incident was an infringement of the right of people who have been deeply hurt by events over the last couple of weeks to gather for prayer."

The statement was signed by the Moderator of the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa, the Right Rev Michael Moore; the Anglican Archbishop of Johannesburg, the Right Rev Duncan Buchanan; the Moderator of the United Congregational Church of Southern Africa, the Rev Ron Steel, and Mr Storey.

Namibian church worker freed after 14 months

From MARK VERBAAN

WINDHOEK. — Jason Angula, private secretary to the head of Namibia's Council of Churches and labour secretary for Swapo, was freed this week after more than 14 months in solitary confinement.

And, the Commissioner of Police last week paid out a total of R84 000 to seven trade unionists and top Swapo leaders detained last year under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act.

Security police arrested Angula at his home in Katutura township outside Windhoek on October 6 1987.

He says the fact that he was not charged is proof of his innocence.

He was taken to a detention camp at Osire several hours' drive from Windhoek, and held under Proclamation AG9 which allows for 30 days' detention without trial.

Terrorism Act

Later he was switched to Section 6 of the Terrorism Act which allows for indefinite detention without trial, with no access to lawyers or family.

Angula said he was kept in a tiny corrugated iron hut, out in the open. He was not allowed out of the hut once.

He was given a Bible, and the only people he spoke to were his guards and security policemen who periodically interrogated him.

During the past year Angula's lawyers were informed that charges against him were being investigated because of his alleged involvement in a car bomb blast at a Windhoek parking garage in early 1987.

His continued detention provoked an outcry in Namibia and amond the international community, with anti-apartheid and solidarity groups demonstrating outside South African embassies.

Angula told reporters he was not physically tortured in detention, but the long period of solitary was "torture enough". He had lost weight, and had been suffering from recurring headaches for months.

Angula, released unconditionally, confirmed that he was consulting lawyers about the possiblity of making civil claims.

In an out of court settlement, the police commissioner agreed to pay R12 000 each to Swapo joint foreign affairs secretary Niko Bessinger, vice-president Pastor Hendrik Witbooi, deputy national chairman Dan Tjongarero, National Union of Namibian Workers treasurer Anton Lubowski, NUM president Asser Kapere, NUM secretary-general Ben Ulenga, and John Pandeni of the Namibia Food and Allied Union for wrongful arrest and detention.

The men spent three weeks in corrugated iron huts at Osire.

Jason Angula (left) is greeted by Dan Tjongero, Swapo's national chairman

A week after the arrests, the chairman of the interim government cabinet announced that police investigations indicated the men were involved in a car bomb explosion in central Windhoek in July.

Police investigations

Mr Jannie de Wet said at the time that the cabinet "approves of police action to let such persons, who act ... in contravention of the laws of the country account for their conduct in a court of law."

On September 11, however, a Supreme Court judge took the unprecedented decision to release all seven Section 6 detainees.

He said police had not questioned any of the detainees before making the arrests, and therefore could not reasonably have believed that the men were witholding information - the basis given by the police for the arrests.

The judge said it was "incomprehensible that citizens of South West Africa should still be subject to the draconian provisions of a South African act of parliament which was repealed in South Africa 15 years ago, and which is moreover in conflict with our Bill of Rights."

Star 8/12/85 (28)

Clergy alarmed after policemen interrupt service

By Paula Fray

Church leaders said yesterday that when armed policemen stopped the prayer service for the Delmas treason trial defendants on Tuesday night they crossed a crucial State-Church line.

The Rev Peter Storey, minister of the Central Methodist Church where the service was held and chairman of the South-Western Transvaal district of the Methodist Church, said: "It was a very serious intrusion into the Church's right to minister."

A statement signed by the Moderator of the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa, the Right Rev Michael Moore, the Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, the Right Rev Duncan Buchanan, the Moderator of the United Congregational Church of Southern Africa, the Rev Ron Steel, and Mr Storey said: "We call upon the Government to draw back from this dangerous development now because we cannot and will not place the worship of the Church at the disposal of the State."

'SAD MOMENT'

Dr Storey said yesterday that it was a sad moment to see armed and uniformed policemen coming into the church sanctuary in the middle of a service.

"I think when the police did that, they crossed an important line. I don't have any complaints about their behaviour — they were polite and restrained — but I do not believe it was necessary for them to enter the sanctuary."

Dr Storey said the church was booked by the SACC for a prayer meeting. A banned gathering was arranged by the Delmas Trialists Ad Hoc Support Committee.

Amcham talks to Tutu

● TUTU

SUSAN RUSSELL

A THREE-MAN delegation from the American Chamber of Commerce in SA (Amcham) met Archbishop Desmond Tutu in Cape Town last week to discuss sanctions.

The Amcham delegation was made up of its president, Ian Leach, executive director Adrian Botha and another member of the board.

Botha, confirming the meeting yesterday, declined to elaborate but said there had been a "fruitful exchange of ideas".

Amcham would not release details of the meeting because it did not believe this would "assist anyone".

"There is no benefit in building up expectations," Botha said.

Archbishop Tutu could not be reached yesterday for comment.

12/12/88

reports. The move comes less than a year before the next general elections. — Sapa

Star 12/12/88

28

Tutu, Amcham meets on sanctions

JOHANNESBURG. — A three-man delegation from the American Chamber of Commerce in South Africa (Amcham) met with Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu in Cape Town last week to discuss sanctions.

CM Times 13/12/88 (28)

Lutherans hit at detentions

JOHANNESBURG. — The Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa (Elcsa) says it observes "with great concern the refusal of the government to heed calls for the release of all those in detention without the right of a fair trial".

In a statement released here yesterday after its 6th general assembly at Umphumulo, Natal, the assembly called for the release of one of their church workers, the Rev Molefe Tsele.

The assembly wished to reiterate its concern at the "aggressive reaction" of the government to the church as a whole whenever it expressed criticism of government policies.

It said this year had witnessed a clash between church and state as was never seen before.

"The threat by Minister (Adriaan) Vlok earlier this year to 'clip the wings' of certain members of the clergy is not taken lightly by the Evangelical Lutheran Church." — Sapa.

Sowetan 14/12/88

Church's concern over detainees

THE Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa says it observes "with great concern the refusal of the Government to heed calls for the release of all those in detention without the right of a fair trial".

It said this in a statement released here this week following its 6th general assembly at Umphumulo, Natal, from December 5-9

"At this point we wish to reiterate our call for the release of one of our workers, namely the Rev Molefe Tsele, who has been in detention since December 19, 1986.

Frustration

"We wish to point out as well that not only is detention without trial a violation of the rule of law and that of basic human rights, but it can only lead to an increase in political frustrations of the people.

"The assembly pledges solidarity with our oppressed community and assures its support and prayers in the struggle for justice and peace.

"We also call upon all white South Africans to allow themselves to become part of the movement towards genuine change for the common good of our beloved country."

Duties

The statement said the General Assembly also wished to make a strong representation to the Government to relax the restrictions on the movements of a church worker — name given only as the Rev Farisani — Dean of the Devhula-Lebowa Circuit in the Northern Diocese of the church "as his work compels him to move constantly outside the borders of the Venda homeland, but the refusal of the Government to grant him a visa to travel inside South Africa is placing severe restrictions on the fulfillment of his duties."

The assembly said it again wished to reiterate its concern at the "aggressive reaction" of the Government to the church as a whole whenever it expressed criticism of Government policies and practices.

"This year has witnessed a clash between Church and State as was never seen before. The threat by Minister (Adriaan) Vlok earlier this year to 'clip the wings' of certain members of the clergy is not taken lightly by the Evangelical Lutheran Church at all".

Lutheran concern over government's 'aggressive reaction'

Religion Reporter

THE government did not understand — or did not want to understand — the "prophetic" role of the church, the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Southern Africa said.

Delegates to the sixth general assembly, held in Umpumulo in Natal last week, reiterated their concern at the "aggressive reaction of the government" to the church whenever it criticised government policies and practices.

They also called for the release from detention of Lutheran church worker the Rev Molefe Tsele, detained since December 1986, and urged the government to reconsider restrictions on Lutheran leader Dean Tshenuwani Farisani, who has been effectively restricted to Venda after being declared a prohibited immigrant in South Africa in February last year.

Church-State clash

A resolution passed by the assembly expressed concern about a clash between church and State this year "as was never seen before".

"The threat by Minister (Adriaan) Vlok (Minister of Law and Order) earlier this year to 'clip the wings' of certain members of the clergy is not taken lightly by the Lutheran Church.

"It is clear that the government does not understand or does not want to understand the prophetic role of the church.

"The Lutheran Church has built up a record for itself in terms of its role in education, building of hospitals as well as the establishment of various agricultural projects throughout the country.

"It is therefore the firm belief of the church that it has a duty to perform in the area of human rights as well. Politics are not the domain of the church but if political practices create suffering than the church would uphold its right to speak out on behalf of those who are affected.

"We wish to point out that not only is detention without trial a violation of the rule of law and of basic human rights, but it can only lead to an increase in the political frustrations of the people.

"The general assembly pledges solidarity with our oppressed community and assures its support and prayers in the struggle for justice and peace.

"We also call upon all white South Africans to allow themselves to become part of the movement towards genuine change for the common good of our beloved country."

As dean of the Devhula-Leboa circuit, Dean Farisani's work compelled him to move constantly outside the borders of the Venda homeland. The refusal of the government to grant him a visa to travel inside South Africa placed severe restrictions on the fulfilment of his duties, the church said.

WMAIL 9-15/12/88 (28)

State can buy its way out of trouble, says Mkhatshwa

By VUSI GUNENE

THE South African state had the power to commit criminal acts and then cover up the truth by buying its way out of trouble, outspoken anti-apartheid church leader Father Smangaliso Mkhatshwa said this week.

Mkhatshwa, the secretary-general of the Institute for Contextual Theology, was commenting on the state's R25 000 out-of-court settlement of his civil action for torture sustained while in detention two years ago.

The action was brought against the Minister of Law and Order, Adriaan Vlok, in January this year.

Mkhatshwa, then secretary of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference, was detained on June 12 1986, immediately after the declaration of the first national State of Emergency.

He alleges that on August 20 and 21 that year, while being held at Hercules police station in Pretoria, he was assaulted and abused during an interrogation by defence force members that lasted more than 30 hours.

He alleged in the affidavit that he was stripped half-naked, blindfolded, handcuffed and subjected to humiliation and assault.

"I lost all sense of time, distance, orientation or awareness. My whole being went numb," Mkhatshwa said.

Six men were later charged with crimen injuria in connection with the alleged assault. One paid a R200 admission of guilt fine.

Vlok told parliament that an SADF board of inquiry had been appointed to investigate the incident. Mkhatshwa says he was later informed by a state attorney that no such inquiry had been held.

His damages claim was due to go to court on August 21 this year, but shortly before the trial, the Ministry of Law and Order agreed to pay him R25 000 in settlement of the claim, plus legal costs.

Commenting on the incident, Mkhatshwa told the *Weekly Mail* that the state "had the authority directly or through its agents to commit criminal acts and then cover up the truth by buying its way out of trouble".

In effect, he said, "human rights and the dignity of people could now be bought at a price."

● Mkhatshwa was given a passport valid for only eight days in order to travel to Germany last week.

He was awarded an honorary doctorate in theology by the University of Thubingen "in recognition of his leadership in the struggle for human rights and dignity both in the church and society".

28

15/12/88

The Argus, Thu

Kenya raps Tutu over remarks on detention

Religion Reporter

ANGLICAN Archbishop Desmond Tutu has come under fire from members of the Kenyan government for saying that detention without trial was an evil practised everywhere in Africa and not only in South Africa.

The Kenyan newspaper, the Standard, quoted two Cabinet Ministers who criticised Archbishop Tutu for his statements during a recent visit to Kenya.

Mr Arthur Magugu, Minister for Manpower Development and Employment, was quoted as saying that in Kenya detention was "constitutionally gazetted" and "part of development".

Mr James Njiru, Minister for National Guidance and Political Affairs, said Archbishop Tutu had been "fed with false information" by two unnamed church leaders, who were out to "tarnish the good name of Kenya where the laws of the land are followed".

He said it was "sad and bad" for Archbishop Tutu to have made the remarks in Kenya.

They were referring to remarks made by Archbishop Tutu during an open-air service in Nairobi's Uhuru Park last month when he said the church had to speak out against the evils that emanated from injustice.

He said it was saddening for Africa to have the largest number of refugees in the world.

"If detention without trial is evil in South Africa then it must be evil in every part of the African continent.

"There is less freedom in some African countries today than used to be during the colonial times."

Archbishop Tutu said that opponents of the struggle in South Africa ridiculed those who fought for freedom whenever there was a coup, military take-over or the establishment of a totalitarian state elsewhere in Africa.

He also criticised Africa's elite for controlling the largest share of the continent's wealth at the expense of the majority who were poor.

people and injuring 26 others, police said.

Cape Times 20/12/88

Bishop to protest to Sebe

EAST LONDON. — The Anglican Bishop of Grahamstown, Bishop David Russell, is to make representations to President Lennox Sebe and the South African Ambassador to Ciskei, Mr Chris van Aardt, over the actions of Ciskei police who prevented him from leading a church service on Sunday.

Reports by Staff Reporter, Own Correspondent, Sapa-Reuter-AP and UPI.

Tutu defies court order on politics at funeral

ANGLICAN Archbishop Desmond Tutu yesterday defied a court order forbidding political statements at the funeral of Irene Mkwayi, 64, wife of a jailed ANC member Wilton Mkwayi.

Dozens of armed police stood by as more than 500 people, including a handful of diplomats, attended the funeral.

The court order had also limited the number of mourners to 200.

"Apartheid is immoral, desecrating and filthy. Government tells us when we can meet. Now they are telling us when we can weep," Tutu said. — Reuter.

(28) B/Day See Page 2 20/12/88

Winnie appeals to cops at burial

JOHANNESBURG. — Mrs Winnie Mandela intervened between Soweto police and marching youths and women at the funeral of Mrs Irene Mkwayi yesterday.

Mrs Mkwayi, wife of the Robben Island prisoner and African National Congress leader Mr Wilton Mkwayi, was buried at Avalon cemetery. A nurse with a long career as an anti-apartheid activist, she died this month at the age of 64.

A Captain Bester told the crowd setting off to march to the funeral that it had been restricted in terms of the emergency regulations.

The crowd had been marching from Mrs Mkwayi's home in Orlando West, Soweto, to the United Congregational Church of South Africa.

Mrs Mandela, clad in the green and black colours of the Federation of Transvaal Women, appealed to Captain Bester to allow the procession to go through. She said the procession was not in contravention of emergency regulations, and a court ruling on an application to have restrictions on the funeral relaxed was awaited.

After a heated discussion with Mrs Mandela, Captain Bester agreed the procession could carry on providing there was no chanting or clenching of fists.

Police followed the procession to the church and went inside.

The Rev Frank Chikane, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, asked police to stop interfering with youths.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu defied the court order forbidding political statements at the funeral service. The order also limited the number of mourners to 200. In fact more than 500 mourners including a handful of Western diplomats attended. Sapa-Reuter

Star 23/12/88 (28)

Clerics' protest march starts 12 months of strained relations

Year of the State-Church clash

By Carina le Grange, Religion Reporter

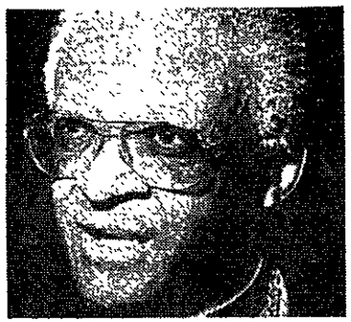
In 1988 the ever-looming clash between the State and the Church reached a new intensity and dominated events in the South African church world for the year — with the exception of the visits by Pope John Paul and Mother Teresa of Calcutta.

The State-Church clash was seen in Cape Town early in 1988 when about 150 clergymen, who staged a march to Parliament to protest against the banning of 17 organisations, were arrested.

The clergymen, who included high-profile churchmen like Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Dr Allan Boesak and the Rev Frank Chikane, were arrested before they could hand a petition to Parliament. They were later released after being warned that charges against them were being investigated.

The march had repercussions on local inter-church relations when the Ned Geref Kerk's general synodical commission issued a statement in March condemning the march.

Talks between the NGK and the Anglican Church and Dr Boesak's NG Sendingkerk (NGSK) were cancelled as a result. The delicate relations between the NGK and the NGSK were later further strained when other talks between the NGK and the NG family of black sister churches were put in jeopardy.



Archbishop Desmond Tutu ... often in the limelight.

Pope John Paul II ... unscheduled stop in South Africa.

Professor Johan Heyns ... called for talks.

This renewed tension scuttled talks planned for October and the issue was resolved only when international churchmen from the Reformed Ecumenical Council — to which both the NGK and NGSK belong — held individual talks with the two churches' leaderships.

The NG family of churches' talks are now planned for March next year while there have been no developments in renewing plans for talks between the Anglican Church and the NGK, despite an open letter by NGK leader Professor Johan Heyns in which he called on Archbishop Tutu to hold talks.

Archbishop Tutu was again the churchman most often in the limelight.

He was spotlighted over an exchange of letters with the State President, Mr P W Botha. The first letter was written by the archbishop. It mainly concerned the ill-fated protest march but also touched on a variety of subjects.

In the same week that the NGK released its statement on the march, President Botha decided to reply to the archbishop's letter on television — much to the chagrin of his critics and the archbishop himself, who demanded equal television time to reply.

Archbishop Tutu added punch to his controversial stature when he preached from the pulpit that blacks should refrain from voting in the October municipal elections. This triggered a police investigation during which a tape of his sermon was taken from the Anglican headquarters.

To date no action has been taken.

It had been announced earlier by the authorities that it was illegal to call for a boycott of the municipal elections.

But his sermon came only after the much-publicised signing of a statement by 26 prominent church leaders calling for a boycott of the elections. The statement also said that all church facilities would be used to publicise this fact — this was also illegal.

The SA Council of Churches became a victim of terrorism when a massive car-bomb exploded in the basement of its Johannesburg headquarters, Khotso House, in August.

The long-awaited visit of the Pope to southern African countries was marred by the tragedy of a bus hijacking in Lesotho which left four dead.

The millions of people expected to travel to Lesotho for the beatification of Father Joseph Gerard did not arrive but South Africa was given a lift by an unexpected unofficial visit by the Pontiff when his aircraft could not land in Maseru because of bad weather and was rerouted to Jan Smuts Airport.

The Pope's tour in September was followed by the visit of Mother Teresa, who visited Cape Town, East London, Pretoria and Johannesburg. The humble and low-profile elderly woman was greeted by thousands wherever she went.

28/12/88 B/Day

Buthelezi hits out at Tutu's claim on Natal violence

ULUNDI — KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi has lashed out at Archbishop Desmond Tutu over his claim that police consorted with Inkatha in the strife in Maritzburg.

"He has made a statement which is scandalously wrong and which plays into the hands of those who are bent upon escalating violence," he said in a statement yesterday.

"I must put the record straight. Inkatha does not act in co-operation with the police or anybody else to increase violence."

Violence in Maritzburg, where many people have died, has pitted the UDF — of which Tutu is a patron — against Buthelezi's Inkatha movement.

● BUTHELEZI

The Nobel Peace Prize winner said in his message for peace at Christmas that the carnage in Maritzburg was continuing and there were fears it would escalate.

He was quoted as saying: "I am very disturbed to hear reports that people do not perceive the police as a force which protects them, but rather as a group which favours those who claim allegiance to the Inkatha movement."

● TUTU

Buthelezi said: "I was greatly saddened to see news reports which yet again show that Archbishop Tutu is intent upon endorsing himself out of any meaningful moves to establish peace in the greater Maritzburg area.

"I was doubley saddened because his so-called call for peace, which was in fact an atack on Inkatha, was made just before Christmas.

"It is a hideous lie to say that Inkatha works hand-in-hand with the police and the SA government to oppress the black people of SA." — Sapa.

CHURCH & STATE

1989 – JAN. – MAY.

Buthelezi attacks SA's 'political' churches

Cape Times 13/1/89 28

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday attacked what he saw as the politicisation of the church in South Africa and hit out at church groupings who "side with revolutionaries who kill for political purposes".

In a sermon delivered at the parish church of Saint Michael, Chief Buthelezi, who is in London for a short visit, said that instead of a united voice from the church proclaiming truth and justice, the political process tried to seduce one priest after another into various political movements.

"There are those who dare proclaim Christ to be one or another brand of ideological revolutionary," he said, adding that there was no common Christian front against apartheid and injustice.

He warned against the formation of a Marxist one-party state in South Africa, saying that he would not want to overthrow one master only to find himself under the feet of another.

Church links with politics slammed

28

B/Day 13/1/89

ROBERT GENTLE

LONDON — Visiting Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday attacked what he saw as the politicisation of the church in SA, and hit out at church groupings that "side with revolutionaries who kill for political purposes".

In a sermon at Saint Michael church, Buthelezi said instead of a united voice from the church proclaiming truth and justice, SA had intellectual and theological debate as the political process of co-optation attempted to make priests the property of political movements.

"There are those who dare proclaim Christ to be one or another brand of ideological revolutionary," he said.

After the sermon, Buthelezi had private discussions with Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe and Deputy Foreign Secretary Lynda Chalker.

Heads gather to discuss charismatic school closure

Argus 17/1/89 28

By JEREMY DOWSON
Staff Reporter

PRINCIPALS of 11 Christian schools in the Cape told to close their gates, have been called to an urgent meeting of school heads in Johannesburg tomorrow to decide what action to take.

This follows the Department of Education and Culture's clampdown last week on about 48 charismatic church-connected schools countrywide which use the American-developed Accelerated Christian Education (ACE) system of teaching

The department maintains that the schools are unregistered.

The ACE schools, which have an estimated total of more than 2 000 pupils, were expected to open this week for the year's first term Almost half are in the Transvaal, where 25 schools have been told to close. There are 12 in Natal and 11 in the Cape.

Negotiation

ACE national co-ordinator Mr Ashton Sparrow said a meeting of all pastors and principals was being planned for tomorrow "as a starting point for negotiation with the government".

The schools were entitled to a 30-day period in which to lodge an appeal and most would remain open during this time, he said Legal advice was being sought to provide "a unified course of action".

The schools' closure had been greeted with "shock and disbelief", said Mr Sparrow, who added that his office had been inundated with calls of support from around the country.

"It has always been, and still is, ACE's policy to work with the department in resolving any difficulties.

"We have taken cognisance of what the department is saying and, generally speaking, while there may be individual schools which do not comply with departmental requirements, many feel that they do."

ACE ensured that every school had a copy of the Private Schools Act, which clearly defined all educational guidelines.

ACE had been operating throughout South Africa since 1984 and, because of a large growth rate, an estimated 85 schools had applied for registration with ACE by the beginning of this year.

Compatible

Its core curriculum, developed in the US, was "compatible with existing departmental curriculums".

Mr Sparrow said some principals reported having had no response from the department to applications for registration made up to three years ago.

"In many instances, no list of required facilities has ever been issued to schools in receipt of letters," Mr Sparrow said.

The department confirmed that it has closed the following Cape ACE schools: Agape school in Fish Hoek; the Word of Faith, Harvest and Kings schools in Port Elizabeth; Swellendam School; Plettenberg Bay School; Jeffreys Bay School; the George and Deo Gloria schools in George; Bosko Christian School in Hermanus; and the Abundant Life School in King William's Town.

Picture: PETER STANFORD, The Argus.

SCHOOL DAZE: Relax kids, this Rustenburg Junior pair — dressed up a day early just for show — should be the only pupils at coloured and white Cape schools today. Opening day was first announced as January 17 and then changed to tomorrow.

UCT appeal for urgent student accommodation

Staff Reporter

WITH the annual rush for student accommodation about to begin, the University of Cape Town has asked nearby householders willing to put up students to contact the university urgently.

Deputy vice-chancellor Professor James Leatt said it was "too early to say" how many students would need to be accommodated this year.

However, there were about 2 700 places available in residences for UCT's expected student population of more than 13 000.

"This means there is likely to be a lot of people looking for accommodation."

Professor Leatt appealed to "people living near the campus or on a major bus or rail route" to contact the university's student affairs department as soon as possible if they wished to let out rooms.

"This will help us with our planning."

He added that in previous years Cape Town residents had been "very good about responding to our appeals for help with accommodation".

UCT's director of residences and refectories, Mrs Isabelle Franzen, said more than 4 000 people had applied for places in residences this year.

However, some were likely to be people who had also applied to go to other campuses.

Mrs Franzen said that UCT's uncertainty about numbers was compounded by the fact that some matric results had come out later, than expected.

Two telephone lines (☎ 650 3533/6) have been laid on in UCT's student affairs department for calls to be taken from 9am to 12.30pm and 1.30pm to 4.30pm daily.

Schools to defy order to close

CAPE TIMES 18/1/89

28

JOHANNESBURG. — Pastor Ray McCauley, head of the Rhema Bible Church and an international director of Accelerated Christian Education (ACE), said yesterday that he hoped the Christian schools row would be resolved on Friday after a meeting with the Minister of Education, Mr P J Clase.

The row started last week when the Department of Education announced that 48 ACE schools would not be able to open for the new 1989 term because they had not satisfied certain criteria set by the department.

"The schools have taken legal advice and will be opening for the new term, despite the threats of police intervention," Mr McCauley said. "We believe that good sense will prevail and that no police action will be instituted." — Sapa

'No firm date' for Pope's visit to SA

CAPE TIMES 23/6/89 28

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The Roman Catholic Archbishop of Durban, the Most Rev Denis Hurley, has confirmed that no firm date has been set for a visit to South Africa of Pope John Paul II.

He was commenting yesterday on a report in a Catholic magazine that the Vatican had tentatively scheduled a trip to this country for either April or September next year.

The Vatican's representative in Pretoria, Archbishop Ambrose de Pauli, has confirmed that the pontiff would be coming to South Africa at some time in the future but said that any question of dates was pure speculation at this stage.

Asked how Catholics would view such a visit, Dr Hurley said he believed the Pope would receive a wholehearted welcome by the great majority of Catholics. Some, however, would feel resentful that the Pope would have to accept protection by South African security police.

Although the Pope has previously criticised South Africa's apartheid policies, the magazine in question quoted an unidentified Vatican source as saying that "it would have been unjust to punish an entire Christian community for the sole fact that it finds itself living under a reprehensible regime".

CAPE TIMES 24/1/89

28

Six month passport for Tutu is 'spiteful'

Political Staff

THE Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev Desmond Tutu, has been granted a passport for only six months — and it expires in June.

A spokesman for Archbishop Tutu's office said yesterday that in recent years he had been granted passports valid for 12 months, but when he applied for a renewal in December last year, it was granted for only six months.

The Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, said yesterday that he had no comment on the matter.

The Progressive Federal Party spokesman on home affairs, Mr Tian van der Merwe, strongly criticised the decision.

"It is a pointless and spiteful move on the part of the government to issue a passport of that nature.

"It is clearly designed to send a political message to the archbishop and as such it is an abuse of power and an abuse of the state's right to issue passports," Mr Van der Merwe said.

Confrontation 'ominous'

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — The deepening confrontation between church and state was ominous for the SA Catholic Bishops Conference (SACBC) and for church leaders generally, president Wilfrid Napier said last night.

He said at the opening of the SACBC's annual plenary session that in February last year a peaceful march on Parliament to protest against the restriction on 17 organisations ended in the arrest of some church leaders and the water cannoning of others.

Since then church leaders had been subjected to virulent attacks by government officials, the government-controlled media and by right-wing groups.

B/Day 27/11/87

(28) WMAC 27/1 - 2/2/89.

Bishops give a nod to non-violent protest action

By CARMEL RICKARD, Durban

THE Catholic bishops of nine Southern African countries have given qualified approval to non-violent community protest, civil disobedience and passive resistance as methods of ending "grave and prolonged injustice".

In their first ever joint document on justice and peace in the region, the bishops deal with a number of controversial issues including witchcraft killings, human rights abuses by government, forced conscription and neo-colonialism.

The bishops of these nine countries have formed a regional body called Imbisa, under whose auspices the new document was issued. In their preface the bishops say they have resolved unanimously "to work more actively" to bring about justice and peace in the region; they commit themselves to the task and invite the rest of the church to join them.

The first section of the three-part document describes the situation in the region — the grounds for hope and the reasons for deep concern.

One of the signs of hope the bishops see is that human dignity is being better respected in parts of the region, as people successfully free themselves from internal oppression.

But they are aware of "grave injustices", among which they list contempt for human life, the many cases in which people are killed without trial following suspicion of witchcraft or trafficking with the country's enemies.

They also condemn neo-colonialism, war and apartheid, and say there is a great cry from the "oppressed peoples of South Africa today, 'Give us peace!'."

The second section, dealing with why people should work for justice and peace, is significant because it is an attempt to answer the argument that trying to get rid of injustice is outside the work of the church.

The bishops give a lengthy rebuttal of this point of view, basing their answer on Scripture.

They comment, "To those who object that we are now political and interfering in the role of government we affirm that the way the church transforms society is part of her mission. The church is not seeking political power in pursuing this mission.

"We are not going beyond our responsibilities when compassion inspires us to work for justice; we are fulfilling them."

The bishops say that unchecked capitalism and radical socialism cause unemployment, poverty and hunger.

Finally, discussing what can be done to work for justice, they make a number of practical suggestions and remind readers that individual Christians can also express the values of justice in which they believe through "secular" political action and through their professional lives.

They suggest that people are more likely to act with the poor and the suffering if they themselves have experienced conditions of poverty and distress. They encourage joint projects and exposure programmes.

In what will probably prove one of the most controversial sections, they add that in cases of "grave and prolonged injustice" it may be "necessary to engage in non-violent community action and protest, civil disobedience or passive resistance".

They warn that this kind of protest should never be undertaken lightly; that such action must be well prepared and motivated by "love for God and neighbour and a courageous spirit of service".

● The nine countries are Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Sao Tome e Principe, Swaziland and Zimbabwe.

dnesday January 25 1989

Bishop on 'most ominous development of year'

(28)

Star 25/1/89

Church-State row worsens

Carina le Grange,
Religion Reporter

The most ominous development in South Africa over the past year has been the deepening confrontation between the Church and the State, the president of the South African Catholic Bishops Conference (SACBC), said in Pretoria last night.

Delivering the opening address to the annual plenary conference of the SACBC, Bishop Wilfred Napier said the church is subject to "virulent attacks by Government officials, the government-controlled media and be right-wing groups.

"By far the worst attack has come from the Minister of Law and Order (Mr Adriaan Vlok) who singled out Catholic and Anglican leaders in particular.

"To what extent this and similar verbal attacks created the climate for, or incited the physical attacks on church premises — Khotso House in August last year, and Khanya House in October — must remain a matter of conjecture," Bishop Napier said.

Signs of hope

Bishop Napier said he had thought to indicate in his report "some signs of hope" such as the developments in Namibia, the release from detention of, among others, the editor of the Catholic-owned newspaper *New Nation*, Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, and the "release by stealth" of Nelson Mandela.

"However information recently come to hand concerns suspicions that all is not rosy in Namibia and that the dirty tricks department is more active than ever. And in the case of those released from detention closer analysis showed that their release is simply a change in the nature and location of incarceration," he said.

● On the visit of the Pope to five South African countries, excluding South Africa, Bishop Napier said: "About the controversy drummed up by Government Ministers and others over the exclusion of South Africa from the itinerary, the less said the better."

But in his closing remarks he said the Pope had clearly indicated that he would like to visit South Africa "without too much delay", but gave no date for a visit or any other indication when it might take place.

28

Tutu optimistic after talk with Baker

By NEIL LURSSEN
The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — Archbishop Desmond Tutu has come away from an hour-long meeting with the new US Secretary of State, Mr James Baker, hopeful that the Bush administration will take a firm stand against apartheid.

"I'm not going to be euphoric ... but we certainly have been impressed. It looks like there is a good person around," the black South African cleric said here last night after the meeting at the State Department.

Archbishop Tutu was among an "eminent church persons group" of the World Council of Churches at the meeting, one of Mr Baker's first official functions since he was sworn in last week as Secretary of State in place of Mr George Shultz.

The group leader was the Rev Canaan Banana, a Methodist and former President of Zimbabwe.

NON-COMMITTAL

The archbishop, highly critical of President Reagan's constructive engagement policy, was non-committal when asked what he thought President Bush would do to end apartheid.

But he said he was impressed by Mr Baker who, he said, was not dogmatic nor an ideologue.

"He was interested in any initiative that might effectively be taken to pressure the South African government to go to the negotiating table." There were various initiatives, Archbishop Tutu said, but economic pressure especially had to be applied.

"But more than anything else was the call of the delegation that the US ought to take a moral leadership in what is a moral issue facing the world," he said.

People leader Ron Hendricks takes up challenge

W/C ARGUS 11/2/89 (28)

Ronald Hendricks

by TYRONE SEALE
Weekend Argus Reporter

RONALD Hendricks was six when he said he wanted to grow up to be a clergyman.

He attended two Anglican primary schools and went to the NG Sendingkerk in Draper Street, Claremont, every Sunday to watch the dominee.

Fifty years after his childhood vow Mr Hendricks was inducted as the president of the 50 000-strong Baptist Church in Southern Africa.

Relaxing on the carpeted floor of his 1 000-seater church in Silvertown, Athlone, he said: "I always knew I wanted to be in the ministry, but I didn't always think I would get this high up.

"It's a challenge because I'm the first black national leader of Baptists in this country.

Mr Hendricks's new job will take him around the country for a few months this year, but for now he preaches to his Silvertown congregation.

A traditionalist, he believes the country needs a spiritual revival for political and social changes.

"My call on Baptists and other believers around the country is to pray to God in humility and ask Him to turn the country around. The Gospel embraces every aspect of life."

He is not easily drawn on secular issues, but among his personal concerns are crime, drug-abuse and alcoholism.

Mr Hendricks was born in Newlands and attended Trafalgar High School.

In 1973 he gave up his job and enrolled at the Baptist Theological College in Cape Town.

Away from the church, Mr Hendricks has little time for himself.

The

ARGUS 2/2/89 (28)

Winnie: Reports of a rift are 'nonsense'

JOHANNESBURG. — Mrs Winnie Mandela has denied any rift between her and Mr Nelson Mandela and has dismissed criticism from fellow anti-apartheid campaigners.

"It is absolute nonsense to suggest that there is a rift between Comrade Mandela and myself," she said in an interview with the American NBC television network yesterday.

She also denied reports of tension in her relationship with the African National Congress's exiled leadership in Lusaka.

"There is no rift whatsoever between the ANC and this family, and there never will be," she said, adding she was in almost daily telephone contact with ANC leader Oliver Tambo.

AGGRESSIVE BEHAVIOUR

Last weekend Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu said anti-apartheid groups could be harmed by the aggressive behaviour of the Mandela United Football Club — the youths who act as Mrs Mandela's bodyguard.

The club members, numbering about 30, show no great skill at soccer but have gained a reputation for abrasive behaviour towards Soweto residents.

In the latest incident, they allegedly abducted five boys from a Methodist church centre and beat them. One child is still missing.

In the interview, Mrs Mandela repeated earlier claims that the boys had not been abducted but had been taken from the church centre to save them from being molested.

The Methodist church has rejected her version.

Mr Mandela has sent messages from prison urging the club be disbanded, sources close to the family said. — Sapa-Reuter.

THE

Bishops anounce: We'll defy the new funding rules

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By VUSI GUNENE

THE Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference (SACBC) has decided to defy a proposed foreign funding Bill if it is passed by parliament.

The proposed Bill will regulate the disclosure of funds from outside South Africa by designated organisations or individuals.

An official, known as the Registrar of Reporting Organisations and Persons, will be appointed by the minister of justice to police the Act.

At a press conference yesterday after its week-long plenary session, the SACBC said the Bill would "mean that the state could dictate to the church what it could or could not do".

The plenary session is an annual meeting of diocesan bishops and their auxiliaries to discuss matters pertaining to the Catholic Church in Southern Africa.

The conference said: "We want to record publicly our complete opposition to this proposed legislation, and we call upon all people who have freedom of religion at heart to join us in making this opposition known, and to see to it that it does not become law in our country."

The conference was opened by Archbishop Ambrose di Paoli, the Apostolic Delegate for Southern Africa, who urged the bishops "not to be silent spectators where a denial of fundamental human rights is concerned".

The president of the SACBC, Bishop Wilfred Napier, spoke of the deepening crisis in the country in his opening address.

This was reflected in the state attack on the Catholic-owned *New Nation*, which Napier said served as an outlet for the thoughts and experiences, frustrations and aspirations of the voiceless.

The conference resolved to stand firmly behind the *New Nation*, despite state attacks and media restrictions directed at it and similar publications.

Noting the release and restriction of *New Nation* editor Zwelakhe Sisulu and Eric Molobi, co-ordinator of the SACBC/SACC joint enrichment project, and the recent move of ANC leader Nelson Mandela to a house on prison property in Paarl, Napier said "these acts of 'generosity' are cruel and cynical, as they simply change the nature and location of incarceration".

Napier said the attacks on church leaders by the state over the past year had created the climate for the attacks on the South African Council of Churches headquarters, Khotso House, and the SACBC's Khanya House in Pretoria.

Coach: Allegations 'nonsense'

Cape Times 3/2/89

JOHANNESBURG. — A trainer-coach of the controversial Mandela football club has dismissed as "absolute nonsense" allegations that members of the team were responsible for the abduction of a 14-year-old Tumahole youth, the Sowetan reported yesterday.

Speaking from the Mandela home in Soweto, Mr Jerry Richardson said the team no longer existed "after it was dissolved in 1986". He said the decision to dissolve the team was taken after the entire club had been detained.

"I am concerned that the name of the team is being used to discredit Mrs Winnie Mandela and her family," Mr Richardson said, reacting to the latest controversy surrounding the club.

He denied allegations that the team had abducted Stompie Mokhesi, a reputed leader of the "Under Fourteens", from the Orlando West Methodist Church house on December 29.

Stompie and three other youths, he said, took refuge at the Mandela home after they had complained "about their treatment at the Orlando West mission house, where they were staying". One of the youths subsequently laid a charge with the police, he said.

"Stompie was last seen with another youth about a week after December 29," Mr Richardson said.

"They left early in the morning and did not say where they were going to."

He said it was strange that the two went missing when they were due to meet legal advisers and certain clerics in connection with their grievances.

"We are prepared to assist anyone in the search for Stompie and Kenny. We are also very concerned about their whereabouts," the coach said. — Sapa

Churches act against apartheid

Eminent clergy to urge much tougher sanctions against South Africa

(28)

C. Press 5/2/89

By LULAMA LUTI

FOR the first time in its history the World Council of Churches has assembled a group to mobilise international efforts towards the imposition of comprehensive economic sanctions against South Africa.

The Eminent Church Persons' Group – whose members include former Zimbabwean president, Rev Canaan Banana, former South African Council of Churches secretary general, Beyers Naude and current SACC secretary general Rev Frank Chikane – will visit the United Kingdom, France, West Germany, Japan, Switzerland, the United States and the other countries in the European Community.

These countries have been chosen because of their "fairly high" economic ties with South Africa. The delegation is scheduled to meet influential politicians and other people who can "help shift national policies towards the imposition and application of comprehensive, tighter and ultimately more effective, economic sanctions against South Africa".

For the past 20 years, the WCC has sought to educate and mobilise the international church community against apartheid and white minority rule in the Southern African region. At the Fourth General Assembly in 1968 WCC delegates decided that all investments in "institutions that

Dr Beyers Naude

perpetuate racism" should be terminated.

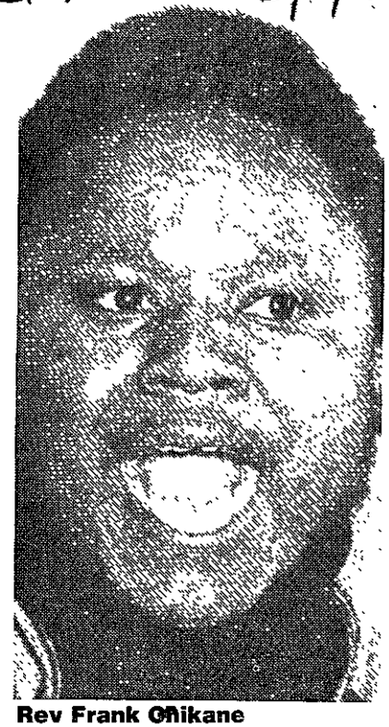
Endorsing the 1968 resolutions in 1976, the WCC called on all member churches, Christian agencies and individual Christians outside South Africa, to use all their influence – including stockbroker action and disinvestment – against those countries.

In Lusaka in May 1987, 250 church leaders from around the world called for the setting up of an Eminent Church Persons' Group to visit specific nations with strong economic ties with South Africa. The meeting emphasised the urgency of such a mission on the grounds of:

- The deteriorating political situation in South Africa.
- The denial of human rights in South Africa and the perpetuation of the "apartheid reign of terror".
- The "intransigence and unwillingness of the government in South Africa to abolish apartheid, which is a monstrous system characterised by the international community as a crime against humanity and which has caused incalculable losses of life and property both inside and outside South Africa itself".
- The "recognition that apartheid is the main cause of the present conflicts in the whole of Southern Africa, conflicts which have resulted in the sad and tragic murders and mutilations of innocent civilians in the Frontline States".

The WCC said it recognised that, in its attempts to defend itself, the government had caused havoc to the economies of other countries in Southern Africa and therefore to the lives of thousands of people by its well-orchestrated policy of destabilisation.

Said the WCC: "Churches have



Rev Frank Chikane

a moral responsibility to do everything possible to end apartheid as a reponse to the Gospel imperative.

"Apartheid has caused misery, suffering, pain and death for the people of South Africa and the neighbouring states. The system cannot be reformed, and we cannot wait."

The WCC said it was aware of the many efforts made in the past to confront and abolish apartheid, particularly the Commonwealth Eminent Persons' Group's mission to South Africa.

"We believe the primary source of the violence in South Africa is the apartheid system. The violence has now gone beyond the borders of South Africa and is expressed in the form of aggressive destabilisation policies towards the Frontline States.

"Unless concerted action is taken, in the words of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons' Group, there 'could be the worst bloodbath since the Second World War'. To avert that bloodbath, we need to create the necessary conditions to bring the South African government to the negotiating table with the legitimate and authentic leadership of the people of South Africa. This is the reponsibility of individuals, churches and nations.

"We believe that for this to happen it is essential to create a balance of power within the country so that the government will not be able to continue its State terrorism against the oppressed majority which incurs enormous costs, politically, economically and in terms of human life. There must be no option for the South African government but to enter genuine negotiations," said the WCC.

CMG Times 6/2/89 (28)

'Impressed' Pope plans to visit SA

Own Correspondent

ROME. — The Pope has decided to visit South Africa next year after all — even though he continues to condemn apartheid.

The officially inspired news leak at the weekend about the planned papal pilgrimage came days before Friday's scheduled publishing of the Pope's document on racism, generally expected to include a harsh attack on apartheid.

One of the main factors which prompted Pope John Paul to drop his opposition to a journey to South Africa was Pretoria's participation in diplomatic moves designed to bring peace to Namibia and Angola.

A Vatican official conceded yesterday: "That has impressed a lot of people at the Holy See. We never expected the South Africans to be so conciliatory."

The Pope has rejected several past invitations to visit South Africa but, according to another Vatican aide, "now the moment looks ripe to plan such a trip".

It seems most likely the visit to South Africa will be slotted into the timetable between his planned tours of Namibia and Angola late next year.

Technically it will not be the Pope's first visit to the Republic. He did set foot there very briefly last September, against all expectations, when bad weather forced his jet to land at Jan Smuts Airport.

He was said to have been impressed by the efficiency of the South African officials in getting his papal show on the road again — by motorcade to Lesotho two-and-a-half hours later.

Another reason for the Pope's change of mind is that he feels the occasion would be regarded as a gesture of encouragement towards the Christian communities in South Africa.

"One thing is certain, though. When the Holy Father goes to that unhappy land he will not hesitate to codemn apartheid publicly on every occasion that presents itself."

Meanwhile, the papal anti-apartheid document to be issued on Friday, called "The Church Confronts Racism: For a more fraternal society", is expected to attack racism in all forms — "but apartheid will be its top target".

Tutu slams night raid on Crossroads

ARGUS 8/2/89

By KAREN STANDER
Religion Reporter

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu has slammed as "absolutely disgraceful" a security force raid on the residents of New Crossroads in the early hours of yesterday morning.

In a hard-hitting and angry response today, he said he "shuddered to think of the consequences" if the authorities continued to "trample" over people's lives and feelings in this "scandalous" way.

"If soldiers cordoned off a white suburb at 2am and police — including the riot squad — spent more than four hours awakening thousands of ordinary people to search their homes, there would be a national outcry.

"If crime prevention was given as the reason for such callous treatment, angry calls would be made for the police to justify treating law-abiding citizens as potential criminals.

"And if the result of such a raid was the recovery of some stolen property and a handful of arrests (15), demands would be made in Parliament for disciplinary action against the police and the resignation of the responsible Cabinet Minister.

"But the victims of this callous action are blacks without a vote or any other power, so nobody raises an eyebrow.

"I am waiting to hear the smallest squeak of a response from the self-appointed guardians of blacks' welfare who have shown so much concern for black suffering in recent years.

"If the authorities and the white electorate continue to trample over people's lives and feelings in this scandalous way, I shudder to think of the consequences," Archbishop Tutu said.

Police silent in face of Tutu outrage over raid

Staff Reporter

POLICE say they have no wish to enter into a debate with Archbishop Desmond Tutu through the media over a crime-prevention raid in New Crossroads.

Archbishop Tutu yesterday condemned a major crime-prevention operation by police and the SADF held in New Crossroads in the early hours of Tuesday. He said the raid was a matter of "trampling over people's lives and feelings in a scandalous way".

A police spokesman in Pretoria said that if, in Archbishop Tutu's opinion, any member of the SAP had acted incorrectly, he was free to lodge a complaint through any of the existing channels. This would then be investigated.

New Crossroads was cordoned off from 2am and residents were woken up and houses searched. During the 4½-hour raid, pamphlets were distributed telling residents they need not fear the police.

Fifteen arrests were made during the search for weapons, stolen goods and suspects.

"If soldiers cordoned off a white suburb at 2am and police — including the riot squad — spent more than four hours awakening ordinary citizens to search their homes, there would be a national outcry," Archbishop Tutu said.

"But the victims of this callous action are blacks without a vote or any other power, so nobody raises an eyebrow.

"If the authorities and the white electorate continue to trample over people's lives and feelings in this scandalous way, I shudder to think of the consequences."

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Pope has no plans to visit SA — Vatican

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Pope has no plans at present to visit South Africa, according to the Vatican Press Office.

Asked about rumours that the Pope was to visit South Africa late next year, a spokesman for the Holy See said in a telephone interview: "For the moment absolutely nothing is scheduled."

He declined to elaborate.

Also in Rome, Father James Patrick, who was in charge of last year's visit by the Pope to Southern Africa, said there had been "no announcement yet of a visit".

It was reported earlier this week that the Pope would visit South Africa late next year during his tour to Namibia and Angola.

The Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference (SACBC) this week also denied any knowledge of a papal visit, saying that the Vatican would inform the bishops first if the Pope should come to South Africa.

Bishop Wilfred Napier, SACBC president, told a news conference last week the SACBC had renewed an invitation to the Pope to visit South Africa.

The Pope had accepted in principle, but no date had been given.

Pope John Paul unofficially set foot on South African soil last year when the government provided him and his entourage with a motorcade from Jan Smuts airport to Maseru, because his flight had been unable to land in Lesotho.

'Kidnap' victim not yet traced

Cape Times 10/2/89

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By BARRY STREEK

POLICE are investigating the controversy surrounding the Mandela United Soccer Club, but they had no evidence that the youth allegedly kidnapped by club members was dead, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said yesterday.

Nor had any link been established between the suspects in the murder of Dr Abu-Baker Asvat and the dispute over the Mandela Football Club.

Mr Vlok said that charges of kidnapping against the Mandela Soccer Club and the disappearance of the allegedly kidnapped youth, Stompie Mokhele, were being investigated.

According to the police's information, members of the Mandela United Soccer Club, who resided at the home of Mrs Winnie Mandela, called at the home of the Reverend Paul Verryn, minister of the Methodist Church in Orlando West, on December 28 last year and removed three youths who were cared for and stayed at his home.

A fourth juvenile managed to escape, but one of the other three allegedly resisted and was serious assaulted.

Mr Vlok said: "The three were taken by vehicle to the house of Mrs Mandela, from where the injured one was taken away by members of the soccer team.

"Until now, he cannot be traced."

From pictures published in the press, the police identified him as James Stompo Seipei, 14, from Thumahole, who in 1986, as an eleven-year-old, established himself as a leading figure in the Thumahole Youth Congress, a UDF affiliate.

His father was dead and his mother and grandfather, in whose care he was, had found for a considerable time that they could not control him.

Mr Vlok said that on January 26 this year, a juvenile laid a charge at the Orlando Police Station alleging that he lived at the Rev Verryn's home and that "the minister had committed immoral acts with him".

A women had made a statement that after the youth had reported this, she had taken him to Dr Asvat's for a medical examination.

"This charge has not been withdrawn."

The next day, Dr Asvat was shot dead in his consulting rooms by a black man and the police were searching for two suspects, Shelela Alphas Myavus, 23, and Zakhele Hlekisana Mbatha, 25.

However, at no stage had a link between established between the alleged kidnapping issue and the two suspects.

Charges of kidnappingof the two juveniles, allegedly removed by force by members of the Mandela Soccer Club, were being investigated, but they had not yet been traced.

He also said the police were wary of appearing vindictive against Mrs Mandela but various charges and countercharges had surfaced in Soweto.

However, it was very difficult to find witnesses who were prepared to testify against Mrs Mandela and in the past when witnesses had offered to testify against her, they were "all of a sudden" unwilling to stand in court or they disappeared.

Boesak, Tutu to discuss hunger strike

Argus, 10/2/89

28

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Staff Reporter

DR Allan Boesak is to see Archbishop Desmond Tutu today to discuss if they and other church and community leaders should join detainees in their hunger strike.

Detainees at Diepkloof Prison near Johannesburg have refused to eat in the past 18 days, saying they would starve until they were unconditionally released or charged.

They were joined on Monday by 105 Port Elizabeth detainees.

No Western Cape detainees are on a hunger strike, lawyers said today.

Dr Boesak said the hunger strike was a sign of the crisis in which detainees found themselves.

"The emergency regulations have paralysed the legal system because detainees cannot challenge their detention in court. Now they have had to use this extreme method to draw attention to their plight," he said.

He hoped the hunger strike would snowball and that more people would join.

"I hope to see Archbishop Tutu today to discuss if we and other church and community leaders should join the hunger strike."

Kidney failure

A 17-year-old anti-apartheid activist, one of about 300 prisoners on hunger strike over their detention without trial, is close to kidney failure reports Sapa-Reuter from Johannesburg.

Lawyers representing about 100 of the hunger strikers, meanwhile, said they would stage a 48-hour hunger strike as a gesture of solidarity, saying they despaired of helping them under the judicial system.

Audrey Coleman of the Detainees Aid Centre said yesterday that Cecil Mawela, taken to a Johannesburg hospital late on Wednesday, was now weak after his 18th day of refusing food.

Seven detainees, including Mawela, were now being treated in hospital in Johannesburg, with three of them attached to sugar drips, she said.

A doctor speaking for the National Medical and Dental Association said such drips, used mainly to replace lost body fluids and to supply energy, could not replace solids over an extended period.

The hunger strike, which started on January 23, has emerged as a major challenge to the emergency laws, which permit lengthy detention without trial.

Nearly 200 Johannesburg detainees have threatened to starve themselves to death unless they are freed, while a similar threat has come from 105 detainees at a jail in Port Elizabeth.

The lawyers who announced a token fast said in a statement:

"The South African legal system has failed our detainee clients and it has failed ourselves as lawyers ... We condemn detention without trial. We demand the release of our clients."

"Blackmail"

Mr Adriaan Vlok, Law and Order Minister, said yesterday that although the authorities were committed to dealing with the strike in a humane and civilised manner, the government would not bow to blackmail from the detainees.

Support for the strikers came yesterday from Oliver Tambo, president of the African National Congress.

● The Department of Law and Order was considering a request from MP Mrs Helen Suzman to visit hunger strikers but this was not opportune at present, a department spokesman said today.

Mrs Suzman said she was prepared to do anything to relieve the situation because their death would be a disaster for all.

● A service is to be held in New Brighton on Sunday for Port Elizabeth detainees on hunger strike.

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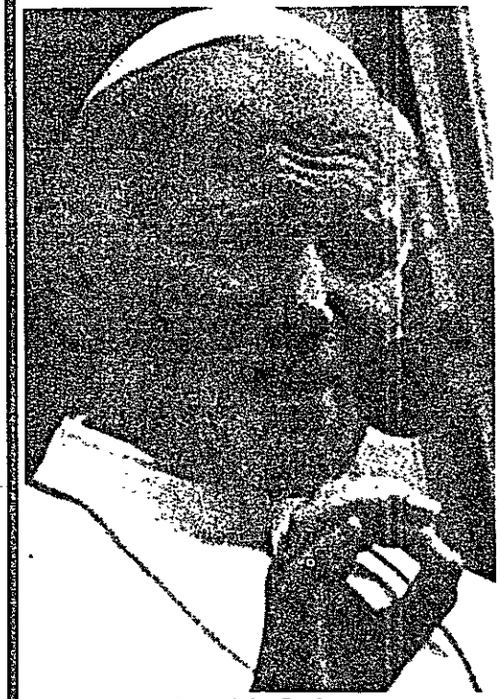
The Vatican speaks out on racism and SA



Pope John Paul

VATICAN CITY. — The following are excerpts from the Vatican document *The Church and Racism, Towards a More Fraternal Society*, issued yesterday.

ON institutionalised racism and South Africa: The most obvious form of racism, in the strictest sense of the word, to be found today is institutionalised racism.

This type is still sanctioned by the constitution and laws of a country. It is justified by an ideology of the superiority of persons from European stock over those of African or Indian origin or "coloured", which is, by some, supported by an erroneous interpretation of the Bible.

This is the regime of apartheid or of "separate development". This regime in the Republic of South Africa has long been characterised by segregation in vast areas of public life, between the black, coloured, Indian and white peoples, with only the latter, although numerically a minority, holding political power and considering themselves master of by far the greatest part of the territory.

Although some steps toward change have been taken in recent years, the black majority of the population remains excluded from effective representation in national government and enjoys citizenship in word only Many are relegated to "homelands" which are hardly capable of being self-sustaining and are economically and politically dependent on the central power.

South Africa is an extreme case of a vision of racial inequality. The prolongation of a state of repression, of which the majority of the population is victim, is less and less tolerated Such a situation carries with it the seed of racist reflexes on the part of the oppressed, which would be as unacceptable as those of which they are victim today For this reason, it is urgent that these prejudices be overcome in order to build the future on the principle of the equal dignity of every person

Experience has shown that peaceful evolutions are possible in this regard. The entire South African community, as well as the international community, must make every effort to promote a concrete dialogue between the principal parties involved. It is important that the fear which causes so much inflexibility be banished. And it is just as important to avoid allowing internal conflicts to be exploited by others to the detriment of justice and peace.

THE situation of indigenous people: In many cases, their situation is similar in fact, if not in law, to segregationist regimes in that they are relegated to limited territories or subjected to statutes which the new occupants of the country have, in most cases, unilaterally granted to them.

The right of the first occupants to land, and a social and political organisation which would allow them to preserve their cultural identity, while remaining open to others, must be guaranteed

On racism toward immigrants: The prejudices which these immigrants frequently encounter, risk setting into motion reactions which can often find their manifestation in exaggerated nationalism Such reaction can subsequently degenerate into xenophobia or even racial hatred. These reprehensible attitudes have their origin in the irrational fear which the presence of others and confrontation with differences can often provoke

Once a foreigner is admitted to a country and accepts the rules of public order, he or she has the right to protection by the law for the entire duration of his or her stay there. Labour legislation should not permit that, for equal work, non-citizens who have found employment in a country should suffer discrimination compared to native-born workers.

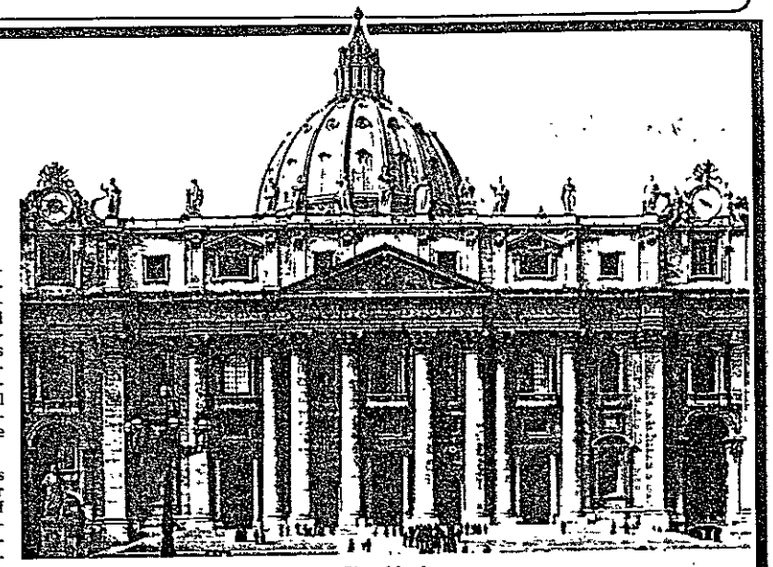
On the threat of genetic manipulation: It is important that laws determine as soon as possible the limits which must not be surpassed so that such "techniques" will not fall into the hands of abusive and irresponsible powers who might seek to "produce" human beings according to racial criteria or any other characteristic.

This would give rise to a resurgence of the deadly myth of eugenic racism, the misdeeds of which the world has already experienced. A similar abuse would be to prevent the birth of human beings of one or another social or ethnic category through abortion and sterilisation campaigns.

On anti-Semitism today: If anti-Semitism has been the most tragic form that racist ideology has assumed in our century, with the horrors of the Jewish "Holocaust", it has unfortunately not yet entirely disappeared.

As if some had nothing to learn from the crimes of the past, certain organisations, with branches in many countries, keep alive the anti-Semitic myth, with the support of networks of publications.

Terrorist acts which have Jewish persons or symbols as their target have multiplied in recent years and show the radicalism of such groups Anti-Zionism — which is not of the same order, since it questions the state of Israel and its policies — serves at times as a screen for anti-Semitism, feeding on it and leading to it. Furthermore, some countries impose undue harassments and restrictions on the free emigration of Jews. — Sapa-Reuter.



The Vatican

Tutu won't join hunger strike

Cape Times 15/2/89

Staff Reporter

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu won't join the detainees' hunger strike for practical reasons.

While the archbishop will review this decision after meeting the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, tomorrow, he said it would "probably be impractical" because of his imminent trips to Angola, Zaire and Nicaragua.

This emerged at an emergency gathering of Anglican clergy and lay workers of the Diocese of Cape Town.

The meeting said it would not be calling on the diocese to join a sympathy strike, though individuals could do so "as a private decision".

It was decided that Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays would be observed as special days of solidarity fasting

Dr Allan Boesak, who joined the hunger strike on Sunday, is in fine health, his daughter Lieneka said last night.

epkloof hunger strike off

ARGUS 16/2/89 (28)

Political Staff

DETAINEES at Diepkloof Prison, Soweto, have called off their hunger strike and the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, has agreed to review all detentions.

The detainees ended their fast at 7am today, lawyers representing the detainees said at a meeting in Johannesburg today.

They said that after talks with Mr Vlok on Tuesday the facts of the meeting had been placed before their clients, who then decided to end the strike.

A statement on behalf of the strikers said they had noticed a "change of heart" by Mr Vlok.

"Following calls made to us by various community and church leaders ... and following discussions between our legal representatives and Minister Vlok, we have decided to suspend our hunger strike," the statement said.

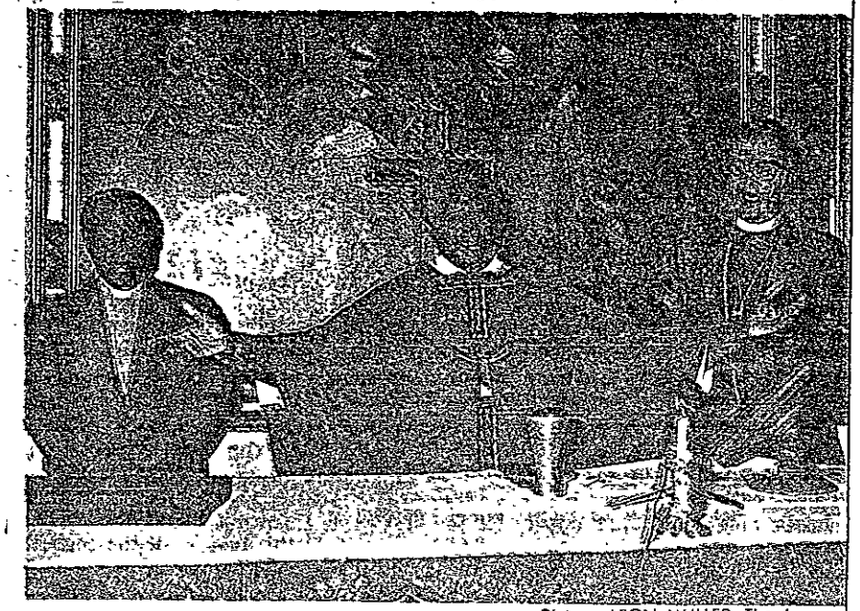
"The suspension will be effective from 07h00 on 16 February 1989. It applies only to the Diepkloof Prison."

Long-term effect

The decision was taken after consideration of several factors, which included:

"The serious concern among our families, church leaders and community representatives for our health.

"For the first time Minister Vlok has met with our lawyers. He has informed our lawyers that he



Picture: LEON MULLER, The Argus

CATHEDRAL COMMUNION: Flanked by prominent church leaders, Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu leads a communion service before their meeting today with Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok to discuss detainees.

Press curbs

In terms of the emergency regulations [illegible], comment

Gold price at $383,65

GOLD traded at $383.65 an ounce in London today against $383.65 at the close in New York last night. The rand traded at R2.4633

Political Staff

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"The serious concern among our families, church leaders and community representatives for our health.

"For the first time Minister Vlok has met with our lawyers. He has informed our lawyers that he is now personally receiving the calls of each one of us.

"The release of some detainees in other parts of the country is another indication that there may be a change of heart of the Minister."

Lawyers said no deal had been reached with Mr Vlok to release the strikers if they ended their protest.

Church delegation

Meanwhile, a delegation of church leaders led by Archbishop Desmond Tutu met Mr Vlok today to discuss the detainees.

Archbishop Tutu was accompanied by Bishop Stanley Mogoba, head of the Methodist Church of South Africa, Mr Frank Chikane, secretary-general of the South African Council of Churches, Archbishop Stephen Naidoo, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Cape Town, Dr Allan Boesak, Moderator of the Ned Geref Sendingkerk, and Archbishop T W Ntongana of the Apostolic Methodist Church of South Africa.

Until now Mr Vlok has reviewed only about 10 percent of the estimated 1 000 detentions.

The decision to review all detentions — not only those raised by the lawyers who have met him — is seen as a significant advance in the government's stance.

This follows a two-day session between lawyers and Mr Vlok, in which each case was discussed.

"No commitment"

The lawyers said their impression had been that the Mr Vlok sincerely wanted to find a way to free the men which would at the same time not embarrass the government.

Mr Vlok had made no committment to release large groups of the detainees but had encouraged submissions on behalf of individuals.

Government sources have indicated that scores of detainees could be released soon.

Today Brigadier Leon Mellet, a spokesman for Mr Vlok, said all detainees, including those who had not been represented at the meetings with Mr Vlok this week, would have their position reviewed.

● See Page 5.

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Mandela team, Mr
, who was stabbed.

Picture: LEON MULLER, The Argus

CATHEDRAL COMMUNION: Flanked by prominent church leaders, Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu leads a communion service before their meeting today with Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok to discuss detainees.

Press curbs

In terms of the emergency regulations reports, comment and pictures may be restricted.

Gold price at $383,65

GOLD traded at $383,65 an ounce in London today against $383,85 at the close in New York last night. The rand traded at R2,4688 (40,50 US cents) to the dollar today from yesterday's R2,4648 (40,57) close. — Business Staff. ● See page 17.

Winnie: More violence feared

Cape Times 16/2/89

Talks lead to freedom for detainees

Cape Times 16/2/89

ABOUT 100 of South Africa's roughly 800 emergency detainees are likely to be released soon following two days of intensive consultations between lawyers and the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok.

More releases could follow as a result of an undertaking by Mr Vlok to look into the detailed circumstances of all those emergency detainees who do not have legal representation.

Sources close to the talks described them as "a triumph" for all concerned and it is reliably understood that the vast majority of detainees whose cases were discussed would be released in the next few days.

The South African Council of Churches (SACC) has meanwhile called on hunger-striking detainees in [illegible] to suspend their [illegible] on to suspend their said all seven were recovering from the effects of the hunger strike and were able to walk around the hospital ward. It was not immediately clear why they had decided to end their fast.

At least 13 other hunger strikers have been admitted to hospitals suffering from giddiness, failing eyesight, severe weight loss and dehydration.

Lawyers attending the talks with Mr Vlok have described them as "useful" and noted that it was clear that the minister was carefully assessing the situation of all detainees.

A spokesman for Mr Vlok said last night that the minister had met detainees' legal representatives for the second day running for detailed discussions in which the situation of "each and every individual case" was considered.

CHURCH leaders fearing a community backlash yesterday warned of a "potential loss of life" over the escalating Mandela United Soccer Club affair.

The warning topped a day of drama which earlier saw Mrs Winnie Mandela's driver briefly held by police investigating two murders linked to the soccer club.

And police echoed the clerics' warnings, saying they had positively identified the hacked body of one of the Mandela United Soccer Club members and that the lives of several other people are in danger.

In quick succession yesterday:

- Police announced that they had identified the bodies of 14-year-old missing activist Stompie Moeketsi Seipie and 19-year-old soccer team member Zondile Maxwell Madondo.
- Mrs Mandela made a whirlwind visit to Cape Town with her daughter Zinzi and held two 40-minute meetings with her jailed husband Mr Nelson Mandela in his Victor Verster Prison home. It is believed they discussed growing township and ANC resentments about alleged misbehaviour of her bodyguard "soccer club".
- Mrs Mandela returned to Johannesburg, declining to comment on her meeting with her husband, but was stopped by police on her way to Soweto and her driver was arrested.

Police said they held the driver for questioning — apparently in connec-

home. It is believed they discussed growing township and ANC resentments about alleged misbehaviour of her bodyguard "soccer club".

● Mrs Mandela returned to Johannesburg, declining to comment on her meeting with her husband, but was stopped by police on her way to Soweto and her driver was arrested.

Police said they held the driver for questioning — apparently in connection with Stompie's death — and impounded the van he was driving "for examination purposes". He was later released.

● The SA Council of Churches made an urgent appeal for calm amid fears of escalating violence in Soweto where civic leaders attempted to resolve community complaints over the activities of Mrs Mandela's bodyguards.

In a significant announcement, SACC secretary-general the Rev Frank Chikane said a two-day meeting of the executive committee had "noted with concern the events surrounding Mrs Winnie Mandela and the so-called Mandela football club.

"Being aware of the explosive situation and the potential loss of lives, the SACC executive calls upon the community and all parties involved in this conflict to exercise extreme restraint," he said.

The SACC was concerned that lives could be lost in consequent community actions, he said.

Earlier, police investigating Stompie's disappearance said they had identified the decomposed body found in Soweto on January 6 as that of the youth, one of the four youths allegedly abducted on December 29 from a Soweto Methodist church by members of the soccer club.

A post-mortem indicated that Stompie — said to have "commanded" a 1 500-strong "children's army" during the 1984-86 riots — had been brutally beaten but that death was caused by the slashing of his jugular veins.

Police confirmed that they had formally opened a murder investigation.

Major-General Jaap Joubert, appointed by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, to investigate Stompie's disappearance and allegations of misconduct against the soccer club, said a fingerprint test done in Pretoria laboratories proved conclusively that the body was Stompie's.

The corpse's fingerprints were compared to those on police records from a pending charge against Stompie.

The young activist was to have appeared in Parys on February 22 on a charge that he incited people to boycott the municipal elections.

To page 3

From page 1

Cape Times 16/2/89

Police also said they had positively identified a hacked body found in Soweto this week as that of soccer club member Mr Zondile Madondo and warned that the "lives of several (other) people are in danger".

Meanwhile, Mrs Mandela and her daughter Zinzi had flown to Cape Town where they were met at D F Malan Airport by local and foreign media representatives, as well as the Mandela family's Cape Town legal representative, Mr Essa Moosa, and Mrs Farieda Omar, wife of local advocate Mr Dullah Omar.

Mrs Mandela spent 80 minutes with her husband but emerged tight-lipped from Victor Verster Prison and ignored media questions.

After returning to Johannesburg, Mrs Mandela was was stopped by police about a kilometre from Jan Smuts Airport.

Police said last night that Mrs Mandela's car was impounded "for examination purposes" in connection with the Stompie affair. "Mrs Mandela was immediately allowed to proceed to her residence," they said. — Staff Reporter and Own Correspondent with Sapa and UPI

(28)

ADVERTISEMENT

FOUNDATION FOR PEACE AND JUSTICE

AN OPEN LETTER TO MIN. ADRIAAN VLOK

Mr Adriaan Vlok
Minister of Law and Order
House of Parliament
CAPE TOWN

Mr Minister

As from this morning (Monday 13 February 1989) I have joined those in detention who have embarked upon a hunger strike. Their action is a dramatic one, which could have fateful consequences for all of us in this country but first of all for themselves. It is in itself an extraodinary indictment of your government and its policies, but most especially the system of detention without trial. That people have to go to such extreme lengths to focus attention on their plight speaks volumes for the crisis your policies have caused for them, and in them for millions of our people.

Our brothers and sisters on hunger strike are right, of course. They have been taken away in the dead of night, imprisoned without charge. They have been denied the most basic, human rights. They have been denied visist by lawyers or clergy or family. Recourse to the courts has been severely restricted, their lawyers are powerless, the rule of law itself has been rendered impotent; indeed you have taken the law and set it aside. You have decided that you alone have the right to declare them guilty, of what crimes they do not know nor do we, or you, for what matter. You have given your police the poser to hold them incommunicado for months, and in many cases for years now.

You and your government, and the people who vote for you, have created a system of systematic exploitation, oppression and degradation, the only yardstick being your own privileges. The government has willfully and callously trampled upon the rights and dignity of millions without blinking an eye It has made laws that make a mockery of the laws of God. When we protested, we were threatened, harassed, teargassed, beaten, imprisoned and detained. It has promulgated a state of emergency under which it has given yourself and its Security apparatus almost limitless powers. Its grand design of apartheid has failed.

The ideological battle for the hearts and minds of our people has failed. The government's so-called reforms have been exposed as merely cosmetic, a pathetic attempt to save whatever it can of apartheid for as long as it can. They have failed. And for this failure you are blaming us. That is why your government muzzles the press and bans newspapers. That is why your police break up church services. That is why you detain so many, including children, without trial. And detention without trial is just one of the ways in which your government has persistently tried to force us into submission, to break our rightful resistance. And all the while you were trying to hide the miserable failure, the dismal human tragedy that apartheid has become.
Now this action is once again reminding you and the world of what you have done.
Over the years we have spoken out against this flagrant abuse of the law. Lawyers have denounced it, the churches have petitioned against it. My own church, the N G Sendingkerk has been very clear in its witness. Time and time again it has condemned detention without trial as against the demands of God's justice, unbiblical and inhuman. Numerous are the times that the N G Sendingkerk, and so many other Christian churches in this land have called upon you to cease this evil practice. Parents have pleaded with you, spouse have petitioned you. You were never aware of the pain and misery you are causing through detention without trial.

Why am I joining them? Because I too was a victim of arbitrary detention. I know first hand of the pain and uncertainty, of the terror of solitary confinement and the uspeakable indignity and fear it brings. Because my church has spoken so clearly and I hear in the cries of anguish emanating from your prisons now, the voice of God calling to his church to respond with solidarity, love and witness. Because the Confession of Belhar tells us that we should stand where God stands, namely on the side of those who are voiceless, to whom injustice is being done. Because Christian witness without action means nothing. Christian witness without (painful) obedience misses the joy of true Christian discipleship.

You have heard the detainees: release us or charge us. This is their right. That is the very least you could do. I am joining them in the hope that you that you will listen. In the hope also that my action will strengthen their plea. I also hope that many others in the Christian community will join in this. I am aware that you are on record as saying you will not be "blackmailed". What an astonishing admission! Is a call for simple justice blackmail? Is the desire to know what one has done wrong blackmail? But of course there is a deeper question. You are the Minister of Law and Order. Your emergency regulations place the fate of all of us in your hands. You can decide whether people live or die. Are you willing to that?

Fasting until death is not part of my religious or ecclesiastical tradition. Deliberately placing my life in danger is irresponsible, I have been taught. That may be so. But I cannot stand idly by and watch those who are struggling for justice in South Africa starve themselves to death. None of us wish to die But if this is the road we must take to make you and your government understand the consequences of what you've done, we will take it. Not gladly, not with pride, certainly with fear and trembling. But I know now what God wants you to do. For more than anything Mr Minister, I need to be faithful. It was not easy for me to come to this decision. But I now know what God wants me to do. I can only hope and pray that you know what God wants you to do.

Yours faithfully
REV DR ALLAN BOESAK

Churches to defy Govt over funds

Star 16/2/89 (28)

Religion Reporter

The South African Council of Churches executive committee plans to defy the proposed Foreign Funding Bill and has called on the Government to withdraw the Bill, the committee said in Johannesburg this week.

The committee said it saw the Bill as "another attempt by the South African Government to prevent the legitimate organisation and promotion of work in opposition to apartheid".

"If it becomes law we will be unable in conscience to obey it," the committee said.

The South African Catholic Bishops Conference last month also said it will defy the law.

The Bill seeks to give the State new and easier ways of collecting information "to which it is not entitled" about organisations and individuals especially regarding funding from overseas granted to local organisation, the statement said.

Maintaining people's morale

(28) SOUTH. 16-22/2/89

Archbishop Desmond Tutu is accused by some of being an "enemy of the state". But many more believe the Nobel Peace Prize winner to be a sincere leader of an oppressed people. He told RYLAND FISHER that "maintaining the morale of people" was an important part of his ministry

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu believes that part of his ministry is to "maintain the morale of our people".

But he agrees this is difficult "in the face of so much that says the opposite".

Interviewed at Bishopscourt, the head of the Anglican Church in Southern Africa and South Africa's only living Nobel Peace Prize winner said: "People like Allan (Dr Boesak) and myself have to say to our people that everything is going to be alright.

"And we believe it. Sometimes, of course, we hold on to that ourselves by the skin of our teeth."

The cost was exorbitant and unnecessary, he said.

"It's difficult when you think of how they trample on our dignity as human beings.

"Like what they did to us at the funeral of Mrs Irene Mkwayi (wife of imprisoned ANC leader Wilton Mkwayi).

"The funeral was arranged for Saturday and most people came. Then at the last moment the authorities said: 'No, you are not going to have the funeral today. You are going to have it on Monday. And only 200 people are allowed, and no political speeches.

"And this is the wife of a man who has been in jail for 25 years. How can you speak about that and not speak about politics?"

Tutu said he tended "to be more believing of people".

"I believe that everyone is a saint until the contrary is proven.

"But children are in detention, children have gone into exile, children have been killed and people are on hunger strike because they have been in detention for almost three years.

"And on the whole our society has grown blase about all this."

Hopeful signs included Nambia's independence and trips to Lusaka and Harare by people wanting to speak to the African National Congress.

"I don't think South Africa would have moved out of Angola if the economy was still strong. The economy is not doing well and so they are wanting to make virtue out of necessity.

"I don't mind why they go out. If Nambia becomes independent, that will be a glorious victory which will edge on the opponents of apartheid to intensify their efforts.

"It could have, of course, the opposite effect on the world, especially the West.

"The West could say: 'Look these guys have agreed to the independence of Namibia, let us not be too tough on them'.

"Those of us calling for the intensification of pressure may get a great deal of resistance.

"Just the fact that Namibia becomes free is going to have important repercussions on blacks here.

"Like what happened when Mozambique became free, our liberation struggle picked up a bit. I think, the possibilities could be very positive.

"And if Namibia goes the way of Zimbabwe, an experiment which is working contrary to the general perceptions among whites, that will be all to the good.

"And of course, with Mr Gobachev and his general attitude, it is quite interesting. I think, the South African government wants to appear to be part of this new movement and mood in the international community of the settlement of regional conflicts.

"The prospects may be better for peace than it has been in a long while. But we musn't forget that we still have a Magnus Malan."

The increase in South Africans wanting to speak to the ANC was "just reality beginning to hit people between their eyes".

"The liberation movements have been an important part of our past, they are very much a part of our present and there's no way that they are not going to be a crucial part of our future.

"Anyone who thinks he can exclude them from any negotiations about the future is living in cloud cuckooland.

"One good thing being shown is that all the perceptions most white people have of the ANC is so much hogwash.

"They want to set out that these are bloodthirsty, irresponsible, unintelligent people.

"And then you get your academics going over there and they sit down and talk with them and discover: 'Hey these guys have kept tabs on what is happening at home, they have fairly significant status in the world and they are ... just ordinary'.

"I keep saying that I wish more South Africans could listen to Tambo speak.

"If the government really believe that Tambo is indicative of what they say the ANC represents, they would not be scared of letting him appear on television.

"Why don't they let Tambo appear on television and let him be interviewed by the most hostile interviewer.

"They are scared, dead scared, because they know the minute he — or Thabo Mbeki — appears on television and is allowed to speak, most people in this country are going to be eating out of their hands.

"And some of the government's guys are going to be shown up at home for what they are."

His position on the need for economic pressure against South Africa remained the same.

"My position has always been that I am not wedded to sanctions.

"I'm wedded to the liberation of our country and if someone can produce a non-violent strategy that will end apartheid then I will support that.

"At the moment I have not seen anybody produce a credible alternative.

"The private sector in this country knows that once you hit them in their pocket book, they suddenly all decide it is a good thing to go to Lusaka."

Asked about the "minimum" the government had to do to convince him of its sincerity, Tutu said:

"We've repeated this many times. Lift the state of emergency; release our leaders, prisoners and detainees; unban our political orgnisations because there is no point in saying Tambo can come back but he can't operate under the auspices of his political organisation.

"And then say we want to negotiate a new constitution, a nonracial democratic constitution.

"That is the minimum, absolute minimum. You can't expect our people to go lower than that."

Archbishop Desmond Tutu

CAPE TOWN NGK minister Dr Ben Kotze switches from quoting Abraham Lincoln (Government of the people, for the people, by the people), to Tolstoy (Everybody wants to change humanity, but nobody wants to start with himself), to make a point.

Eventually he settles on an old Indian saying in an attempt to explain the imperative to forge closer links with other churches.

"Tell me I'll forget, show me I may remember, but involve me and I'll understand."

His long-felt desire is to "involve" himself with what he describes as the "other side".

Kotze is in the unique position of being a minister to both an NGK and NG Sendingkerk congregation.

Polarisation

But the question he poses is: "How could it be that for so many years we could have been happy with this situation."

He is referring to the racial division in the church and the level of polarisation in South Africa.

"It's a tragedy that we have a white church, an Indian church, a coloured church, and a black church," says Kotze as he explains the fears and traditions standing in the way of church unity.

"The older folk are still very supportive of the status quo both from a church and government point of view.

"Officially the church in the Western Cape has decided to move towards unity. I don't know when this is going to happen, but our younger members have decided to take the initiative.

"I don't think they (the conservatives) have a clear vision and don't have a real understanding of the people on the other side.

"I think they still believe apartheid is not so bad, while I think very few of the people in our group would tolerate apartheid or even tri-partheid."

Kotze is among a group of about 30 NGK ministers who have decided to explore the possibility of reconciliation between the different sections in the NG church.

"Our aim is to work towards one church," he says simply.

He speaks about the recent meeting at Mnandi beach between about 80 ministers from the NGK, the Sendingkerk of Dr Allan Boesak and the NG Church in Africa of the Reverend Sam Buti as a "moment of truth".

Concerned

He says the NGK initiative stems from an assessment of the "situation in the country" by a group of concerned ministers who got together at the end of last year and decided that it would be "much better to reach out to some of our friends on the other side of the divide".

"I think that after this kind of personal contact it has become much more necessary to link up with other churches."

Concerned about the division in the church, he says: "It is not in our interest, It is not in the interest of the people on the other side and it is not in the interest of the majority of people in this country.

"Apartheid is so effective, we don't go to the same schools, we don't play sport together, we don't worship together, in fact we do very few things together. I believe that the only way to get rid of this sort of thing is to get rid of your own enmity."

The informal meeting between the Dutch Reform ministers and colleagues from the two other churches was called to discuss the growing scale of polarisation in the country and to explore the possibility of reconciliation between the different sections of the NG church.

After the meeting the NG ministers declared that the emergency regulations and the present spiral of violence are the causes of the crisis facing South Africa.

"We spoke about the crisis in our apartheid society and called a spade a spade. The conference agreed that South Africa is one country which belongs to all its's more than 35 million inhabitants and that all of them have the God-given right to share in the country's resources and riches, as well as to share in governing it.

"We had grave concerns about the 1983 Constitution which invested the executive state president and those delegates by him, with authoritarian powers and several states of emergency, the restriction on a free press and free speech and the detention without trial of thousands of people.

Ideology

"We also spoke out against the current ideology of 'the safety of the state' which uses God and the church to fortify it.

"In the process society is militarised, the rule of law is abandoned, the rights of individuals are violated and the friend/enemy concept is entrenched.

Ministers at the Mnandi beach meeting looked at five issues which included a social and church analysis of South African and the road ahead towards unity.

"We discussed the whole question of church unity and recognised that working for one undivided Dutch Reform church can only be fruitful if we start working for peace and justice in our society.

"As God's new community the task of the church is not to weakly accept sin as inevitable, but to act as a watch-dog against all hatred in society.

"A Christian in South Africa today dare not remain an uninvolved spectator or continue to make apologetic noises in defence of a so-called "christian" government.

Kotze says the "Kairos" — moment of truth — has come.

"I believe that the Mnandi gathering has helped me in this respect."

Rev Ben Kotze

16-22/2/89. South (28)

'Moment of truth' in Dutch Reform 'family'

A small group of "concerned" Cape Town NGK ministers have taken it on themselves to break the ice and initiate talks with other churches in the Dutch Reform family to explore the possibility of reconciliation. As part of this process, about 30 NGK ministers met about 50 ministers of the NG Sendingkerk and NG Church in Africa at Mnandi Beach on the False Bay coast. HENRY LUDSKI reports.

Steps to end hunger strike 'triumph'

Cape Times 17/2/89

28

By CHRIS BATEMAN
and ANTHONY JOHNSON

THE Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, and church leaders met yesterday and agreed on steps to end the prisons hunger strike in what was described by both sides as a "triumph for negotiations".

Earlier in the day, 180 hunger strikers at Diepkloof Prison near Soweto called off their protest.

At the subsequent meeting between Mr Vlok and church leaders, including Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Dr Allan Boesak and the Rev Frank Chikane, secretary-general of the SA Council of Churches, it was agreed that the churchmen would call for a two-week halt to the strike while the cases of many detainees were reviewed.

A "large percentage" of the estimated 800 emergency detainees are expected to be released during the two-week hiatus in the protest, beginning with a batch of about six detainees who will regain their freedom today. Among this group is a prominent UDF leader, it has been reliably learnt.

To page 2

mond Mhlaba, jailed with Nelson Mandela in 1964

Picture: CHRIS QWAZI, PEN

A standing ovation for Tutu at report-back

17-23/2/89.

(23)

By GAYE DAVIS, Cape Town

AT least 1 500 people packed Cape Town's Central Methodist Church on Greenmarket Square for a triumphant service honouring hunger-striking detainees and their families.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu received a standing ovation after giving a report-back on the meeting that morning with Vlok.

"We are going to have to determine what is 'substantial'," he said, referring to Vlok's undertaking to release "substantial numbers" of detainees over the next fortnight, a period stipulated by the church delegation which met him earlier.

Tutu said detainees would be asked to suspend their action over the next fortnight "and then we will see what happens and determine our response — for us the ultimate is the release of all detainees".

He said that if Vlok did not honour his promise he (Tutu) would invite church leaders to take part in "appropriate action".

Dr Allan Boesak, leader of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, who started fasting in solidarity with detainees on monday, suspended his fast yesterday.

He told the packed church many people had asked him if he was prepared to die and said he told them: "Yes, because I believe that if it is necessary to walk that road to see our people free, I'll do it."

Police, including riot squad members and a detachment of *kitskonstabels*, outside the church issued warnings to people to disperse as the congregation started leaving after the service and curious bystanders swelled the crowd.

Tutu, Boesak and Independent MP for Claremont, Jan van Eck, negotiated with police while appealing to people to leave quietly. There were no incidents.

Cape Times 17/2/89

SA Muslim leader: Rushdie must die

By MEG BRITS

SALMAN RUSHDIE should die, according to Sheikh Nazeem Mohamed, president of the Muslim Judicial Council.

Sheikh Mohamed said yesterday that Rushdie, in his controversial book "The Satanic Verses", had committed an "act of apostasy" that could not be tolerated by any true Muslim.

He said the book openly blasphemed the holy Prophet Mohammed, his wives and the Prophet Abraham and that if the author had been living in an Islamic state he would "long ago have been executed".

Sheik Mohamed was reacting to this week's call by the Iranian head of state, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, for Rushdie to be killed. Iran has offered a $1-million (about R2,3m) reward to any Muslim who kills Rushdie — and $2,5 million if the killer is an Iranian.

Coming to SA

The ayatollah also said anyone who was killed in the attempt to assassinate Rushdie would be martyred and go to heaven.

Sheik Mohamed said it was too early to say what the reaction of South African Muslims would be to the ayatollah's call. He said Western countries were outraged about Muslim reaction to the book because they regarded themselves as "free thinking", which caused all their problems in the first place.

"In Islam, we are bound by conformity. There is no room to ask 'Is there a God' — we believe in Allah and in the holy prophet as his messenger and our guide."

Consequently, he said, any Muslim who did "commit an act of apostasy" as Rushdie had done would be considered to have abandoned his religion and should, under the laws of Islam,

From page 1

Cape Times 17/2/89

Rushdie

be executed.

Sheikh Mohamed said the council had already stopped Rushdie from coming to South Africa in its own way and that its stand remained clear that neither Rushdie nor his book could be tolerated.

Rushdie last year cancelled a trip to South Africa, where he was to have spoken on censorship at the Weekly Mail Book Festival.

Weekly Mail editor Mr Anton Harber said he found the call to kill Rushdie truly shocking — a "frightening return to the morality of the Dark Ages".

Islamic historian and author Mr Achmat Davids said he thought a suitable punishment for Rushdie would be "excommunication" from Islam.

"It is true that Rushdie has violated basic tenets of Islam and, under Islamic law, that is punishable by death. But in the modern world, one can be a little more humane, more considerate. Calling for his execution is too extreme."

Mr N Jina, director of the Muslim Youth Movement, said last night that his organisation had decided not to issue a statement regarding "the Ayatollah's death sentence" or the reward, but stood by its earlier statements that Rushdie's book was blasphemous and had to be condemned.

Tutu in stand against riot cops

Cape Times 17/2/89

(128)

By CHRIS BATEMAN

ONLY hours after the landmark detainee-release agreement with Mr Adriaan Vlok, Archbishop Desmond Tutu found himself in a head-on confrontation with the head of the Peninsula's Reaction Unit, Colonel Frikkie Kellerman, on Greenmarket Square.

The incident came as hundreds of people attending a report-back service in the Methodist Metropolitan Church emerged peacefully on to Greenmarket Square to hear police announce that dispersal measures could include the use of firearms.

A police water cannon and several vans, with more than a dozen special constables armed with shotguns, took up positions.

An angry Archbishop Tutu was seen remonstrating with Colonel Kellerman who used a loud-hailer to read out emergency regulations and deliver a two-minute warning of impending police action.

"I'm going to see Mr Vlok and tell him that your attitude is very unreasonable," Archbishop Tutu said.

"I'm not going to argue with you Mr Tutu," Colonel Kellerman replied.

The police warning came while the church was still packed with people who had been cautioned by Professor Charles Villa-Vicencio, UCT's head of Religious Studies, to leave quietly and disperse immediately.

Professor Villa-Vicencio divided people into those sitting in central and aisle pews and those in the aisles and the upper gallery and instructed them to leave in these groupings.

This process was still under way when the police warning came.

The tension was defused when Colonel Kellerman eventually ordered his men to pull out as a senior officer announced to the crowd "if you disperse, we will move out as well".

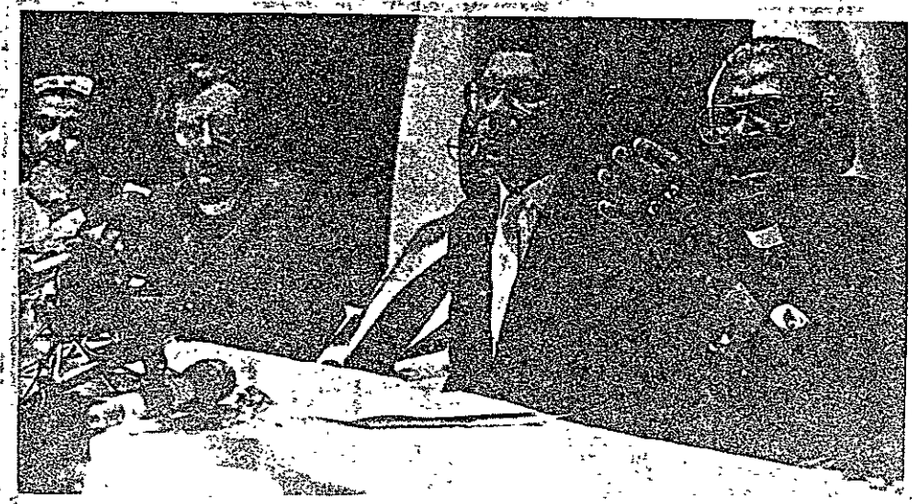
Bishop Geoffrey Quinlan, Archbishop Tutu and Mr Jan van Eck, Independent MP, all at stages attempted to dissaude Colonel Kellerman from his apparent course of action, to be told they were "drawing a crowd".

Among those on the square were the Australian Ambassador to South Africa, Mr Colin McDonald, and aides, Mr Wynand Malan, NDM MP for Randburg, and Mr Pierre Cronje, NDM MP for Greytown.

● An all-night vigil and fast in solidarity with those in detention will be held at St Mary's Cathedral from 7 tonight beginning with a mass celebrated by Archbishop Stephen Naidoo, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Cape Town.

PLEAS FOR CALM ... Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Dr Allan Boesak plead with Colonel Frikkie Kellerman, head of the Peninsula's Reaction Unit, not to take crowd-dispersal action on Greenmarket Square yesterday.

Picture: ERIC MILLER



COMPROMISES ... Cape Town's Archbishop Desmond Tutu; Dr Allan Boesak, Moderator of the NG Sendingkerk; Bishop Geoffrey Quinlan, Anglican Bishop Suffragan of Cape Town; and Moulana Faried Esack, of the Call of Islam, report on the outcome of their meeting with Mr Vlok yesterday.

Picture: ANNE LAING

Tutu in stand against riot cops

Cape Times 17/2/89

28

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From page 1

CAPE TIMES 17/2/89

Hunger strike

ed 800 emergency detainees are expected to be released during the two-week hiatus in the protest, beginning with a batch of about six detainees who will regain their freedom today. Among this group is a prominent UDF leader, it has been reliably learnt.

The police have "streamlined and telescoped" the complex administrative procedures whereby the cases of individual detainees are reviewed and as many as 150 detainees are expected to be released unconditionally or with restrictions before the end of the month.

"The ideal is to release or charge everyone eventually," Brigadier Leon Mellet, spokesman for Mr Vlok, said last night.

With most of the Johannesburg hunger strikers now back on normal diets, Mr Chikane's efforts are expected to concentrate in speaking to those protesters who are at greatest risk. It is likely that he will also visit Port Elizabeth protesters who make up the bulk of the remaining 100-odd strikers.

Mr Vlok's undertakings included "giving his urgent and personal attention to the case of each detainee, starting with the hunger strikers".

He would consider each detention "minutely and sympathetically", Archbishop Tutu said.

The archbishop said the church delegation's immediate concern had been to save the lives of those on hunger strike, at least 12 of whom have been admitted to Johannesburg hospitals.

The delegation's secondary concern had been the release of all detainees.

"We indicated that our opposition to detention without trial was not only in principle but that fundamentally it was the whole apartheid system which was under attack," Archbishop Tutu said.

Brig Mellet described yesterday's talks as "cordial, responsible and non-political".

He said the participants had not entered the discussions intent on "point-scoring".

The real victor had been "sensible negotiations on sensitive matters", he said.

Brig Mellet emphasised that the detainee review process, while speeded up, remained the "continuation of an ongoing process to evaluate the need for continued incarceration in each individual case".

He confirmed that Mr Vlok had told the churchmen that the death of any of the hunger strikers was something "too ghastly to contemplate".

Reacting to developments, the PFP's spokeswoman on law and order, Mrs Helen Suzman, said last night: "One is relieved that something is at last being done by Mr Vlok to relieve the hunger strike which otherwise would lead to such tragic consequences not only for the hunger strikers, but indeed, for South Africa too.

"However, much more remains to be done and, of course, the first prize would be the lifting of the state of emergency and the immediate release of all detainees."

Cape Times 24/2/89 28

Methodists slate Mandela allegations

JOHANNESBURG. — Bishop Peter Storey yesterday said the church regretted the "continued flow of allegations emanating from Mrs Winnie Mandela".

He said the Methodist Church had not responded to each allegations as it would have been undignified and counterproductive, but said "our silence must not be taken as implying that they (the allegations) have any substance whatsoever".

"The church particulary resents recent suggestions that it is involved in a conspiracy with the police to frame the Mandela United soccer team," he said, adding that the first person to involve the police was Mrs Mandela herself.

He said the church's concern was always the safe return of the four abducted youths and to end the soccer team's violence.

"That there is substantial corroborative evidence to these events will become clear in due course but our most important priority since then has been to avoid any action that would exacerbate the deep community outrage at the conduct of the football team."

"Among the allegations made recently are statements blaming the leadership of the SACC, the leadership of the mass democratic movement, factions within the ANC, white clerics and the football team coach, together with a continued attack on the Rev Paul Verryn. Now there has come the suggestion that the brutally murdered Stompie Sepei is still alive."

Mr Storey said the church recognised the sensitive political implications involved in the events and was deeply impressed by the commitment of community leaders to uncover the truth and deal with its consequences.

"With them the Methodist Church hopes that the time will come when the pastoral care which it has given for more than 20 years to Mrs Mandela will be able to contribute to healing." — Sapa

Tutu calls for Winnie to be rehabilitated

24/2/89

By GERALD L'ANGE
Argus Africa News Service

LUANDA. — Archbishop Desmond Tutu said here today that Mrs Winnie Mandela had made errors of judgment but should be rehabilitated.

At a news conference at the end of a visit to Angola the archbishop said Mrs Mandela had for 15 years been pressured and harassed.

She had made errors of judgment but he hoped "that it will be possible to work with her and the community for her rehabilitation".

Archbishop Tutu said the world news media had "grasped the opportunity and had deflected attention from very important issues threatening the liberation struggle" and therefore the sooner it was resolved the better.

Tribute

He said that in Angola he met African National Congress representatives but did not give details of the discussions and evaded a question about whether he supported any liberation movement in South Africa.

He paid tribute to President Botha for his courage.

"He has said things that no one had expected a Nationalist president or Prime Minister to say.

"But he has not had the courage of his convictions and has not gone as far as he should have gone."

The archbishop also paid tribute to Mr Adriaan Vlok, Minister of Law and Order, for releasing detainees. This showed that a similar approach could resolve even more substantial points.

Discussing the efforts being made outside Angola to promote a reconciliation between the MPLA government and the Unita rebels, Archbishop Tutu criticised the United States government for aiding Unita. He said said the rebels should take advantage of the offer by the MPLA to work for a united country and nation.

Saying that most Angolans were Christians, the archbishop said this showed the wrongness of attempts to use the alleged Marxist nature of Angola as an excuse to perpetrate disastrous wrongs on the country.

Sapa-Reuter reports from Johannesburg that South Africa's Methodist Church has accused Mrs Mandela of lying to defend her bodyguards.

"The church particularly resents recent suggestions that it is involved in a conspiracy with the police to frame the Mandela United soccer team," Bishop Peter Storey said in a statement.

The latest killing linked to the activities of Mrs Mandela's entourage was a gun-and-petrol-bomb attack on a Soweto township house yesterday. A 13-year-old girl was cut down in a hail of bullets.

Police said they were investigating the possibility that it was revenge. The house belongs to a woman arrested in connection with the murder last week of a Mandela Football Club member, Maxwell Madondo.

Mandela instructs lawyers

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Staff Reporter

THREE lawyers held a four-hour meeting with Mr Nelson Mandela in his quarters at Victor Verster Prison yesterday, but declined to answer questions after the meeting.

Advocates Mr George Bizos, SC, and Mr Dullah Omar, and Mr Mandela's attorney Mr Ismail Ayob, met the African National Congress leader at his request yesterday.

A statement would not be issued, said Mr Ayob, and they would not be returning for another consultation "right now".

He said Mr Mandela had given them certain instructions he could not disclose.

Mr Bizos said he had not seen Mr Mandela since his illness. Mr Mandela suffered from tuberculosis and was transferred to Paarl late last year after recuperating at the Constantiaberg clinic.

Constantiaberg Clinic.

Yesterday's oppressed, oppress Africa now: Tutu

Argus 27/2/81

KINSHASA. — Archbishop Desmond Tutu said here that in many parts of Africa the only change there had been since the colonial era was in the skin colour of the "oppressors".

"In colonial times the oppressor was of a different complexion. Sadly, today, the complexion of the oppressor is the same as the complexion of the oppressed."

The Anglican archbishop was addressing 15 000 people at an open-air church service yesterday at the end of a three-day visit to Kinshasa, according to a church statement.

He visited Zaire at the invitation of local churches and in his capacity as president of the All Africa Conference of Churches.

FREEDOM OF CITY

He was given the Freedom of Kinshasa and saw a representative of President Mobutu Sese Seko. The Zairean president was in Japan at Emperor Hirohito's funeral.

Archbishop Tutu said in his sermon yesterday that Africa was being exploited by neo-colonialism, it had a heavy burden of debt and it was still afflicted by poverty, ignorance and disease.

"Africa is still in bondage because of the iniquity and injustice of racism and apartheid. Africa groans because of the devastation of natural disasters such as drought and floods.

"But Africa groans too because of man-made disasters. It is being devastated by civil wars, as in Angola, in Mozambique, in Ethiopia, Eritrea, in Uganda and the Sudan," he said.

"Africa has the unenviable distinction of producing the world's greatest number of refugees. Of course, many of these are refugees from natural disasters ... but sadly, the majority are refugees from injustice and oppression in their motherlands.

"For we must confess that Africa has one of the worst records of violation of human rights. Africa has a spate of military dictatorships."

Archbishop Tutu continued: "In many places all that has changed for the people who suffer is the complexion of the oppressor."

ON GOD'S SIDE

He said God took the side of the poor, the oppressed and the downtrodden.

"That is where the Church of God must be found, on the side of the downtrodden ... the voice of the voiceless ones.

"So we say to all unjust rulers everywhere: 'Beware! Watch it! Look out in South Africa. Look out wherever you may be, unjust ruler.' We have no doubt that we shall be free. The blood of Jesus Christ bought us so that we would be free to enjoy the glorious liberty of the children of God." — Sapa.

Tutu slams Africa human rights record

CAPE TIMES 28/2/89

28

AFRICA had one of the worst records of human-rights violations, Cape Town's Archbishop Desmond Tutu told a congregation in Kinshasa, Zaire, yesterday.

"In many places, all that has changed for the people who suffer is the complexion of the oppressor. In colonial times the oppressor was of a different complexion.

"Sadly today the complexion of the oppressor is the same as that of the oppressed," Archbishop Tutu said, according to a statement released in Cape Town yesterday by the archbishop's media secretary, Mr John Allen.

Archbishop Tutu said Africa also had the unenviable distinction of producing the world's greatest number of refugees.

Countries like Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Uganda and the Sudan had been devastated by civil wars.

He said the scriptures warned unjust rulers everywhere that God was on the side of the oppressed, poor and needy.

"So we say to all unjust rulers everywhere: 'Beware! Watch it! Look out wherever you may be, unjust ruler' ... Look out in South Africa ... We have no doubt we shall be free."

He said Africa was being exploited by neo-colonialism, that it suffered a heavy debt burden and was still afflicted by poverty, ignorance and disease.

Archbishop Tutu was addressing a crowd of about 15 000 at an open-air church service at the end of his three-day visit to Kinshasa.

He visited Zaire at the invitation of local churches and in his capacity as president of the All Africa Conference of Churches.

He was given the freedom of Kinshasa during his visit and saw a representative of President Mobutu Sese Seko. The Zairean president was in Japan at Emperor Hirohito's funeral. — Sapa

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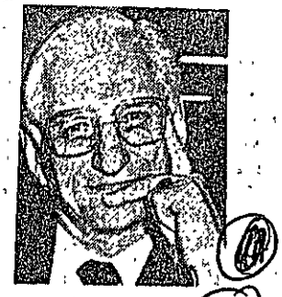

Professor Heyns

MEYS 28/2/89 (28)

'Ethical problem' in State's ANC stand — Heyns

By KAREN STANDER
Religion Reporter

PROFESSOR Johan Heyns, Moderator of the Ned Geref Kerk, has criticised the government for demanding that the African National Congress foreswear violence before it agrees to negotiate with the banned organisation.

He had an "ethical problem" with this stand as the rejection of violence should be the outcome of negotiation, not a precondition.

But he insisted that it was the responsibility of the State to decide if and when to negotiate. The Church did not negotiate.

Professor Heyns, speaking during a debate on The Church and a new South Africa at Stellenbosch University last night, was reacting to a point made by Dr Beyers Naude, former general-secretary of the South African Council of Churches.

The other participant in the debate was Professor Carel Boshoff, leader of the Afrikaner Volkswag.

"NON-CHRISTIANS"

Dr Naude was asked to defend talking to "non-Christians" such as the ANC and the South African Communist Party (SACP).

He said he believed the ANC was an important and perhaps determining factor in a future South Africa.

As a Christian he could not accept the SACP's views on religion. But it was far better for a communist party to exist legally, because its views could then be debated in the open and opposed.

Professor Heyns said he could not say what the new South Africa would look like. However, the Church could not sit passively and watch.

"I am convinced that we must prepare for a new South Africa because the status quo cannot continue."

The Church had to work towards new attitudes and relationships.

GROUP RIGHTS

Dr Naude said while group rights had to give way to individual rights eventually, he believed there should be an interim period during which group rights were protected so that the fears of whites could be pacified.

"Whites, and especially Afrikaners, will have to give up the obsession of 'own identity', with fixed guarantees of group rights."

Professor Boshoff said power-sharing had become a moral crisis.

The tricameral system said to coloured and Indian people that they could come and talk in separate chambers and occasionally together, "but in a serious difference of opinion you can never win".

A unitary state for South Africa would mean whites as a minority group accepting a minority position. He rejected the argument that blacks were a collection of minority groups.

TURNED AWAY

If whites did not want to be oppressed or to oppress, the only alternative was their own state.

During question time, an elderly black woman said she did not want to ask a question but had something to say to the participants.

She told of being turned away from an NGK church as a child of 11. To loud applause she said: "Apartheid is a sin in the eyes of God."

The woman pleaded for the people of South Africa to join hands and see beyond the colour of each other's skins.

INSIDE West

Church party terror claim

AR645 28/2/89 (28)

Staff Reporter

PROMINENT clergymen, children and church workers were "terrified out of their wits" when submachine-gun wielding police raided and searched a holiday resort in Muizenberg.

Workers at the Cape Town-based Churches Urban Planning Commission were holding a farewell party last Thursday for one of their workers at the Dora Valk holiday camp.

At the party was Western Province Council of Churches chairman, the Rev Russell Bothma and prominent Boland clergyman the Rev Abe Maart.

At 7pm, more than 50 policemen arrived and herded the party-goers into a courtyard in the centre of the building, witnesses said.

"It was terrifying. My children were sick with fear," said Mrs Nabs Wessels, in whose honour the party was being held.

Mrs Wessels said more than 50 policemen and policewomen were involved in the operation. Some of them wore bullet-proof clothing and carried submachine guns.

"We kept asking what they wanted and who was in charge, but they did not reply," Mrs Wessels said.

"All they said was that they were looking for people who they had been informed would be at the party."

Mrs Wessels said her 15-year-old daughter, who had been sitting in a car outside, was escorted to the courtyard by a policeman who held a gun to her forehead.

"My nine-year-old daughter was so scared that she kept asking to go to the toilet."

The operation ended two hours later when the police moved into Baden Powell Drive behind the holiday camp.

The party-goers then heard shots being fired and saw flares being shot into the air, said Mrs Wessels.

A spokesman for the police liaison department in Pretoria said police had information that "certain suspects" were to attend the party.

The people were told the purpose of the visit which lasted 45 minutes.

Acting President Chris Heunis and Inkatha secretary-general Oscar Dhlomo, who met for talks in Cape Town yesterday.

Bishops blast Bill on foreign funding

B/Day 1/3/89. (28)

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Another church-state confrontation is looming following the announcement by the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference that it will not comply with the controversial Disclosure of Foreign Funding Bill should it become law.

The Bill, which is currently being considered by a parliamentary standing committee, enables the state to require that all designated bodies or persons disclose all sums of money received from outside the Republic and their source, as well as any other information it may demand.

'Dangerous'

According to a statement by the SACBC appearing in the latest issue of The Southern Cross newspaper, the legislation is so wide-ranging that it gives "virtually unrestrained power" to the Minister of Justice, who in turn could not be called to account by the courts.

"This we find extremely dangerous because it sets him above the forum of public accountability," the SACBC statement said.

"Further, the prescriptions of the Bill, if implemented, could disrupt the work of the church very severely.

"In effect it means that the state could dictate to the church what it could or could not do. This makes sheer nonsense of freedom of religion in our country.

"In conscience we cannot comply if this Bill becomes law."

The SACBC said it wished to record its "complete opposition" to the proposed legislation.

It called upon "all people who have freedom of religion at heart" to join the church in making this opposition known and to ensure that the Bill does not become law.

"If it does, we will be that much closer to virtual dictatorship," the SACBC said.

Catholics won't comply with foreign funding bill

Cape Times 1/3/89

28

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

ANOTHER church-state confrontation is looming following the announcement by the Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference that it will not comply with the controversial Disclosure of Foreign Funding Bill should it become law.

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De Klerk may act on 'whites only' signs

ARGUS 2/3/89 28

Political Staff

THE government is considering various options to prevent Conservative Party towns from re-erecting apartheid signs.

This was revealed by acting President Chris Heunis yesterday in a telephone-in programme on the SABC black radio services and by National Party leader, Mr F W de Klerk, at a meeting in Nigel last night.

The announcement drew immediate comment from Conservative Party leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, who said: "It is clear from Mr De Klerk's speech that the government now intends to show *kragdadigheid* against conservative people in its own country to please the anti-apartheid sanctions movement."

Mr de Klerk also made an urgent plea to black leaders to join him in a "great indaba" to plan drastic changes.

His plea has been welcomed on the left as an encouraging attempt to bring leaders to the conference table, but was greeted with suspicion by the right.

"Rhetoric"

Dr Zac de Beer, leader of the Progressive Federal Party, said Mr de Klerk had again used a good deal of liberal-sounding rhetoric.

There was, however, nothing really solid in the speech.

If Mr de Klerk was going to persuade real black leaders to negotiate with him he was going to have to assure them that they would get full political rights in a new South Africa.

Dr Treurnicht, said the CP was not against talks with leaders of other groups, but the big question was where the power lay.

If the government intended bringing blacks into the white political structure, this would eventually mean black majority rule.

It should review its intentions and turn along the path of separate freedoms and separate determination for all groups.

The warning of action on apartheid signs follows further threats of boycotts in the wake of the re-erection of signs in Carletonville and earlier at Boksburg.

The signs have caused widespread black anger and international attention.

Mr de Klerk told the NP meeting in Nigel that the Government would not accept that the CP could embarrass the country and cause international problems.

Sharing

Asked why the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act could not be scrapped immediately, he said the NP would soon take certain initiatives in this regard.

Racial groups' identity was not fundamentally affected by the sharing of public amenities.

"The NP's attitude is one of handling this issue evolutionarily, without causing tension."

While some CP-controlled town councils had reintroduced petty apartheid, others were hesitant to reintroduce "unfair" laws.

Mr de Klerk added that the government would soon introduce "further steps" to prevent these actions.

Listner

Challenged by a listener in the radio programme last night to say what the government was doing about the apartheid signs, Mr Heunis said it was considering action.

But he said such measures may not be necessary because public pressure could force the Conservative Party councils to remove the signs first.

In an interview today Mr Heunis said he could not say what action was being contemplated as various options were being considered.

The issue would probably be discussed by the Cabinet next Wednesday.

Slogans

Mr de Klerk's meeting was stormy and was attended by about 800 people.

At the start, he could barely be heard as about 60 hecklers chanted CP slogans. Shortly afterwards they were removed by police from the hall.

In his speech he reaffirmed the NP's commitment to a clean administration.

He also called for a "great indaba" to work out peaceful solutions.

"I want to say to all leaders who seek peaceful solutions: the time for a great indaba is now."

Vlok let us down — clerics

CHURCH leaders negotiating the release of emergency detainees felt "let down" after a meeting with Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok this week.

The meeting — held a day before the expiry of the deadline for the Minister to release a "substantial" number of detainees — took place amid a groundswell of anger over the large number of people still in detention and the restrictions on those released.

The church delegation was led by Archbishop Desmond Tutu and included Archbishop Stephen Naidoo, Bishop Suffragan Jeff Quinlin, Bishop James Grubble and the Rev Pierre van der Heever.

A meeting two weeks ago between churchmen and the Minister led to the suspension of a hunger strike by detainees in some parts of the country.

In return for the suspension Vlok promised to release a "substantial" number of detainees.

Brigadier L Mellet and General H de Witt attended Wednesday's meeting between Vlok and the churchmen.

At the meeting the churchmen clashed with Vlok over what was meant by a "substantial" number of detainees being released.

The delegation said substantial meant at least 450 — half of all detainees. Instead only 139 had been released.

Vlok said he understood substantial to mean 100 detainees.

He had released 212 detainees following the agreement and would sign the release papers of a further 50 on Friday.

He said that reviewing detentions was an ongoing process.

He defended the restrictions placed on the majority of detainees released by saying that these people were "troublemakers in the community".

The restrictions were intended to ensure that unrest continued to die down.

The church leaders pointed out that they did not represent community organisations and Vlok should meet with these organisations.

The Minister said he would consider doing this if such a meeting took place together with church leaders.

But he refused to release any detainees who were still on hunger strike.

About 50 people nationwide are still on hunger strike.

In Pietermaritzburg, where there have been no releases, 34 detainees are still forgoing food.

Twelve of these hunger strikers have been hospitalised and one is refusing to go on a drip.

Lawyers said that the rest of the hunger strikers had been moved to nine different police stations in the Maritzburg area.

Seventeen people detained under Section 29 have been on hunger strike at John Vorster Square in Johannesburg since last week.

(28) Sowetan 2-8/3/89.

*He said we had not negotiated about anything. If we do lease some of our structures to Untag, there will not have been any negotiations whatsoever about how we shall get them back. We are in the process . . . No, not at all, I withdraw that. [Interjections.] Let me say instead that we are in the process of negotiating measures in terms of which they will give us time to bring back those structures which can be brought back.

†We shall dispose of the rest by selling it to people in South West Africa or in the ways suggested by the hon member for Constantia. [Time expired.]

*Mr T LANGLEY: Mr Speaker, I said Resolution 435 would be implemented in less than a month, and now the hon the Deputy Minister tells us they are still in the process of negotiation . . .

*An HON MEMBER: He withdrew that.

*Mr T LANGLEY: No, that is not what he withdrew. He said they were still in the process of negotiation. Do they want this to have been concluded by 1 April? That is part of our problem. [Interjections.] What was of concern to us in the whole observation we did, was the haphazard way—that was how it appeared—in which the Department of Foreign Affairs and the Defence Force wanted to get out of the South West African situation. They want to be rid of it. They are like the man who shook the locusts off his chest and when he went to the psychologist, the psychologist told him not to shake them off onto him. That is the situation.

Cuba negotiated through the mediation of the United Nations for compensation for its withdrawal from Angola. What did South Africa negotiate? The hon the Deputy Minister talks about movable property. I did not ask him about movable property, because I accepted as a matter of course that the movable property which belonged to South Africa would be withdrawn and removed from that area in good time.

Now the hon the Deputy Minister says we were constructive, and I know we were. That is why I put this question. That is why I said it was among the best infrastructured parts of Africa. If the South African and the UN troops move out of there, is Swapo going to be able to move in? Can the Cubans move in? That is what we want to know, because that infrastructure of trenches, breastworks, runways, aircraft hangars and all the things the hon member mentioned will remain there and still be available to whoever is there. [Time expired.]

*Mr S C JACOBS: Mr Speaker, in the first place we should like to know from the hon the Deputy Minister whether this R480 million to which he referred also includes the cost involved in the roads built in South West Africa. With reference to the dismantling he referred to, the dismantling is not what is at issue here. What is at issue, as stated in the Interpellation, is what is being done in this respect with reference to the compensation. Untag is going to rent it and pay for it only for a certain number of months, until they withdraw. What is going to happen to the infrastructure in South West Africa once Untag has withdrawn? Is South Africa going to receive compensation for it or not?

*The DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEFENCE: Mr Speaker, it would behove the hon member for Soutpansberg to wake up sometimes and to listen to what is said in this House, because I stated clearly what was going to happen to the structures in South West Africa. The point I made concerning negotiations with Untag was as follows. Gen Chand arrived in South West Africa only last week, but there were constant prior negotiations with Untag and the people who are there already. The hon member can rest assured on that point. We shall know how to deal with the matter.

*Dr F HARTZENBERG: But you have no answers!

*The DEPUTY MINISTER: The Bismarck principle is applicable to the CP here today. When they are driven into a corner internally, as is the case at present, they seek problems abroad. [Interjections.] They are interfering in the process of South West Africa's independence in an improper way. The successes attained there by the South African Defence Force and the hon the Minister of Foreign Affairs and his department are creating the best and most favourable circumstances we have ever had for obtaining a negotiated settlement plan for the independence of South West Africa, yet now one is interpellated with a number of senseless questions instead of their displaying a winning spirit.

That is a losing party with a losing policy and a losing spirit. [Interjections.] They are not setting the South West Africans an example by displaying a winning spirit and saying that the pro-democratic parties in South West Africa are

going to win the election. They are not promoting South West Africa's cause in this regard. [Time expired.]

Debate concluded.

QUESTIONS

†Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

General Affairs:

Bloekombos: visit by SAP members

*1. Mr J J WALSH to ask the Minister of Law and order:

(a)(i) At what time did members of the South African Police visit the squatter camp known as Bloekombos, in the Kraaifontein municipal area, on the night of 4/5 February 1989 and (ii) when did this visit end, (b) what was the purpose of the visit and (c) how many Police (i) members and (ii) vehicles were involved?

B224E

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEFENCE (for the Minister of Law and Order):

(a) (i) and (ii) 22h30 until 22h45.

(b) It was a planned action to combat crime.

(c) (i) and (ii) Sufficient police officials and vehicles to complete the action as swiftly and efficiently as possible.

Bloekombos: persons arrested

2. Mr J J WALSH asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) Whether, during the course of a visit by members of the South African Police to the Bloekombos squatter camp in Kraaifontein on the night of 4/5 February 1989, any persons were arrested or removed for questioning; if so,

(2) whether any charges were laid against any such persons; if so, what charges;

(3) whether teargas was used during this visit; if so, (a) why and (b) on whose instructions;

(4) whether any municipal officials were given prior notice of this visit; if so, what are the relevant details?

B225E

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEFENCE (for the Minister of Law and Order):

(1) Yes.

(2) No, they were only detained for questioning and were released again shortly after their detention.

(3) Yes.

(a) and (b) The officer in charge of the group of police officials used a teargas aerosol can to disperse a group of persons who wanted to prevent their withdrawal from the squatter camp.

(4) No.

Mr Stanza Bopape: investigation into disappearance

3. Mr J VAN ECK asked the Minister of Law and Order:†

Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 16 on 30 August 1988, the South African Police are still investigating the disappearance of Mr Stanza Bopape from police custody on 12 June 1988; if so, what progress has so far been made with this investigation?

B231E

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEFENCE (for the Minister of Law and Order):

Yes. All possible endeavours are being made to trace and re-arrest this person.

Liason officer for church affairs abroad

4. Mr A GERBER asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:†

Whether his Department has appointed a liaison officer for church affairs abroad; if so, (a) when, (b) what is the purpose of this appointment, (c) who is the person concerned and (d) what are the particulars of his *curriculum vitae*?

B239E

†The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

Yes.

(a) 1 January 1988.

(b) To promote a greater understanding and a

Hansard.

more balanced perspective of South Africa in the field of church affairs in the USA in the capacity of liaison specialist on church and religious matters.

(c) Dr Abraham Lückhoff.

(d) BA (Hons): University of Stellenbosch, 1961.

B Th: University of Stellenbosch, 1964.
PhD: University of the Witwatersrand, 1976.

Minister of the Dutch Reformed Church:
May 1966 — August 1969 and
February 1973 — March 1982.

Minister of the Presbyterian Church (USA):
September 1969 — August 1972 and
August 1986 — October 1987.

Religious editor of *Rapport*:
April 1982 — September 1985.

Professor of theology at Whitworth University (USA):
September 1985 — July 1986.

Huguenot tunnel: extraction of exhaust gases

5. Mr C B SCHOEMAN asked the Minister of Transport Affairs:†

Whether any problems have been experienced recently with the extraction of motor-car exhaust gases from the Huguenot tunnel; if so, (a) when, (b) what is the cause thereof and (c)(i) when is it expected that these problems will be eliminated and (ii) what is the cost involved in eliminating them estimated to be?

B242E

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AFFAIRS:

No. (a), (b) and (c) Fall away.

For the hon member's information it is pointed out that the tunnel is equipped with a most modern ventilation system. Carbonmonoxide and visibility levels in the tunnel are measured evern 15 seconds and through a computerised system, the ventilation system ensures that predetermined levels are not exceeded.

The ventilation system consumes a lot of energy and over-ventilation will be very costly in the long run. It is therefore not feasible to utilise ventilation to such an extent that no smells at all are noticeable.

Private sector consortiums operating toll roads

6. Mr C B SCHOEMAN asked the Minister of Transport Affairs:†

Whether private sector consortiums are operating toll roads in the Republic on an agency basis for the State at present; if so, (a) according to what formula are they remunerated by the State and (b) what was the total remuneration paid to such consortiums in 1987 and 1988, respectively?

B243E

†The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AFFAIRS:

Yes. Two consortiums, namely Toll Highway Development Company (Pty) Ltd (Tollway) and Toll Road Concessionaires (Pty) Ltd (Tolcon).

(a) As per agreement between the State and the consortiums, Tolcon is currently remunerated with an amount equivalent to the gross proceeds of tolls collected.

(b) 1987: None.

1988: R7 359 933,53 to Tolcon made up as follows —

Toll plazas	Dates	Amounts
Vaal (Vergenoeg)	From 2 July to 31 December 1988	R3 415 182
Tugela (Keeversfontein)	From 1 August to 31 December 1988	R3 459 529
Grassmere	From 1 November to 31 December 1988	R485 223

Tollway is currently operating no toll plasas and is therefore not receiving any remuneration.

†Mr J J S PRINSLOO: Mr Speaker, arising from the hon the Minister's reply, is it therefore correct that the State receives no income at the moment from these toll roads which are run by Tolcon on an agency basis?

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, as I have replied, the gross profit is paid over in terms of the Act.

White residential area released to Blacks

7. Mr P J PAULUS asked the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning:†

(1) Whether his Department or any of its delegates have received an application

Hansard.

from a certain mining group, whose name has been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply, for a portion of a White residential area to be released for occupation by Blacks; if so, what are the relevant particulars;

(2) whether this application has been approved; if so, (a) why and (b) when; if not, why not;

(3) whether the residents of the area concerned have been consulted in the matter; if so, in what manner; if not, why not;

(4) whether any objection has been lodged with his Department on behalf of the employees of the mining group concerned; if so, what are the relevant particulars?

B244E

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING:

This matter vests in the Administrator of Transvaal and he has furnished the following information:

(1) No.

(2) (a) and (b) Fall away.

(3) Falls away.

(4) Yes, objection was received on a possible application. It is not policy to reveal particulars of this nature.

Reservation of Separate Amenities Act: complaints

8. Mr P J PAULUS asked the Minister of Manpower:†

(1) Whether his Department received any complaints in 1987 and 1988, respectively, about the application of the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act, No 49 of 1953; if so, how many in each of these years;

(2) whether all these complaints were dealt with satisfactorily; if not, what action was taken in respect of the complaints concerned;

(3) what action is taken by his Department in respect of employers who fail to comply with the provisions of the above-mentioned Act?

B246E

†The ACTING MINISTER OF MANPOWER:

(1) No.

(2) Falls away.

(3) The Department of Manpower is not responsible for the application of this Act.

Group Areas Act: residence permit

9. Mr J J S PRINSLOO asked the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning:†

What bodies or persons (a) recommended that a residence permit be granted in terms of the Group Areas Act, No 36 of 1966, to a certain Searle, a member of the Coloured population group, to occupy the premises situated at 85 Currie Street, Roodepoort, and (b) opposed the granting of this permit?

B249E

The DEPUTY MINSITER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING:

This matter vests in the Administrator of Transvaal and he has furnished the following information:

(a) and (b)

It is not policy to reveal what bodies or persons.

(a) recommended and

(b) opposed the granting of a permit in terms of the Group Areas Act, 1966.

†Mr J J S PRINSLOO: Mr Speaker, arising from the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, I should like to ask who decides on the policy that determines that these details are not furnished.

†The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, it has been said here quite clearly — I think the hon member knows it — that this power has been transferred to the Administrator concerned.

†Mr J J S PRINSLOO: Mr Speaker, further arising from the hon the Deputy Minister's reply and in view of the fact that the hon the Minister is in terms of the Group Areas Act the official concerned who has the power to grant permits and the Administrator merely has a delegated power, does the hon the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning intend to change this policy in order to make details known to Members of Parliament of the constituencies concerned, for instance?

NG CHURCHES AGREE TO DISAGREE ON APARTHEID DURING 'FAMILY' MEETING

By DRIES VAN HEERDEN

SWORDS were beaten into ploughshares — and back into swords again — when the family of NG churches in southern Africa met in Vereeniging this week, and eventually agreed to differ.

"A family meeting" was the way white NGK leader Professor Johan Heyns described the historic summit beforehand. And it turned out to be just that.

But then, the meeting was of a dissenting, disunited, sometimes even recalcitrant family bound together in a strange love-strife relationship.

The mood at the five-day meeting held under the auspices of the Reformed Ecumenical Council switched between elation and despair.

However, in the final analysis, most of the churchmen present agreed that the white NG church and its black and brown fellow churches had not really moved any closer to where they'd been before the meeting started.

The sad contrary may be true. An irrevocable split in the near future cannot be ruled out.

The next move belongs to the white church whose interim policy m[illegible] body, the Synodical Commission, meets in Pretoria tomorrow to discuss the aftermath of the week's discussions.

The task will fall to Professor Heyns to table a statement agreed on at Vereeniging — with the white church demurring — which is sharply condemnatory of every facet of apartheid South Africa.

It calls for all unjust laws to be abolished, the lifting of the state of emergency, the release of all political prisoners and "the transfer of power to the majority by way of free and fair elections".

Looming large over tomorrow's meeting will be the knowledge that rightwing members of the NG church are watching the leadership's moves with eagle eyes, threatening to join the breakaway Afrikaanse Protestantse Kerk.

For a brief moment on Tuesday it seemed as if the NG church could go along with the rest of the family.

In closed session its delegates confessed to the church's contribution to the establishment and maintenance of apartheid and expressed their profound regrets for the hardship it has caused fellow Christians.

This "change of heart" prompted NG Sendingkerk leader, Dr Allan Boesak, to deliver an emotional speech in which he said he was "deeply moved" by the NG delegation's views.

"Their call to us to forgive them is real. We who have been the victims of the policies, which they now condemn, cannot ignore this," he said.

Dr Boesak called for the slate to be wiped clean and proposed that a committee be appointed to draft a statement which would include an anti-apartheid programme.

Less than 12 hours later the summit teetered on the brink of collapse. A discrepancy seemed to have cropped up between what the NG delegation said behind closed doors and what they were prepared to state in open session.

Mr Heyns claimed that his delegation only condemned "discriminatory apartheid" and it had to be seen within the framework of the church's official policy document, Church and Society.

In a sense the NG church tried to pour new wine into old bottles and the rest of the family would have none of it.

The black churches regard this document to be ambiguous and a continuation of the old church apartheid under an acceptable guise.

For them the NG church was speaking with the voice of Jacob while having the hands of Esau and they decided to continue on their own without their white bretheren.

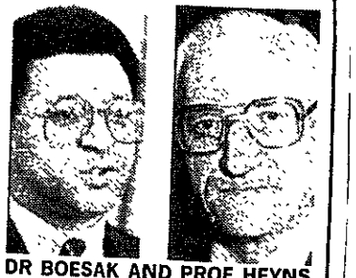
One of the most important results of this about-face was the way in which it united the delegates of the black NG Kerk in Afrika (NGKA) and the brown NG Sendingkerk (NGSK) with the smaller churches from Namibia, Zambia, Botswana and Malawi.

The latter churches are almost totally reliant on financing from the white church and have traditionallly been reluctant to confront the "mother church".

A private meeting between Dr Boesak and Professor Heyns late on Wednesday night averted a split.

When the debate resumed on Thursday Mr Heyns tabled a nine-point statement by the white delegation expressing "humility and sorrow for the participation of our church in the introduction and legitimatisation of the ideology of apartheid and the subsequent suffering of the people".

It called for the lifting of the emergency, committed the NGK to "combat all injustice" and urged the members of the family to work together on burning issues and approach the Government together when neccessary.



DR BOESAK AND PROF HEYNS
Talks averted a split

The first practical manifestation of this approach is expected in the near future when a delegation comprised of Professor Heyns, Dr Boesak, the Rev Sam Buti, of the NGKA, and Dr K Moodley, of the other Reformed Church in Africa, will jointly confront the Government on the continuation of the state of emergency and the detention of people.

In spite of the positive note in which the summit ended delegates of the black and brown churches were yesterday privately pessimistic about the future relationships in the family.

This week's meeting of the Synodical Commission will be crucial. The NG church is expected to unveil its own proposals on unification between the member churches in the wake of the summit call for "one united, non-racial Reformed Church".

● See also Page 17

S/Times 12/3/89

A Rubicon the white NGK would not cross

Nico Smith

of the NGK in Afrika, daughter church of the NGK, reviews this week's historic conference

THE Consultation of NG Churches in Southern Africa on Race Relations, held in Vereeniging this week, was a magnificent event in the history of these churches.

For the first time the churches had the opportunity to meet under the auspices of an independent body from outside SA to discuss race relations in SA.

This meant that the so-called daughter churches could meet with the so-called mother church on an equal footing without having to watch their words or be polite because of their financial dependency on the white NGK in SA.

Different

The discussions right from the start were frank, to the point and without strategies of how to gain the support from the majority of the delegates. This was evident from the fact that the discussions were swinging between moments of high hopes and of utter despair.

In the centre of the discussions was the struggle to understand and interpret the South African situation, with its variety of complicated dimensions and realities.

It soon became clear that there were very different and often contradictory perceptions of the same reality. The participants became acutely aware of the fact that apartheid had succeeded in creating two different worlds which also divided the NG churches along the same lines.

Tradition

It also eventually became clear that people from the two worlds, although they belong to the same church tradition, could not understand one another.

They were not only speaking different "languages" but especially experienced life in the same country in a completely different way. Those belonging to the world of the "oppressor" could not hear or understand the cries and anger of those living in the world of the "oppressed".

It was in many ways a dialogue of the deaf.

What was the outcome of the Consultation? What was its significance?

First, an unexpected unity developed among the black NG churches in southern Africa. For the first time they unitedly expressed their complete rejection of apartheid practised at all levels of SA society.

Some of these practices were specifically mentioned — the Land Act, Group Areas Act, Separate Amenities Act and Population Registration Act.

Political

Concerning the immediate political situation, these churches urged the Government to cease immediately the practice of detention without trial, to lift the state of emergency, to release all political prisoners and detainees, to unban all organisations opposing apartheid and, as a matter of urgency, to start negotiations with the authentic leaders of the majority in our country.

For a very long time the black NG churches were taught by the white NGK that all the above-mentioned matters were political issues on which the church, as a matter of principle, should not express its views.

That the black churches of the NG family were willing to address these issues and to express themselves specifically on them, is indeed of the utmost importance — an indication that these churches have entered a new phase in their history, a time to decide for themselves and a willingness to confront the white NGK on its teachings.

A further significant fact was that the white NGK was once again exposed as a captive of the Afrikaner-volk and the Nationalist Government. My personal impression was that there was a real desire among the delegates of the white NGK to identify with the black churches in their unequivocal rejection of apartheid.

Knowing the convictions and attitudes of their own constituency, they have chosen not to accompany the black churches. They have thus taken a stand by which they have led the white NGK further into the isolation in which it already finds itself.

Failed

To my mind this consultation opened a door to the delegates of the white NGK to step out of their captivity and isolation, and to lead the white NGK into a new phase of its history.

But they have once again failed, as the leaders of this church failed many years ago at the Cottesloe Consultation.

Continuing on the way they have chosen, the NGK will become more and more irrelevant to the South African situation.

From this irrelevancy her daughter churches are still able to save themselves. The Rubicon still lies ahead. But eventually they will have to cross it or just remain a religious club.

Church to protest for detainees

CAPE TIMES 13/3/89 (28)

Staff Reporter

A WEEK-LONG church campaign for the unconditional release of all detainees begins today with the wearing of red ribbons, the daily tolling of church bells at noon and daily afternoon services at St George's Cathedral.

The Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, speaking at one of five Peninsula services held to commemorate International Detainees Day yesterday, also appealed to congregants to sign a nationwide petition.

He announced that the church leaders who had been negotiating with the authorities on behalf of the hunger strikers would meet on Friday to reassess the situation.

Addressing a packed Anglican church hall in Portlands, Mitchells Plain, Archbishop Tutu, who leaves for a week-long tour of Central America today, said the continuing state of emergency was an indictment of the government.

The explanation by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, was that if he lifted the state of emergency, unrest would immediately resume.

"This proves exactly what we are saying," Archbishop Tutu said.

"Either you have a State of Emergency forever, or you do something sensible people would have done long ago — ie remove the cause of the unrest."

Several people in South Africa, such as former Minister of Justice Mr Jimmy Kruger, former Prime Minister Mr B J Vorster and the Speaker of the House, Mr Louis le Grange, thought of themselves as "little gods", he said, but all had "bitten the dust".

"Now we have P W," Archbishop Tutu added, breaking into laughter.

Retracting his laughter, he said: "P W forgot a very simple rule: When you are going up, be nice to people because they may be meeting you when you are going down."

● The St George's Cathedral services will begin daily at 5.15pm.

The Anglican Church had designated Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays as days of fasting in solidarity with detainees.

● Archbishop Tutu, his wife Leah and his personal assistant, Mr John Allen, will visit Nicaragua and Panama with five other foreign Anglican bishops at the invitation of his Nicaraguan counterpart.

Sowetan 13/7/89

Shock from NGK

(28)

• From Page 1

"I hope the committee will accept and endorse our draft."

Heyns said the meeting this week would also consider proposals for the unification of the white, black and coloured reformed churches of South Africa, which have a total membership of 3,5 million.

But he declined to say whether those proposals would meet demands by black church leaders for unification into a single non-racial church, rather than simply closer co-operation between the existing branches.

The NGK, an offshoot of the Calvinist Church brought here by Dutch settlers 300 years ago, counts President P W Botha, most of his Cabinet and 75 percent of the white Parliament among its members.

For more than 40 years, until doubts were voiced in the early 1980s, the NGK supported the Government's race policies and taught that apartheid was ordained by God.

Mixed

Six NGK delegates agreed, however, at a meeting with black and mixed race coloured churchmen near Johannesburg last week that their support for apartheid had been a heresy.

"We confess with humility and sorrow the participation of our church in the introduction and legitimisation of the ideology of apartheid and the subsequent suffering of the people," they said in a statement.

They refused, however, to support a decision by other delegates to call for civil disobedience in protest against apartheid.

The church was suspended in 1983 from the 50-million-member World Alliance of Reformed Churches headed by Allan Boesak, a veteran opponent of apartheid.

Boesak was among non-white church leaders who urged the NGK strongly to condemn apartheid at last week's meeting.

"Kêrels, something tells me we're on the right track."

Beyers Naude: 'Cry of reason' still to be understood

MAIL 14/3/89 28

DAVID CAPEL in Johannesburg talks to Dr Beyers Naude about last week's meeting between the white Dutch Reformed Church and its black and coloured sister churches on the deep divisions between them.

BEYERS NAUDE has been making his "cry of reason" ever since the day back in 1963 when he clashed with the Dutch Reformed Church over the apartheid policies it supported.

CHURCHES

Over the years he has felt the terrible wrath of those with whom he fell out. Former Broeders, fellow clergy, friends — they turned on this traitor to the Afrikaner cause with a special venom reserved for those who were once part of the fold but who had then turned away.

Beyers Naude lost his status as a minister in the church, meaning he could not preach, at a time when he was heading for the top leadership position.

Then, as he turned his back more and more on the apartheid policies he found morally indefensible, he was banned for seven years, thus being sent to Coventry in a way only his former colleagues and friends could perfect. Beyers Naude had to be silenced — the things he was saying were too terrible to hear.

But through the passage of time, although the church and most other white South Africans had turned on him, in other quarters Dr Naude became revered as a leading anti-apartheid campaigner and recognised for his sincerity, humility and commitment to what he saw as the ideals of the Gospel.

Last week Dr Naude could not have failed to see the incredible irony in the fact that the same people who for so many years had steadfastly refused to hear his "cry of reason" were now turning to the victims of apartheid and saying: "We confess our sin. Please forgive us." Across the table, sat Dr Naude himself.

The black sheep, the traitor, the man who was not fit to stand up in a church and preach, was now an important part of a meeting of the white Dutch Reformed Church and its sister black and coloured churches to resolve "deep and divisive differences on race relations between the various racial groups of the DRC".

How did he feel about the confessions of guilt, the pleas for forgiveness and the condemnation of apartheid by those who had so solidly supported it all these years?

Dr Naude said in an interview that, through all the years of his ostracism, he had asked himself why it had taken the white DRC so long to begin to recognise the rightness of the pleas he had been making for so long.

But even now, the white DRC seemed at one stage to be backing down from its earlier categorical condemnation of apartheid and confession of its sin in supporting it.

At this week's meeting, in Vereeniging, there was an initial euphoria among such delegates as Dr Allan Boesak over the outright condemnation of apartheid by the white DRC at the start of proceedings.

But this turned to despair and anger when a written report by the white DRC said it rejected the system of discriminatory apartheid and referred to its earlier confessions of guilt having been made "in the spirit of *Church And Society*", a document rejected by the black Dutch Reformed Church. The black DRC also felt betrayed by the "discriminatory" qualification made in the written report.

This upheaval prompted Dr Naude to remark that it now seemed as if there would be a "painful seperation between the black DRC and the white DRC, until such time as the white DRC can see its way open to supporting the perceptions, aspirations and demands" of the black DRC.

Dr Naude said his overall feeling was not one of anger or bitterness, but one of "anguish and deep distress, that despite all the attempts made by the black Dutch Reformed Churches in the last 29 years to address themselves to the white Dutch Reformed Church, it seems as if we are as far apart in certain respects as we were all those years ago".

He felt the explanation for this could be found in the fact that "apartheid has forced us to live in two different worlds in the same country — the white privileged world on the one hand, and the black oppressed world on the other.

"What we are experiencing here is the seeming total inability of the white Dutch Reformed Church to grasp the reality of the black world and to interpret for themselves the effect that this (apartheid) has on millions of black people who are victims of the apartheid system," Dr Naude said.

He felt a sense of sadness at the apparent inability of Christians with the same history, the same convictions and the same form of church government to understand one another and to find one another.

Asked if he sympathised with the obvious soul-searching over apartheid that was going on in the white DRC, particularly with regard to Moderator Professor Johan Heyns, Dr Naude said: "I have deep sympathy, not only for Professor Heyns and other delegates, but also for all the ministers and members of the white DRC who are going through this agonising struggle of attempting to come to a new perception.

"But on the other hand it becomes clearer to me that no purely academic, theological debate will bring us nearer to one another. Only a concrete experience of the black world, to which white DRC ministers and members should be willing to expose themselves, would bring us closer together."

ARGUS 15/3/89

I've done my bit Vlok on detainees

28

Parliamentary Staff

ORDERS for the release of 400 detainees had been given since February 16, said Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok.

He told Parliament he was satisfied this met his promise to church leaders and lawyers to release a "substantial number" of detainees, including those on hunger strikes.

He said that while no figure had been mentioned in his talks with the church leaders, he understood "substantial" to mean about 100.

Answering a question from Mrs Helen Suzman (PFP, Houghton), he said that between February 16 and March 2 a total of 235 state of emergency detainees were released and that he had ordered the release of more than 400 since February 16.

● The hunger strike by detainees is cited as "a major catalyst" in causing a "shift towards a more reasoned and conciliatory approach" by the government towards detention, Mr Jan van Gend (PFP, Groote Schuur) said in a statement yesterday supporting an anti-detention petition by 400 members of the UCT Medical Students Council and the Students Progressive Health Group.

Mr van Gend, who said he identified with the petition "one hundred percent", presented it to Mr Vlok yesterday afternoon.

He said in his statement: "I do believe the tangible cost of polarisation is causing a rethink on previously rigid attitudes towards security matters."

NGK refers Testimony for study

By Carina le Grange, Religion Reporter

Star 16/3/89

The 30-member General Synodical Commission of the white Ned Geref Kerk has not ratified the anti-apartheid document accepted at the close of last week's crucial meeting of the NG "family" of churches in Vereeniging.

Instead, it has referred the document, known as the Testimony of Vereeniging, to a committee for study.

This move has once again placed at risk the fragile unity of the NG family of churches, according to Dr Allan Boesak, moderator of the NG Sendingkerk.

In a statement released yesterday afternoon after a routine two-day meeting, the commission also stressed that the decisions taken at last week's Vereeniging consultation of the NG family of churches were not binding on the churches that took part.

Dr Boesak repeated last night his statement that the least the General Synodical Commission should have done in order not to jeopardise the "fragile unity" of the white and black churches was to ask for the immediate lifting of the state of emergency and for all detainees to be released.

He said he was disappointed at the outcome.

Troops shown videos of white 'enemy' — MP

ARGUS 17/3/89

Parliamentary Staff

NATIONAL servicemen on duty in the black township of Mamelodi were shown a video film and photographs of the Rev Nico Smith and other whites visiting the area and told they were "the enemy", Mr Jan van Eck (Independent Claremont) said in the Assembly.

This amounted to a "scandalous misuse" of the army, he said, and was an example of the kind of information the government intended hiding from the public through the emergency regulations.

He said the video film and photographs of the well-known liberal clergyman Nico Smith, and other whites, were taken by security police at army roadblocks in Mamelodi while the people concerned were on their way to functions in the township.

He said the video and photographs were shown to national servicemen in January this year by an intelligence officer who warned them to "look out for these dangerous whites" who were "the enemy".

Pik Botha meets with Italian, Vatican officials

Star 18/3/89

28

ROME. — The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, met with the Italian Foreign Minister, Mr Giulio Andreotti, and Vatican officials to explain what his government is doing to try to improve the situation in Southern Africa.

These meetings took place at the end of a three-country European visit, the South African embassy said. After stops in Britain and Belgium, Mr Botha met on Thursday with Archbishop Angelo Sodano, who heads the Vatican's foreign affairs department, and yesterday with Mr Andreotti, the statement said.

During his European meetings, Mr Botha discussed progress being made on the agreement to grant independence to Namibia and bring about the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

The Italian foreign ministry said the progress so far was viewed "positively" and that Mr Andreotti also emphasised the need for concrete results in bringing peace and stability to Mozambique.

The embassy statement said that in his European talks "the minister emphasised the South African government's firm determination to move ahead with reform and removal of racial discrimination. The counter-productivity of sanctions and the harmful effects of boycotts on Southern Africa as a whole were also discussed," the embassy statement said.

The foreign ministry said that in noting Mr Botha's assurances on his government's determination to dismantle apartheid, Mr Andreotti said this was a "fundamental premise" for peace and stability in Southern Africa.

The Vatican did not announce the meeting and the only information about it came from the South African embassy statement. — Sapa-Reuter and UPI

Apartheid as a slogan has gradually been shunned, now i

Star 18/3/89 (28)

Shedding th

PATRICK LAURENCE

The wheel turned very nearly full circle with the participation of the Ned Geref Kerk (NGK) — largest and most powerful of South Africa's white Dutch Reformed Churches — in the deliberations which led to the anti-apartheid Testimony of Vereeniging.

Apartheid, once propagated as the road to national salvation by Afrikaner leaders, was declared a sin by the NGK delegates, one of whom was the church moderator, Professor Johan Heyns

The categorisation of apartheid as a sin — and thus, by implication, as a route to hell — was later modified slightly by the General Synodical Commission of the NGK.

It judged that the statement by the NGK delegates should be read in context with the more generalised pronoucements of "Church and Society", a document accepted by the NGK General Synod in 1986.

But even with these refinements, the wheel moved very close to completing a full turn.

The cycle first started more than than 45 years ago when the Afrikaans newspaper and official mouthpiece of the Cape National Party, *Die Burger*, first used the word apartheid

In 1947, apartheid was adopted by the NP and propagated in a pamphlet put out by the party as part of its campaign for the pending general election of 1948.

The policy of apartheid, declared the NP pamphlet unabashedly, was in harmony with the Christian principles of "justice and equity". Its objective, the party tract continued, was to preserve and safeguard the identity of the whites and to do the same for the "indigenous peoples"

Apartheid — an Afrikaans word meaning "aparthood" or "apartness" but which, ironically, is pronounced "aparthate" — became the catchword of the 1948 general election campaign It brought Dr D F Malan's Afrikaner-dominated NP to power, ousting the government of world-renowned General J C Smuts in the process.

In a major speech in Parliament after Malan's government was installed, Smuts complained that apartheid was a slogan, not a comprehensive policy But, he conceded, it had caught the imagination of the electorate.

"Apartheid dominated the atmosphere of the country," he lamented.

Malan, a former minister of the NGK, did not back away from the word apartheid.

"Apartheid," he admitted in reply to Smuts, "is partly negative" It "draws a line" to separate different people and forestall the process of racial integration and the consequent "national suicide" of the whites, he said.

But he denied that apartheid was a repressive policy: "One can have justice on both sides of the dividing line and lay down a constructive policy for both sides."

Within a few years, however, the NP and its ideological gurus, began to avoid the word apartheid.

The reason was obvious. In the outside world and among many South Africans at home, apartheid quickly came to symbolise — in the words of the liberal historian Christopher Saunders - "a revolutionary, totalitarian doctrine which trumpeted separation as the ideal to be applied as consistently and as rigorously as possible".

The Tomlinson Report, which was meant to provide the blueprint for "grand apartheid" through the establishment of territorially based states for the different black people in the old native reserves, refrained from using the word apartheid.

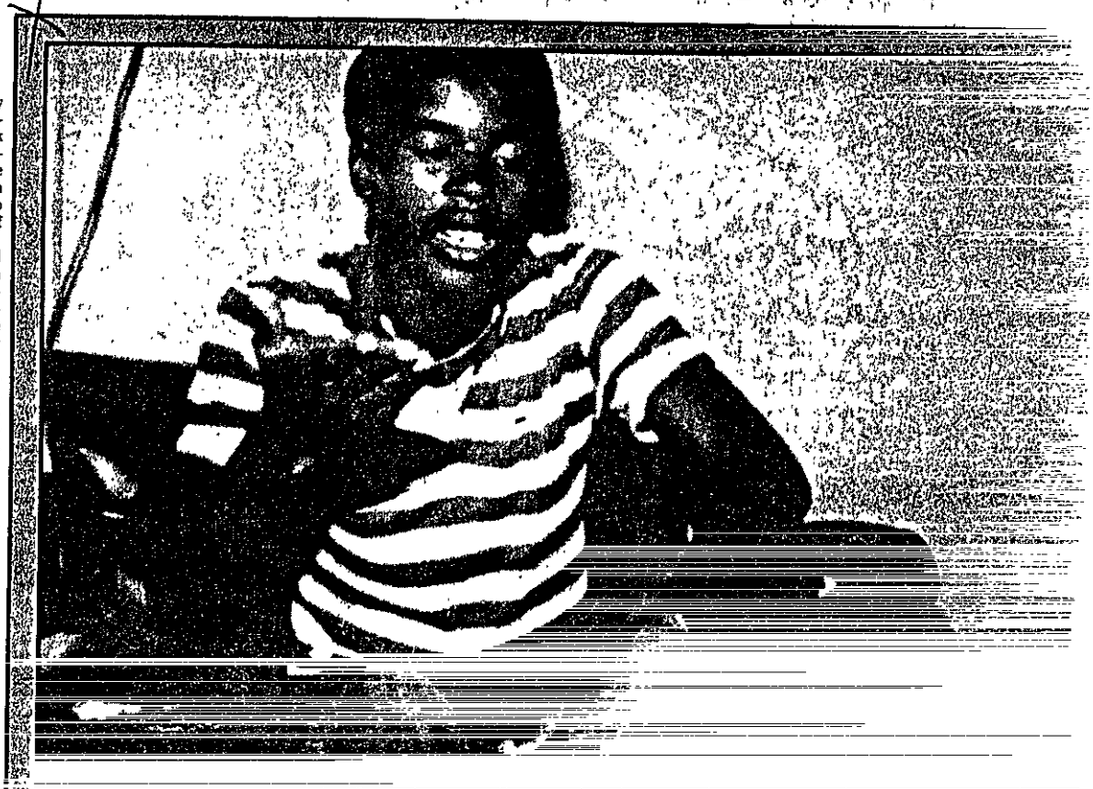
It preferred the positive connotations of "separate development", proclaiming that it was a prerequisite for the "sound development" of the different black communities and the only way for whites to secure "their future unfettered existence".

Dr Hendrik Verwoerd, who served as Malan's Minister of Native Affairs and who was Prime Minister from 1958 until his assassination in 1966, earned a reputation as the "high priest of apartheid".

But he used the word apartheid infrequently, if at all. An intellectual, he preferred to speak of separate development and parallel development.

Verwoerd's successor, Mr B J Vorster, similarly did not normally speak of apartheid. He, too, chose to finesse the situation.

President P W Botha launched on a new tack in January 1986, when he positively dissociated his government from apartheid.



SOLLY DOLAMO: Only free from dawn to dusk. Then home becomes his prison.

Free — to turn your home into

JANET HEARD

THE hunger strike helped trigger the release of hundreds of emergency detainees country-wide. The Human Rights Commission estimates that 90 per cent of those released have been restricted — "placed in a prison inside their homes".

Solomon Solly Dolamo (17) of Zone Seven, Meadowlands, Soweto, was released from Diepkloof Prison, better known by Sowetans as "Sun City", on February 27. He had been on hunger strike 10 days, demanding unconditional release.

On leaving prison, he was issued with two pieces of paper signed by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, telling him what he may and may not do.

Saturday Star visited Solly at his home after 6 pm this week, knowing he would be home. His restriction order prevents him leaving his home between 6 pm and 5 am.

Solly was sitting in the lounge of his parent's modest home. A single candle glowed on the table. We could hear the noise of youths his age playing in the street outside.

He spoke with a maturity most young white South Africans would not relate to.

"I wanted to be released because I had committed no crime, but I did not want to be cut off from society, and prevented from doing the things I enjoy.

"I am still detained, not in prison, but inside my own home. These restrictions deprive me of a lot of things. I am a youth of the church, and usually take a trip out of Johannesburg, but I cannot leave the magisterial district in terms of my order.

Before Solly was detained, he attended church activities and soccer matches in the evenings. He would visit his girlfriend, and play with friends. He cannot do any of these things after 6 pm any more.

"I feel crowded, staying in the house all the time. I live with seven other people and I am not used to being at home every evening."

Solly, a Std 8 pupil at Mokgone High School, finishes school at 3 pm every day. This leaves him three hours before he must return home for the evening. "This inhibits my time. I find myself constantly looking at my watch."

The evening Saturday Star visited his home, Solly had to leave a soccer match early. He

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DOLAMO: Only free from dawn to dusk. Then home becomes his prison. ● Photograph: Herbert Mabuza

Star 18/3/89

ırn your home into your prison

JANET HEARD

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The evening Saturday Star visited his home, Solly had to leave a soccer match early. He could not wait to see who won.

Solly may not attend any gathering organised to attack, criticise or protest against the Government or any local authority.

Soweto Students' Congress, the organisation of which he was a member last year, has been restricted under emergency regulations.

He has to report to the Meadowlands police station daily. "They have my photograph in the book and I have to sign when I go in."

Solly and members of his family said he received death threats before his detention. He was in hiding and was not sleeping at home.

He returned on December 14 last year to collect some clothes, and was arrested by security police.

His mother, Mrs N Dolamo, said she worried about him all the time and feared for his safety. She will not leave him in the house alone at night, and said the whole family was affected by his restricted life.

"It is dangerous and unsafe, and to see him so restricted, especially at his age, makes me very sad," she said.

The police have visited Solly once (at 9 pm) since his release. Solly was asleep on the couch. She asked police to visit before it got dark so she could see who was at the door.

"Anyone could pretend to be the police. I will not open the door to anyone if I do not know who they are. They can bash the door down if they have to, but this is my child and we are prepared for anything," she said.

Solly's main concern is that he has no idea when the restrictions will be withdrawn and he lives in constant uncertainty about his future.

"I do not know when it is all going to end", he said.

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President P W Botha launched on a new tack in January 1986, when he positively dissociated his government from apartheid.

"We have outgrown the outdated colonial system of paternalism, as well as the outdated concept of apartheid," he said.

In a speech to a passing-out parade of policemen a few months later Mr Botha provided an insight into the reasons for his public rejection of apartheid.

"Our enemies latched on to the word apartheid and in a very sly manner transformed it into the strongest weapon in the onslaught against freedom and civilisation in our country," he said.

But the NGK — which has been described as the National Party at prayer and which is the church of most Cabinet Ministers — went considerably further

Its delegates labelled apartheid a sin, attempts to defend it scripturally heretical, and confessed its guilt in helping to establish, maintain and justify apartheid

Whether the NGK's stand will turn out to be a decisive watershed in the final demise of apartheid depends in large measure, as the Vereeninging Testimony makes clear, what action it takes to destroy the "four pillars of apartheid"

These were identified as the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936 which restrict black ownership of land, the Group Areas Act which provides for compulsory residential segregation the Separate Amenities Act which empowers local authorities to segregate public facilities, and the Population Registration Act which classifies South Africans by race

Boesak challenges NGK on apartheid

Dr Allan Boesak... wants church for all.

Says four pillars of segregation must go

DR ALLAN Boesak has challenged the NGK to call for an immediate end to the state of emergency and the unconditional release of all detainees as a minimal move not to jeopardise the "fragile unity" of the NG "family".

Interviewed on his return from consulation with the NG in Vereeniging last week, the moderhtor of the Ned Geref Sendingkerk said the NGK's General Synodical Commission, which met this week to consider decisions taken at Vereeniging, had a heavy responsibilty.

There were demands the NGK would have to meet if it wanted the unity created at Vereeniging to grow, and to justify the trust placed in it, Boesak said.

The NGK commission should:

- Publicly reconfirm the confession of guilt in the creation, maintenance and justification of apartheid made by the NGK delegates on behalf of the church.
- Pledge – "what their delegates, could not" – that they would join the rest of the NG family in taking specific steps towards the dismantling of apartheid.

"A basic minimum is to take over our call to scrap the four pillars of apartheid – the Group Areas Act, the Land Act, the Seperate Amenities Act and the Population Registration Act.

"But if they, (the commission) called for the state of emergency to be lifted immediately and for all detainees to be released unconditionally, for me this would be enough to begin with.

"If they can't do these things they will seriously jeopardise our relationship and their integrity will be seriously in question".

Dr Boesak said there was no agreed model for the unification of the church: "In *Church and Society* (a document adopted by the 1986 NGK Synod) they have at last been able to say with the rest of us that the one requirement for church membership is faith – not race or colour.

"For us it follows that there must therefore be one united church. I can't understand why they too can't draw this conclusion".

Dr Boesak said the Vereeniging meeting was significant for many reasons.

It was the first time the NG church in the region had been united on all the important issues.

Secondly, even though it was with obvious pain and through a "strange series of somersaults," the NGK had finally confessed guilt over the creation, maintenance and justification of apartheid and had asked for forgiveness. However, the NGK's General Synodal Commission has not yet ratified a key document released after its two day meeting in Pretoria.

The document, issued on Wednesday, does not mention the Treaty of Vereeniging, but deals with a report submitted by the NGK's delegation to the talks. – Sapa

GST rise the main feature of Budget

CP Reporters

GENERAL sales tax will rise by one percent to 13 percent from March 20.

This is one of the measures announced by Finance Minister Barend du Plessis in the Budget this week.

Also up, and with immediate effect, are excise duties on beer, spirits, tobacco and cold-drinks.

The good news is that concessions are being made to personal taxpayers. The primary rebate for married and other taxpayers has been increased; working married women will be taxed separately from their husbands in terms of Standard Income Tax on Employees (Site) and exemption limits have been increased.

Introducing the Budget of R63,570-billion for 1989-90, Du Plessis said the increase in GST would reduce pressure for monetary policy to be used to counteract excessive demand in the economy.

He said it should be clear from the limitation of State expenditure to 15 percent of the level in 1988-89 that the government was seriously committed to fiscal discipline

Cape Times 20/3/79

Coloured PE sportmen told to leave

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — Three members of a University of Port Elizabeth volley ball side were asked to leave an East London holiday resort at the weekend — because they are coloured.

The UPE volley ball side were at the resort taking part in a tournament arranged by the Border Volley Ball Association. They had already spent a night there when the manager said the coloured members must leave as he did not allow coloured people or blacks on his premises.

As a result of the incident, all 45 players left the resort.

Act of protest

By ALI MPHAKI

NATIONAL and local church leaders will attend a dawn service and procession through the streets of Durban on Friday, as an act of protest against the suffering caused by injustice in South Africa.

Organised by the Durban-based ecumenical agency, Diakonia, the theme of the service "crucified for the truth" — will focus on detainees — particularly those on hunger strike.

The sermon will be preached by Bishop Wilfred Napier, president of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference.

FROM LEFT: Stanley Mogoba, Victoria Gcabashe and Denis Hurley.

Among those to attend the service will be Reverend Stanley Mogoba of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa, Archbishop Dennis Hurley, Roman Catholic Bishop of Durban, and Ms Virginia Gcabashe, first vice president of the South African Council of Churches.

A spokesman for Diakonia said this service recalls Jesus Christ's sacrifice and suffering, and links it to the suffering of thousands of people who are working to bring about a just society.

The service will start at 6.30am at the Central Methodist in Aliwal Street. A procession carrying crosses will leave from there and proceed up West Street to St Paul's where the service will conclude with prayer and singing.

'AN ENEMY OF THE SYSTEM'

W/E ARGUS 25/3/89

Weekend Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — Mamelodi Ned Geref Church in Africa minister Dr Nico Smith says he is regarded as an "enemy of the system" because he does not oppose black people's sentiments.

Dr Smith was commenting on an allegation by independent MP Mr Jan van Eck in Parliament that national servicemen had been shown video film and photographs of him and other whites visiting the area and told they were "the enemy".

A South African Defence Force spokesman said videos and briefings were routine and aimed at orientating new troops into the area in which they were to operate, but he denied that the briefing officer referred to those concerned as the "enemy".

Dr Smith is the only white living in Mamelodi and is often the only white who attends gatherings in the township.

"That is part of my duties as a minister here," he said.

"I regard myself, and the people accept me, as part of the community."

He said he often had to attend events such as burials of political activists where, "in the nature of things", there was a lot of emotion, such as showing of ANC flags. This was "a political expression".

Dr Smith said he was regarded as an enemy because he did not object to this and did not start pulling down ANC banners.

"It seems that where they regard the ANC as the enemy, they also regard me as the enemy."

He said the greater part of the community of Mamelodi supported the ANC, "and one must understand this".

During World War Two, Afrikaners had in the same way often showed the Vierkleur — the flag of the old Transvaal Republic — as a form of political expression.

"Therefore it is surprising that they do not understand this. They have no understanding that this is the people's sentiments which are finding expression in the showing of ANC flags."

He said the idea of the authorities was simply that all the instigators of unrest were enemies and part of the "total onslaught".

"With all the presence of soldiers they will not get this out of the people," Dr Smith said.

"The more they try to suppress these sentiments, ths stronger they will grow."

Crucified for the truth

Clerics all set to lead Easter dawn procession

By GUGU KUNENE

ROMINENT South frican clerics are to lead Good Friday procession th the theme "Crucied For The Truth" in rban at dawn tomorw.

Methodist Bishop anley Mogoba, Catho- Bishop Dennis Hurley, nglican Bishop Michael uttall, Catholic Bishop ilfred Napier and Presterian Bishop Robin larshall will be among e church leaders at the rvice.

The service will be held the Central Methodist urch in Aliwal Street at 30am on Good Friday.

A procession, which ds at the St Paul urch will follow.

Diakonia spokesman, ddy Kearney, said this ar's service had the me "Crucified For The ruth" because the church calls how Jesus was crufied for the truth.

People will be questiong their faith in a relevant ay by linking it to the ffering of thousands of uth Africans who are rking to bring about a st society," explained arney.

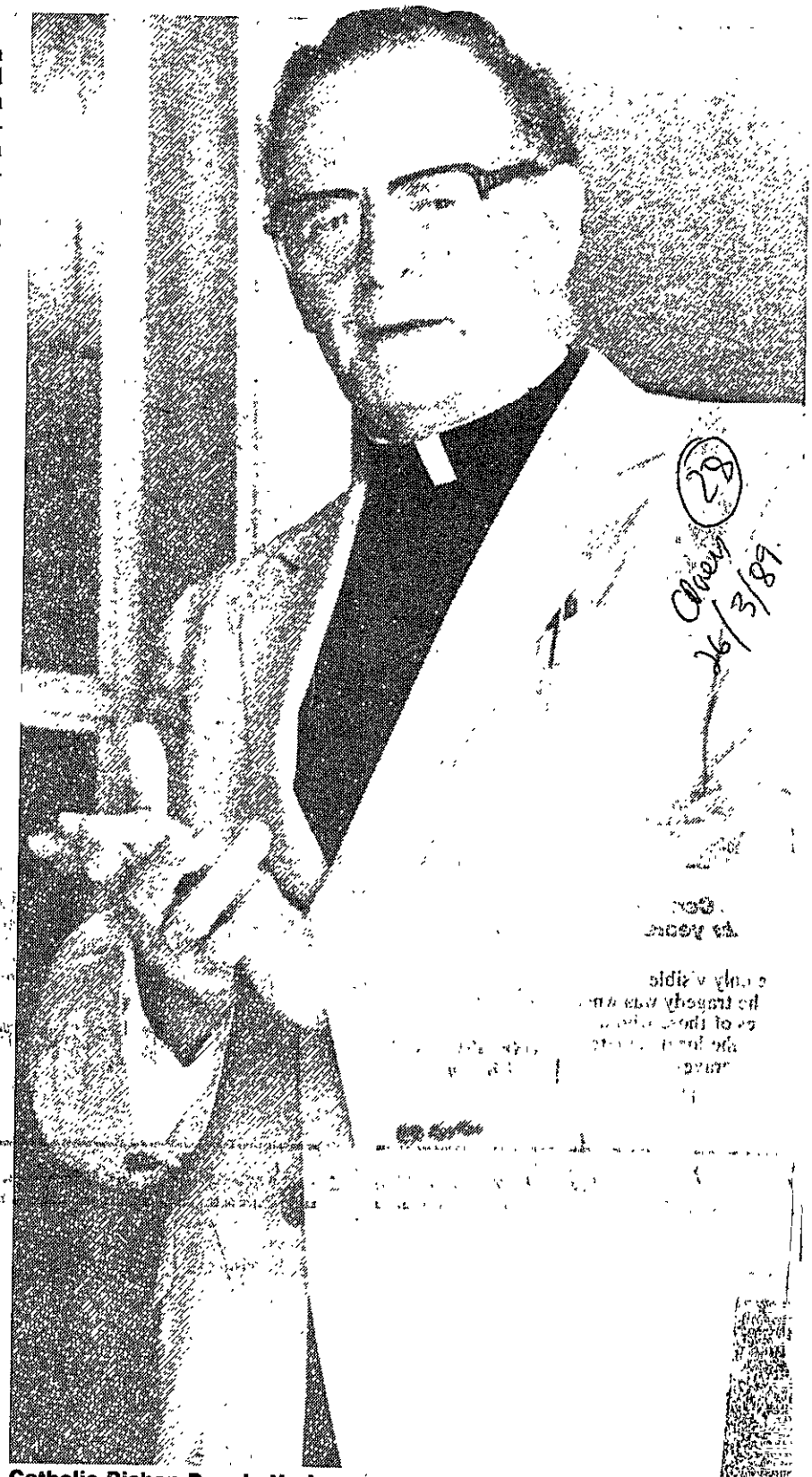
He said the "Good Fri- y service" was initially rted in 1985 when the urch was praying for the eason trialists who were ld in the Durban Central ison.

It was held again in 1987 hen the church highlight- the plight of children in tention.

During that year, there re 60 children under the e of 18 who were held in estville Prison.

Last year, the focus was organisations which re restricted in Febru- y. "The government had lenced them just like Je- s Christ was silenced on ood Friday".

The two-hour service is pected to draw a large wd of people from all e different denomina- ns.



Catholic Bishop Dennis Hurley . . . will join clerics in the Easter procession.

28

Argus 26/3/89

Ciskei: Nation comes before religion

CP. 26/3/89

(28)

THE Ciskei Government has assured churchgoers that they will not be victimised if they do not attend a government rally at Ntaba ka Ndoda (The National Shrine) over the Easter weekend.

This assurance was given by a government spokesman, Headman Somtunzi, after church leaders expressed disquiet at their members being expected to attend government rallies at the shrine rather than services in their own congregations.

Thousands of people are expected to attend church services and other events organised by the government to "promote nationalism and unity".

Church leaders said this week individual clergy and congregants have been questioned by the authorities about their reasons for not going to the national shrine.

According to Somtunzi, Ciskei residents are not forced to attend the rally at Ntaba ka Ndoda, "but we do expect people to attend".

"We do conduct church services, but it is not politically motivated to recognise the gatherings."

Other rallies have been organised to coincide with heroes' and independence day. They are usually held on a Sunday, thus interfering with normal church services.

Last week the Anglican Diocesan Council of the Grahamstown Diocese called on members not to attend rallies which clashed with church services or important church festivals, the Right Reverend David Russell said.

Somtunzi denied that there was State religion in Ciskei.

"Irrespective of religious affiliation, we go to Ntaba ka Ndoda as Ciskeians.

"People have an option to attend their own services but it depends on whether you regard your own service as a priority as opposed to a meeting of the whole church, of the whole nation.

"It depends on where you loyalties lie," said Somtunzi.

He said the Ciskei government would not contemplate action against those not attending Ntaba ka Ndoda. – Ana.

(28)

Towards a new nonracial church

When the moderator of the white Dutch Reformed Church, Professor Johan Heyns, addressed the five-day consultation at Vereeniging recently and apologised for helping to maintain the system, Dr Allan Boesak was "absolutely amazed". But at the end of the conference Boesak was convinced the white church was not yet ready for a new beginning. PIPPA GREEN reports:

FOR Dr Allan Boesak, the five-day consultation at Vereeniging with other churches in the Dutch Reform family was the most "emotionally ravaging" church meeting he had sat through.

"I was absolutely amazed," recalls Boesak, moderator of the Dutch Reformed Mission Church (the Sendingkerk), when Professor Johan Heyns, moderator of the white Dutch Reformed Church, spoke for the first time in a closed session.

"Heyns said the white Dutch Reformed Ministers had come to confess their guilt: 'We have justified apartheid theologically, and we are still helping to maintain that system. And for that I just want to say that we are sorry'."

During an open conference session Boesak responded: "I was surprised, I said I had heard things I had not heard before. I also said that if you are asking for forgiveness, we blacks do not have the right to withhold our forgiveness. You are asking us to trust you, I said. OK, we'll trust you. I said, let's suspend the official agenda: We have a new beginning here, a new possibility, let's see how far we can get with this."

At the end of the Vereeniging talks though, it became clear that, for the white church there was not yet a new beginning. The confession called apartheid a sin and described its justification as a heresy, but also stressed that it be seen in terms of the 1986 document "Church and Society", which condemns only "discriminatory apartheid" and does not call its justification a heresy.

Heretical

The DRC was also reluctant to back practical measures to combat apartheid, like calling on the government to lift the state of emergency immediately.

For the black churches, though, the Vereeniging talks may well spell a new era.

Once the apartheid "step-sisters" of the white DRC, the black churches, principally Boesak's Sendingkerk and Sam Buti's NGK in Africa, have moved from a position of subordination to one of new pride and unity.

Now it is likely that by 1991, the black churches of the DRC will form one nonracial church. The white DRC, unless it condemns apartheid unequivocally by abandoning the "Church and Society" document, risks becoming increasingly isolated.

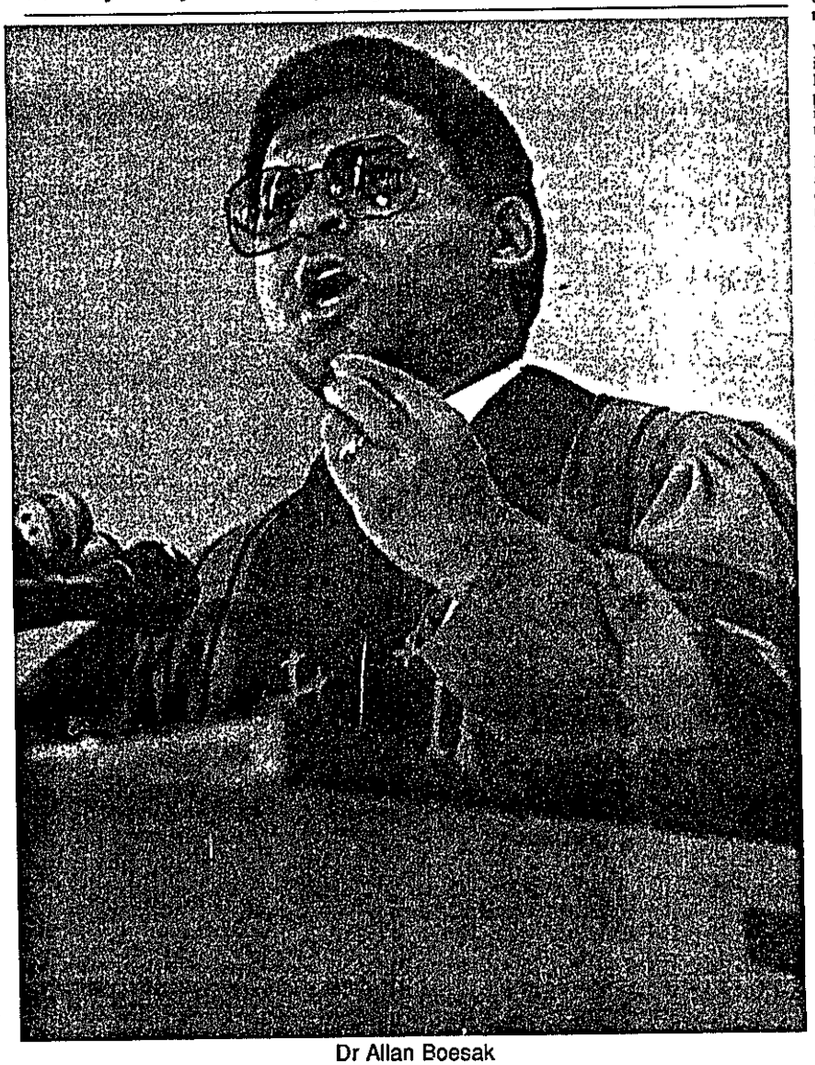
Boesak's Sendingkerk was the first black church to be created by the DRC.

Officially, it was formed in 1881 with only five congregations, but its real birth was in 1857 when church members who were not white, mainly slaves in the Cape, were asked to hold separate communion and church services.

When the Synod first debated this, explains Boesak, it had said: "We know it's not scriptural, we know we don't have the Bible on our side, but for the sake of the weakness of some, that was the famous phrase they used, for the sake of the weakness of some, we will hold separate services for whites and blacks".

The "weakness of some" was the course of growing white racism in the church.

Even before then, according to Bobby Loubser, dominee of the Tamboerskloof DRC and author of "Apartheid's Bible", the Boers in the Great Trek had built up a "volksteologie" (a civil religion) that justified slavery by saying that God had created people differently.



Dr Allan Boesak

But it was only in 1947 that this civil religion became an official part of church doctrine.

An eminent DRC theologian, Dr E P Groenewald, relied heavily on Genesis 11 to back his argument that God had ordained apartheid: Building the Tower of Babel, men had tried, sinfully, to preserve the unity of the human race.

But God upset the plan by creating a confusion of tongues, and then ordained that the nations be divided. This, for the DRC, was sufficient scriptural grounds for the policy of apartheid.

It was only in the "Church and Society" document of 1986 that the DRC dropped the biblical justification for apartheid, according to Loubser.

"But in a practical sense, they didn't drop the justification of apartheid. We were back to 1880."

While the white church went backward, the black churches, particularly the Sendingkerk, were moving forward.

When Boesak first became chaplain at the University of the Western Cape in 1982, there were students who were members of the Sendingkerk, who felt ashamed of belonging to the "apartheid church".

All that changed with the 1986 Confession of Belhar, which not only called apartheid a sin and its theological justification a heresy, but also called on Christians to participate in the struggle against apartheid.

"It really was a Rubicon," says Boesak.

"Not only did it have political consequences, but it had consequences for our relations with other churches. When we called the DRC heretical, it meant that fundamentally the relationship had changed."

Although the Sendingkerk is no longer politically or culturally subordinate, it is still more financially dependent on the white DRC church than it would like to be.

"Even today there are individual congregations which still get a minister's full salary or significant subsidy from the white churches, and those are the churches where people are afraid to draw conclusions, politically and otherwise on the Confession of Belhar and the church's stand on apartheid," said Boesak.

Recently, for instance, Nico Smit, the Mamelodi NGK in Africa minister and another white minister in the Reformed Church in Zambia, Rev Christiaan van der Merwe, had their salaries cut off by the white DRC

The relationship of financial dependence has also meant that conservative white ministers can be "called" to the black churches, although black ministers cannot minister to white congregations, even though there are black theologians who are unemployed.

"We have a different voice and a different witness from the white churches, but it can easily happen that because a congregation gets money from the white church or because the church council is conservative, a white minister from Stellenbosch or Pretoria or from Bloemfontein can be called

"And that minister might have no understanding whatsoever of this church, of the people, of our theology, of our political situation"

Boesak now plans to restructure his church to allow richer congregations to subsidise poorer, rural ones.

If finance is the black churches' weakness, their strength is the international credibility of their leaders, particularly of Boesak As prominent as the Sendingkerk is internationally, so the white DRC is isolated

The US-Based Reformed Ecumenical Council, a fairly small and conservative body which convened the Vereeniging talks, is the only remaining world body to which the white DRC belongs

In 1982, at a conference in Ottowa the white church was suspended from the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, of which Boesak is president, after theological justification of apartheid was termed a heresy

The white church has also been suspended from the World Council of Churches

It is an isolation that obviously hurts and one which the white church, by its Vereeniging confession, is hoping to rectify Johan Heyns is hoping his confession, made with "humility and sorrow" at the church's role in introducing and legitimating the ideology of apartheid, will unlock the WARC door to his church.

Discord

"We've said with humility and sorrow we confess our participation in apartheid; we've called it a sin and a heresy. What else in the world can we do?" asked Heyns.

The black churches say: Drop the "Church and Society" document, which condemns only discriminatory apartheid, and give practical content to the confession by calling for the eradication of all apartheid laws and practices.

The white church's new confession has been accepted by the General Synod Committee only "in the context of" Church and Society.

By sticking to Church and Society, say critics like Professor Charles Villa-Vicencio, head of Religious Studies at UCT, the white church has not condemned apartheid without equivocation.

The equivocation is due to the debates and disunity within the white church, a discord that mirrors some of the rancour in the white ruling group.

Heyns comments, for instance, that about 90 percent of the members of the Conservative Party are members of his church.

Even his delegation's participation in Vereeniging let to threats by the right-wing, led by Professor Carel Boshoff, that it would have a "negative effect" on the church.

Although Boesak also has to contend with a conservative faction in his own church, the divisions are not generally over such fundamental issues.

The church's assessor Reverend Sakkie Mentor, for instance, backed Boesak's motion at Vereeniging which described apartheid "in all its forms" as sinful

In spite of their own conflicts, the black churches are on the brink of a new unity, while the white church is "trapped in its own history", as Villa-Vicencio puts it.

It is a trap that means that the "mother church" of the Dutch Reformed family can only stand by and watch as its apartheid children walk out of its backyard to create a new nonracial home.

Chikane expects 'action' from Vlok

Sowetan 31/3/89

28

REV Frank Chikane.

THE general secretary of the SACC, the Rev Frank Chikane, said he expected "some action within the next few days" after he and four other church leaders discussed the situation of detainees with the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, in Pretoria last night.

The delegation, that also consisted of Archbishop Desmond Tutu (Anglican), The Rev Ron Steel (Congregational Church), the Rev Michael Moore (Presbyterian), and Arichbishop Denis Hurley (Catholic), met with Mr Vlok for about two hours at police headquarters.

Mr Chikane said afterwards he hoped the Minister would act swiftly on the hunger strikers' cases.

"I expect some action within the next few days because we have discussed them extensively," he said.

Archbishop Tutu said the meeting had been held at the request of hunger strikers who had ended their fast, and who expected Mr Vlok to reconsider their continued detention, in accordance with his statement that he would not do so until they had ended their hunger strike.

The delegation were assured that the files of those who had been in detention would be brought to Mr Vlok immediately.

SAPA

Meanwhile, about 40 detainees in different prisons in the country are still on hunger strike, according to a statement released by the Human Rights Commission in Johannesburg yesterday afternoon.

Four detainees from Diepkloof Prison are still in hospital. They are Tebogo Mngomezulu, Bridgeman Sithole, Joubert Tshabalala and Ephraim Zwane. They all participated for varying periods in the Diepkloof hunger strike from January 23 to February 16.

Sylvester Ledwaba and Cyril Monyela, two detainees at the Diepkloof Prison, are known to have resumed their hunger strike.

The 13 detainees from the Modderbee Prison are believed to be still on hunger strike and have entered the fourth week of their fast. The statement said five have been confirmed to be still on hunger strike.

The hunger striker of section 29 detainees at John Vorster Square is believed to have ended as no information has been received for several weeks.

The statement said three detainees from Pretoria Central Prison and ten detainees in the Krugersdorp Prison are still on hunger strike.

Ten detainees in Durban are in hospital and also still on hunger strike.

3 SA church leaders may meet Bush on US trip

WASHINGTON — Three South African church leaders will arrive in Washington next month to sound out the new US administration on its position toward South Africa and to re-invigorate efforts for US sanctions against the Pretoria government, organisers announced yesterday.

They said Archbishop Desmond Tutu, winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, the Rev Allan Boesak and the Rev Beyers Naude have asked for a meeting with President George Bush.

Archbishop Tutu

Rev Boesak

Rev Naude

The three will also participate in a May 17 forum with some 90 members of Congress, mayors, governors and labour leaders, to debate what steps can be taken to dismantle the apartheid policies of racial segregation, the announcement said.

The sponsors of the meeting include Senators Edward Kennedy, Paul Simon and Alan Cranston, the Rev Jesse Jackson and Harvard president, Mr Derek Bok.

The group has invited the three South Africans "to help figure out the next steps Americans can take to end apartheid and to avoid an even bloodier civil war in South Africa," said Mr Randall Robinson, executive director of TransAfrica.

They will bring with them proposals for negotiations with the South African Government on granting blacks voting rights. — Associated Press.

31/1/89

Govt in SA 'disobeys God'–Tutu

(28)

Star 4/4/89

The Star's Africa News Service

MAPUTO — Archbishop Desmond Tutu has accused the South African Government of "disobedience to God" through its apartheid policies, and says apartheid will fail because it is a sin.

The Anglican leader said this during a sermon at Maputo's Maxaquene Stadium on Sunday, according to the Aim news agency.

More than 2 000 people attended the service, including 14 bishops from South Africa. At one point, Archbishop Tutu asked the bishops to stand up as an example of "one family".

He said: "Just look at them. Some of them are tall, some are short, some are fat, some are black and some are white, and yet they all belong to one family.

"But they (the Government leaders) can't understand how black and white, coloured and Indian can all be one family."

The archbishop prayed for peace in Mozambique.

Archbishop Tutu is attending the Southern African Anglican Bishops' synod which opened yesterday.

The Star Wed

Christians hold anti-detentions poster protest

CAPE TOWN — Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, and 14 other Christians held a defiant poster protest against detentions on the steps of St George's Cathedral yesterday.

Nobody was arrested during the half-hour long lunchtime demonstration, although police arrived within the first 10 minutes and warned the participants to disperse.

A policeman was told the protesters would remain there until 1.15 pm.

Among the protesters were the Rev Douglas Bax, the Rev Syd Luckett of the Anglican Board of Social Responsibility, the Rev Russel Botman representing the Western Province Council of Churches, and the Rev Pierre van den Heever of the Methodist Church.

At one stage during the protest, four passing young whites sang "Die Stem". Dr Boesak immediately drew the attention of a policeman taking down the names of protesters that the gathering of singers was also illegal.

Two protesting Christians responded to the singing of "Die Stem" by taking out recorders and playing "Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika".

Observers said the protest heralded a new phase in the ongoing campaign involving civil disobedience by church and other organisations to publicise the plight of remaining emergency detainees. — Sapa.

Making inroads into the ministry

For many years, female ministers in Africa were almost unheard of. But the situation is changing as more and more women join the ministry. DOCTORSON TSHABALALA spoke to two women making inroads in a traditionally male preserve.


Jakobsen

REVEREND Wilma Jakobsen admits that she gets "angry" whenever she encounters poverty.

Coming from what she describes as a "liberal, English-speaking" background, she took note of the injustices in South African society at an early age.

Now, as a deacon in Mitchells Plain, she comes into daily contact with the poverty spawned by apartheid.

"When I was young I noticed the misery caused by the Group Areas Act and the other evils related to the system — and it made me angry," says Jakobsen, an Anglican minister.

"Every time I see poverty I become angry at the system. I witness how people live from hand to mouth, and how many have to commute long distances to get to work.

"Life is pretty hazardous here in Mitchells Plain. But I am happy that I live here and that I'm part of this community."

Warm and straight-talking, 30-year-old Jakobsen is dressed in the traditional Basotho outfit, Seshoeshoe, on the day of the interview.

From the moment she starts talking it is obvious that her favourite subject is "ministry".

"These are the most difficult years of my life," she concedes. "There are many, many hurdles to overcome. This is a lonely life. But you have to be determined."

One aspect of her work that discourages her is the way "many people, especially men, like to suggest that I must work as a patriarch. I hate that."

A qualified teacher, Jakobsen holds a degree in psychology from the University of the Western Cape.

While at university she became involved with Christian student groups and it was from this involvement that her desire to become a minister developed.

After leaving university she taught at Pinelands High for three years, still nurturing the dream to enter the ministry.

When she finally did decide to study theology it all happened very quickly. Within six weeks she was on her way to study in Los Angeles.

The only women priest in the Anglican Church in Cape Town (there are possibly no more than seven in South Africa and a few presently in training), Jakobsen is happy about her new direction in life.

Magic touch sent her into priesthood


Steinegger-Kayser

ELEVEN years ago, Margaret Steinegger-Kayser was working in a Wellington clothing store when her life was touched by a "magic moment".

Today, 29-year-old Steinegger-Kayser is a fully-qualified NG Sendingkerk minister waiting to be called.

But Proponent (as NG Sendingkerk female ministers are addressed) Steinegger-Kayser had to travel a circuitous route before her life took its present path.

As a top science and mathematics student at a Paarl high school, Steinegger-Kayser had her sights set on becoming a docter.

But after completing her matric in 1977 she was unable for financial reasons to enter university.

She had to find work and ended up working in a Wellington clothing store as a sales assistant.

Then in early 1978 her life was transformed.

"The hand of the Lord touched me. It was a magic moment," she says.

About 18 months after her conversion Steinegger-Kayser decided to become a minister.

"As I grew closer to God I realised He wanted to make use of me. It was absolutely miraculous," she says.

She discussed the idea with a friend who was studying theology at the University of the Western Cape and was encouraged to "go for it".

At UWC she was one of only two female students in the theology department. Each Sunday Steinegger-Kayser preaches to a large congregation in Woodlands, Phillipi. She has been appointed as a part-time minister by the congregation but is still waiting to be called by the NG Sendingkerk.

"I really appreciate that this congregation approached me with the offer of minstering to them," she says. "It's a great feeling.

"But I do feel that the NG Sendingkerk is neglecting its duty in not giving me my own congregation.

"I feel the church is discriminating against me as a woman. They have made a decision on the ordination of women, but have failed to follow it up," she says.

Target SA gold, Boesak to tell US

WMAIL 7-13/4/89.

By GAYE DAVIS

DOCTOR Allan Boesak, who next month meets major American leaders over sanctions, advocates a selective boycott strategy hitting South Africa's debt repayments, air-links and coal and gold sales.

Boesak, leader of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, has been invited to the Washington forum with Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, South African Council of Churches general secretary Frank Chikane and Chikane's predecessor, Beyers Naude.

He said this week the four would be meeting soon to discuss what they would say at the meeting, which takes place on May 17.

The forum will bring together 90 Americans — including members of Congress, governors, mayors, trade union and civil rights leaders — to hear proposals for steps leading to the dismantling of apartheid.

Among those who will be present are Senator Edward Kennedy, political leader Jesse Jackson, former Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, Mayor of Atlanta Andrew Young and Derek Bok, president of Harvard University.

While Archbishop Tutu has repeatedly called for comprehensive, mandatory sanctions, Boesak believes a selective sanctions strategy would be more effective.

He said this week pressure could be placed on the South African treasury by a refusal to roll over the country's foreign debt repayments.

"I believe something could also be done about South African gold — the Italians are the largest purchasers, and Swiss banks are the conduit for payments.

"Cutting air links — denying South African Airways landing rights and stopping foreign airlines from coming here — would also be effective.

"Countries could also stop buying South African coal supplies."

Such measures, Boesak argues, could bring results far more quickly than other types of disinvestment — and job losses among workers would be minimised.

The forum has been convened by Transafrica, the African-American lobby on Africa and the Caribbean.

Transafrica's executive director, Randall Robinson, said the South Africans had been invited "to help figure out the next steps Americans can take to end apartheid and to avoid an even bloodier civil war in South Africa".

Transafrica believes its year-long demonstrations in front of the South African Embassy in Washington helped bring about 1986 sanctions legislation against South Africa.

Anti-sanctions priest has R40 000 debt

MKGUS 11/4/89

PRETORIA — AN anti-sanctions campaign has left a Pretoria archbishop in debt for R40 000.

Archbishop Mzilikazi Masiya revealed at a press conference in here that he owed various businesses R40 000 as a result of his anti-sanctions campaign last year.

Archbishop Masiya, of the Council for Apostolic and Zion Churches in Southern Africa, denied reports this week that he would leave for Britain with Bishop Isaac Mokoena this month on a campaign to counter the publicity given to Anglican church leader Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

"I do not want to be seen to be opposing Archbishop Tutu. He has his own views just as I have my own. I will campaign on my own and not in direct confrontation to the Anglican church leader."

Archbishop Masiya said his campaign would be severely limited because companies which benefited from his campaign failed to fullfil their promises of sponsoring him.

He said his anti-sanctions campaign was successful both inside the country and overseas.

Breytenbach denies SADF clergy video

Cape Times 12/4/89 (28)

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE Deputy Minister of Defence, Mr Wynand Breytenbach, yesterday denied that the SADF had been involved in a video about clergymen and other whites who worked in Mamelodi.

The independent MP for Claremont, Mr Jan van Eck, accused him of contradicting a SADF statement on the issue.

Earlier, he asked him whether groups of national servicemen stationed in the Pretoria area had been shown video films and photographs in which NGK minister the Rev Nico Smith had been depicted.

Mr Breytenbach replied: "Technically, no."

Mr Van Eck asked how he could give such a reply when a SADF statement formally acknowledged the video's existence.

Mr Breytenbach did not answer.

Mr Van Eck accused the government of misusing the army through the making of the video.

"You are busy making the army the military wing of the National Party."

He said a SADF spokesman had stated that videos and briefings were routine and were aimed at orientating new troops.

Mr Smith was a bridge-builder and it was sickening that a person who had devoted his whole life to this purpose was being slandered in this way.

He also quoted from a letter to the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, by Mrs Margaret Biggs, wife of the Anglican Dean of Pretoria, who said her daughter had been followed around Mamelodi by conscripts.

Cape Times, Thursda

Sanctions: Church speaks

Cape Times 13/4/89 (28)

mas and difficulties" involved in using economic pressure.

"We have no desire or intention to destroy the economy. We also recognise that there is now a momentum about economic action which is not in our power to control.

"But we do believe that some form of carefully-targeted pressures could effectively play their part in helping to facilitate change."

The bishops note that the issue of re-scheduling international bank loans to South Africa will be coming up within the next 12 months.

"It may well be that an appropriate signal to the South African government would be a refusal on the part of the international banks to 'roll over' the loans."

The bishops suggest that this could be done with with specific conditions attached, and a readiness to evaluate the response after a limited period.

The bishops also refer to "the pressure of economic engagement," such as the offering of finance for transformational projects which will help to prepare the way for a post-apartheid society.

They noted that almost without exception the replies to their December statement which came from 'white' parishes and individuals were opposed to any form of sanctions.

By way of contrast, most 'black' responses favoured some kind of economic pressure being exerted on the South African government to bring an end to apartheid.

Mystery pamphlet follows murder of priest

Smith 13-19/4/89.

DURBAN. — Mystery surrounds the death of well-known priest Londa Shembe, leader of the Nazareth Baptist Church, known as the Shembe Church.

Shembe, a United Democratic Front supporter, was gunned down by two unknown assailants at his Inanda home last week.

Now an anonymous pamphlet in Zulu has been distributed which claims the UDF and the ANC were responsible for Shembe's murder.

The pamphlet, describing Shembe as "peace-loving and an opponent of violence", demanded that "Lungi Makhaye" (Shembe's wife's maiden name) and "comrades" must not attend the funeral of "our leader".

The pamphlet claims to be issued by the "Nazareth Baptist Church Committee", but members of the church have denied this.

They said they were not against anyone attending the funeral, to be held on April 16.

Bitter row

Shembe was one of two church leaders who emerged in the church in 1977 after the death of his father, the Rev JG Shembe.

The other leader is the ailing and ageing Amos Shembe. Both have in the past been involved in a bitter row over the leadership of the church.

The Supreme Court in Pietermaritzburg refused to grant either of them the leadership because they were unable to meet certain requirements.

Shembe was close to many UDF activists in Inanda and was known to have been involved in confrontations with some tribal leaders in the area.

He officiated at the funeral of three anti-apartheid activists who were killed in a mysterious bomb explosion at the Phoenix railway station, near Inanda, early last year.

Members of the church and residents in the area are puzzled by the pamphlet.

Said a prominent member of the church, who did not want to be named: "One has to start reading between the lines of the pamphlet. Nobody believes the UDF or the ANC would be responsible for such a ghastly act." — *PTSA*

Boesak, Vlok clash again on detainees

ARGUS 14/4/89

By KAREN STANDER
Religion Reporter

IN a mounting row over the number of detainees released since a widespread hunger strike, Dr Allan Boesak today reacted to stinging criticism of him by the Minister of Law of Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok.

Dr Boesak accused the government of "having lied before" on the issue of detention without trial and the treatment of detainees.

At a medal parade in Pretoria this week, Mr Vlok accused Dr Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and moderator of the NG Sendingkerk, and "certain other" church leaders of spreading "untruths" about the police.

Dr Boesak, who is in Sweden where he will see top members of the government today, said in a statement released by his Bellville office that he had no intention of getting into a "shouting match" with Mr Vlok.

"It is well-known that the South African government has lied before when it comes to the issue of detention without trial and the treatment of detainees.

Dr Allan Boesak

Facts "ignored"

"The record of the government in this regard speaks for itself.

"My challenge to the Minister was direct and simple. There is a disturbing discrepancy between the number of releases given by Mr Vlok and by the Human Rights Commission.

"In order to remove any doubt and to prove (his) truthfulness, the Minister should publish all the names of those released and the date of their release.

"Until he does this, I, and most of the world with me, will be inclined to believe the Human Rights Commission."

Mr Vlok said at the parade that Dr Boesak ignored "proven" facts if they did not fit his radical thoughts.

He said that more than 600 detainees had been released since February.

On the day Dr Boesak took part in a demonstration with placards claiming that 84 people were still on a hunger strike, there was not one still refusing to eat.

Mr Vlok said he had not published the names of those released at the request of some detainees. He had offered, however, to show proof to church leaders confidentially. They had not taken up this offer.

Refusal of visa for top theologian criticised

By KAREN STANDER
Religion Reporter

AS a society became more unjust, human sciences — including religious studies — were likely to become more radical, internationally renowned scholar Professor Gregory Baum said in a lecture read on his behalf.

Professor Baum, a Catholic theologian from Canada, was invited as keynote speaker at a conference to mark the 20th anniversary of the University of Cape Town's Department of Religious Studies, but he was refused a visa by the government.

Eighty-five guests at the conference signed a petition condemning the refusal of a visa to Professor Baum. The petition is to be sent to the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha.

The petition said the refusal confirmed the conclusions reached by many people that the government feared religious freedom and believed that by denying South Africans the influence of Professor Baum's presence it was countering the process of social change.

Academic boycott

Mr Botha's action had strengthened the cause of those favouring an international academic boycott, which the government claimed to condemn.

In his speech Professor Baum said the notion of a value-free, objective human science was an illusion and in some instances could even serve ideological purposes.

"The human sciences can escape their bondage to the dominant cultural consciousness only through an emancipatory commitment.

"Human science, including religious studies, is or should be, a critical activity. The more unjust a society becomes, the more radical these sciences are likely to appear.

"We may see the day when religious studies will be regarded as a subversive activity," Professor Baum said.

The strange death of the messiah's kindly grandson

A Zulu charismatic church known for its colourful rites has been split for years by a bitter leadership dispute between two men. This week, one was murdered. The killing has implications for kwaZulu which go much wider than the church and could become the spark for yet more violence, reports CARMEL RICKARD

THE murder of Natal church leader Londa Shembe has plunged the volatile Shembe church into turmoil and adds the spectre of political violence to the leadership struggle in the Inanda valley outside Durban.

Shembe and his uncle, Amos, had been observing an uneasy truce after a series of supreme court cases, killings and church assemblies failed to resolve the question of which of them should rightfully lead the Shembe church — iBandla lamaNazareta, the church of the Nazarite.

Against the backdrop of this power struggle, Shembe did not throw his weight behind Inkatha and tried to steer a middle course between Inkatha and the United Democratic Front.

Sources close to Shembe say he tried to "maintain a relationship with the UDF and that he had been to see the ANC a few years ago.

"However, he did not agree with the ANC's attitude to kwaZulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, whom he held in high regard."

The Shembe church, with its colourful ceremonies and ambiguous attitude to Christianity, has fascinated local and international scholars including GC Oosthuizen of the University of Zululand's research unit for the study of new religions and African independent churches. He has written extensively on the church and in particular the close relationship between the Shembe faith and traditional Zulu religion and culture.

The church was founded around 1911 by an farm worker's son, Isiah Shembe — described by experts as probably the most important messianic figure in South Africa.

As a boy and a young man he had a number of visions and revelations through lightning and thunderstorms. He gained a reputation as a healer, and travelled through Natal, driving out demons and preaching.

Shembe joined the African Baptist Church, but left to form his own church when he become convinced that Saturday should be observed as the sabbath and that this was a key to the revival of the Zulu nation.

Many of his followers regard him as their messiah and give him the same status and role as Christians give Christ. Some of this aura passed to his son, Johannes Galilee, when Isiah died in 1935.

But since Galilee's death in 1976, there has been a succession dispute between Galilee's son, Londa, and Galilee's brother, Amos.

The holy places of the church have been divided between the two, and fierce hostility between the followers of the two leaders has led to a number of clashes and more than a dozen deaths.

About one tenth of the total Shembe adherents are loyal to Londa, the rest follow Amos. There was some hope that when Amos died — he is in his 80's — the division could be healed.

With Londa's premature death before he named an heir or resolved the conflict with his uncle, this hope seems dashed, and there are now fears of more conflict and succession disputes which will further weaken the church.

There are startling parallels between the status, role and insignia of Isiah and his successors, and that of the Zulu king, while the Shembe rites clearly have their base in Zulu traditional practices and beliefs.

Oosthuizen says Isiah had a deep concern for "the restoration of the Zulu nation, weakened as a result of the various wars it experienced with the whites", and saw it as his task to help rebuild it.

Most Shembe adherents are strong Zulu traditionalists and, as with other African independent churches, its members have had little formal education. There are, however, exceptions — Londa had a law degree and there are some other well educated members of the church.

The Shembe hymns show how Isiah is seen by followers as a liberator and many view his church as "a Zulu liberation movement". Oosthuizen comments that Isiah "put himself as liberator within the context of the Zulu king or chiefs; as the one who would restore the Zulu nation".

The Shembe church began at a time of great political activity and awareness — the forerunner of the ANC was started the year after Isiah started his church — but while Isiah was aware of the growing struggle for black political and land rights he never took a directly political stance in relation to South African politics. His church was not apolitical, however, because of its strong backing for a resurgence of Zulu nationhood, culture and pride.

This position was also adopted by Galilee and by Amos, but Londa took a different line, keeping communication open with the UDF and ANC. He numbered many UDF members among his personal friends including Natal president Archie Gumede, who has been described as very distressed by the murder.

Londa Shembe, whose death has brought turmoil to the community

Shembe also maintained good relations with Buthelezi who said he was "heartbroken" by his death; that he had known the family for a long time and regarded Shembe as "a kindly and godly man".

Buthelezi said Shembe could have played a reconciling role between Natal's "warring factions" as "he moved freely between all his people".

Already, however, his death is being used to deepen divisions.

Shembe was asleep in his bed early last Friday morning when two men broke in to the house through a window and shot him three times. Police are searching for the killers but have so far made no arrests.

Pamphlets blaming the ANC and the UDF for the murder have been widely distributed in the townships, but they have been dismissed as fakes by a church official. Although the pamphlets contained a statement that they were issued by the Nazareth Baptist Church committee, this has been denied by the committee.

Durban lawyer and family adviser, Kwenza Mlaba, said the pamphlet was written in "broken Zulu" and had been compiled by someone who did not speak Zulu as a home language.

He said Ndlovu was concerned that the pamphlet gave the impression "certain people" should not attend this weekend's funeral. Everyone, from any political group, was welcome.

The pamphlet begins, "The ANC and UDF thugs owe the community an explanation as to why they have killed our leader." It concludes, "We are determined to bury our father in peace and with dignity. We ask Lungi Makhaye (Shembe's wife) and the comrades not to attend the funeral of our leader."

In the past, the funerals of Shembe leaders have been volatile, and a church elder was stoned to death at the burial of Galilee. A group of women chased and stoned the man whom they held responsible for having poisoned Galilee by putting *muti* in the microphone during a speech.

With the death of Londa, the future of the church must now be unsure. Such churches have a tendency to disintegrate, particularly with the death of charismatic leaders and the formation of splinter groups through succession disputes.

Suspicion over death

(28) Chron 16/4/89

Church leader killed despite security

By SIBUSISO MSELEKU

THE killing of Londa Shembe, leader of one of the two factions of the Nazareth Baptist Church, has caused a major stir in the church.

Shembe – popularly known as "Ibandla lakwa Shembe" – who led a section of more than 70 000 members of the church compared to the 40 000 led by his uncle, Amos Shembe, was attacked by three gunmen at the church headquarters at Inanda – known as Ekuphakameni – last Friday morning.

His wife, Lungi Ma-Makhaye Shembe, a Durban lawyer, had to be taken to safety by members of the South African Defence Force as members of the church threatened her life.

They could apparently not accept her story that the gunmen had entered the Shembe home, gone to the bedroom where the deceased was sleeping, and shot him five times.

Members of the church want to know why Shembe was killed.

Shembe's family and church members want to know from his wife, who he married late last month, how the killers got inside the house.

This stems from the fact that security is known to be very tight at Ekuphakameni. The place is always surrounded by security guards.

Another puzzle is that his gun and money estimated at R1 300 is missing.

Shembe lived at the church headquarters.

Some church members are speculating that there may be political motives for Shembe's murder.

It is a known fact that there has been a long dispute over the leadership of the church between Londa Shembe and his uncle Amos Shembe.

The dispute even spilled over into court.

In one of the hearings, the court decided that the followers of the two factions should go in turns to the Nhlangakazi mountain, which is believed to be holy by the members of the church.

Members usually spend two weeks on the mountain and membes of the two factions have been going in turns over the past few years.

According to police spokesman Lt Bala Naidu, police are investigating some leads indicating that robbery was the motive for the murder. He said no arrests had been made.

There is also a theory that Shembe's killing might be linked to rivalry between Inkatha and the UDF.

In recent years Londa Shembe was shown to be a UDF sympathiser. His wife works for a law firm that has handled a number of cases involving members of the UDF.

Shembe, himself, held a BA and a B Juris degree.

He will be buried on Sunday.

Indian Anglican for white parish

Cape Times 17/4/89

28

DURBAN. — An Indian Anglican preacher will later this year take over an appointment as head of an all white congregation in Westville near Durban.

Canon Rubin Phillip, 41, presently pastor at the St Aidan's Church in Greyville, Durban, said yesterday he regarded his new appointment as pastor of St Elizabeth Church in Westville as a challenge.

"I am excited at the opportunity offered to me and am looking forward to taking it," he said.

The Anglican Bishop of Natal, the Right Rev Michael Nuttall, said the Anglican Church believed in selecting the "best people for the job", and the appointment of Canon Phillip to head a white congregation was not a "special dispensation".

"If the church can't set the example, I cannot see how the nation can. Anyaway, we want to see ourselves as one family regardless of race," he said.

After obtaining a degree in theology at the Federal Theological Seminary in the Eastern Cape, Canon Phillip served in Wentworth and Overport in Durban.

Later, he studied for his Master's degree in theology at the Union Theological Seminary in New York. — Sapa.

Anglican bishops stick to belief in sanctions

Star 17/7/87

By Carina le Grange

Anglican bishops attending the Synod of Bishops in Maputo earlier this month reaffirmed their belief that sanctions, with other pressures, will help facilitate change in South Africa.

The carefully worded statement of the southern African bishops on sanctions is contained in a document called the "Bishops' Response", circulated among the clergy last week. The document is not intended for the public.

The bishops also said it was time for consultations between the Anglican Church and the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk (NGK).

The reference to sanctions says: "We believe that some form of carefully targeted (economic) pressure could effectively play its part, together with other forms of pressure (like diplomatic pressure), in helping to facilitate change."

The document says the bishops are aware of the problems this "difficult matter" raises.

The bishops stressed that it was out of "prayerful reflection that we believe it is necessary to bring pressure to bear on the South African authorities".

Argus 20/4/89

Buthelezi praised over govt lures

BIRMINGHAM, England. — Archbishop Desmond Tutu yesterday said that Chief Gatsha Buthelezi had to be given credit for rejecting government attempts to lure him into participating in its constitutional structures.

He said in a BBC interview that although he and the KwaZulu leader had "serious differences" on strategies to end apartheid, they shared the same goal and "maybe we need to look at (our differences) more seriously".

According to an Anglican Church statement, Archbishop Tutu is in Britain to lead a six-day evangelistic mission to Birmingham in the English Midlands, organised as part of the city's centenary celebrations.

Asked for his views on Chief Buthelezi, Archbishop Tutu said that the Chief Minister was "a person with very considerable leadership gifts.

"He is somebody who cannot be ignored. In any resolution of our crisis he and his group will have to be taken very seriously into account." — Sapa

(28) 23/4/89.

When time runs out

Where will we be after the harvest?

ZB MOLEFE examines the issues raised by MICHAEL CASSIDY's new book, *The Passing Summer*, which deals with the South African dilemma from an optimistic, Christian perspective. Yet, despite his optimism, the surprisingly well-informed and sensitive book concludes that the time for reconciliation is indeed running out for South Africa.

AT first there is an urge to dimiss author Michael Cassidy as one of those do-gooders churning out books prescribing the cure for South Africa's ills.

But Cassidy makes clear his Christian commitment from the outset. It is a mantle of courage and hope.

He is senior team leader of the African Evangelistic Enterprise, with headquarters in Kenya. Its national offices are in Malawi, Rwanda, SA, Tanzania, Uganda and Zimbabwe, with support offices in Britain, Switzerland, West Germany, USA, Canada and Australia.

For a moment you forget that Christianity has a bad track record. Especially when it comes to acting quickly against social injustice. For centuries, Christians accepted slavery – even benefiting from it.

What can Cassidy say about apartheid? Revolution? Liberation theology? Sanctions? And the South African dilemma? That is where you touch Cassidy. His latest book, *The Passing Summer*, which answers these and other questions, has just been published.

It is a book which addresses the South African dilemma. Its Christian approach makes it stand out. The book is inspired by the prophet Jeremiah's words: "the harvest is past, the summer has ended and we are not saved"

In human terms, this means that time is running out for SA.

An English journalist said of Cassidy's book early this year: "This is probably the best and most comprehensive book I have read about the South African dilemma.

After reading it I feel that at last I understand some of the complexities that make the whole thing into such a tangled mess."

SA presents a dilemma and a paradox in a situation becoming increasingly turbulent. But Cassidy is optimistic.

On the whole, after speaking to him, you sense that his optimism is rooted in the belief that healing still exists – provided the Church remains faithful to its calling and South Africans play their part.

Cassidy, who graduated with a Master of Arts from Cambridge University in modern and medieval languages, says: "I believe apartheid is sinking. Post-apartheid South Africa is certain. It is coming. And it is here that the Christian Church must be integrated in the process of terminating apartheid."

But there is one thing the Christian church must understand when that time comes – reconciliation.

"I believe," adds Cassidy, "the Church needs to work for it now. Not just personal reconciliation. But a reconciliation which will follow the change of (apartheid) structures. Says Cassidy, who in 1983 was granted the Anglican church's highest award for a layman, the Order of Simon of Cyrene: "The children of Israel came out of Egypt. And Egypt didn't come out of them for a long time.

"We can do away with apartheid structures, but apartheid is where the Christian has a critical role to play. To build bridges, particularly among young blacks."

It is among these young blacks that Christians must work hard because, according to Cassidy, that is where hatred provides a strong impulse for vendetta.

Cassidy, who boasts 17 books to his credit, also demands something else from whites in this post-apartheid South Africa. They must accept a new order in post-apartheid South Africa. Perhaps, more critical, these whites must have the humility to accept a changed SA.

Already there is hope from certain sections of the church. That is, towards preparing black and white South Africans for a new order, marked by reconciliation.

People like Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Frank Chikane and Smangaliso Mkhatshwa are some of those working for this reconciliation. These church leaders have sent signals, particularly to young blacks, that the church cares about issues that bedevil the country.

The voices of Archbishop Tutu, Mkhatshwa, Chikane and others are positive "and saying something that is relevant to the (black) struggle" Cassidy notes.

The next question to come under the spotlight is liberation theology. Cassidy is careful here.

"I don't think it should be uncritically rejected. Nor should it be uncritically accepted," he warns after giving a careful theological historical background of this subject, which was born in the slums of Latin America.

He continues: "There are some anxieties I have with liberation theology. And one of them is that it turns to be almost totally pre-occupied with the socio-political. And often ignores other aspects of Christian concern."

On the other hand Cassidy understands the liberation theology adherents – they are concerned with it because, according to them, "there is nothing to Christianity other than a socio-political programme."

But there are grave implications in liberation theology for Cassidy.

"One of the problems for many whites about liberation theology is that it has a Marxist analysis of society. And it basically understands life in terms of the oppressor and the oppressed.

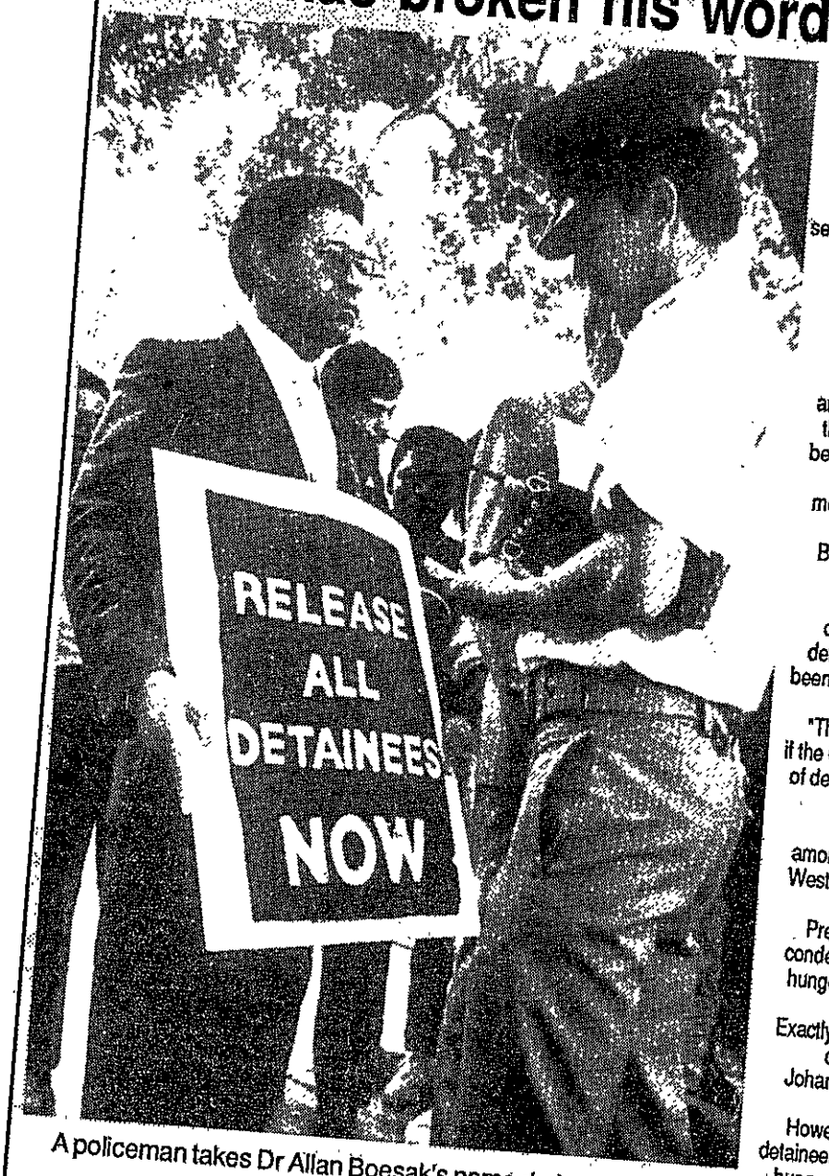
"But if you look at the Bible it doesn't reduce life to the oppressor and the oppressed. It has other things. Like the believer and the unbeliever. The saved and the lost."

So, Cassidy points out, that is why some people have reservations – when all of life is reduced to a Marxist analysis: "Liberation theology has a pessimistic view of life."

On the credit side, Cassidy concedes that liberation theology makes a good point when it says: "You can't work from an armchair. But you have to be out there with reality, "where the rubber meets the tar".

Vlok has broken his word — Boesak

(28)



A policeman takes Dr Allan Boesak's name during the picket

WESTERN Cape church leaders who this week staged a placard demonstration near Parliament have called for a halt in negotiations with the government over the release of detainees.

"We have lost faith in Vlok's word and see no sense in continuing our discussions with him," said NG Sendingkerk church leader Dr Allan Boesak.

The church leaders, who were in a group of 15 who staged a placard demonstration on the steps of the St George's Cathedral on Tuesday, are angry that after almost two months since their first negotiations little progress has been made in securing the release of the "substantial" numbers of detainees mentioned by Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok.

Boesak said that Vlok had "not kept his word".

He said there were significant discrepancies between the number of detainees the Government claims have been released and those of human rights organisations.

"The only way this can be sorted out is if the Government releases all the names of detainees who have been freed," said Boesak.

The church leaders, representing among others the NG Sendingkerk, the Western Province Council of Churches, the Congregational, Methodist, Presbyterian and Anglican churches, condemned government plans to move hunger strike detainees to a hospital in Bloemfontein.

Exactly three months to the day the first detainee went on hunger strike in Johannesburg, hundreds of detainees have been released.

However, church leaders and several detainees who have since resumed their hunger strike, are still not satisfied that enough people have been released.

Springs churchmen ask council to rethink

Religion Reporter

Springs churchmen have asked the chairman of the town's Conservative Party-dominated management committee to reconsider the decision to close some public amenities to blacks.

The request is conveyed in a letter read to congregations of the signatories in church yesterday. Star 24/4/89

The letter was signed by priests and ministers of the Anglican, Methodist, Presbyterian and Catholic congregations.

The letter said it was "with a great deal of sadness and some concern that we read of your decision to close the use of the Verwoerd Theatre and Civic Centre to members of the black race group".

It continues to say that they noted when policy was formulated regarding sport on Sundays, the churches, as spiritual leaders, were approached for opinion.

"Yet when you decide to implement policy that is nowhere in line with the standards and norms of the Kingdom of God or scripture, you do so without consultation at all."

The letter says what is disturbing is that the policies evoked are in "direct opposition to scripture".

"We believe that your regulations have done nothing other than rebuild the wall of separation, thus causing hostility and enmity between God's people."

Vlok: More on Khotso bombing

Cape Times 26/4/89 28

POLICE are serious about solving cases of alleged terror from right-wing circles and were not "sitting with folded hands and doing nothing", the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said yesterday.

Speaking during the police vote in Parliament, Mr Vlok disclosed additional information about the bomb explosions at Khotso House, headquarters of the South African Council of Churches, Khanya House, headquarters of the Southern Africa Catholic Bishops' Conference, and Cosatu House.

He said one of the suspected Khotso House bombers had died on September 7 last year at the Northpark Plaza in Northcliff, Johannesburg, when a limpet mine he was allegedly laying exploded, apparently prematurely. The identity documents of the man, Mr Kgoro William Mabodja, had been found in the basement of Khotso House after the bombing, the minister said.

Police, Mr Vlok said, were still searching for two other suspected terrorists in the bombing, one of whom is Mr Khotso Chikane, whose documents and papers were found in one of the seriously damaged vehicles parked in the Khotso House basement.

Mr Vlok said police had repeatedly asked people who had received treatment in hospital after the explosion to contact them. Nobody had yet done so.

A special investigation team under the command of Major-General Joubert, deputy CID chief, which he had appointed last year, had brought interesting facts and information to light.

When this had been made known on January 10 this year, a flood of indignation had been let loose.

In regard to the controversy about a hole in the fence at Cosatu House, the police had established that this hole existed for a considerable time before the explosion and gave entrance only to the backyard, not the building itself.

"It also appears now that it was in reality an escape route in the case there were police raids on the building."

As far as the fire at Khanya House was concerned and the possible involvement of Mr Barend Strydom, the self-acknowledged leader of the so-called Wit Wolwe, Mr Vlok said he could not say more because of the sub-judice rule.

Regarding the killing of Mr Matthew Goniwe and others, a competent court had pronounced "that no member of the force had anything whatsoever to do with the killings", the minister said. — Political Staff, Sapa

Cape Times 29/8/89

Outcry over police raid on mosque

(28)

PRETORIA. — A storm has erupted in Pretoria's Muslim community over a drugs raid at a mosque.

Police have been accused of "blatantly disrespecting the most sacred Muslim month of Ramadan", following the raid on the mosque in Marabastad, Pretoria.

The raid was apparently carried out by members of the narcotics bureau after a tip-off that drugs were being hidden at the mosque.

"If this had happened in a Muslim country, there would have been killings," a mosque committee member, Mr Sikander Mahomed, said. He said police did not even remove their shoes when they entered the holy shrine on the corner of Mogul and Cowie Streets. — Sapa

Boesak urges churches to take initiative

(28) Argus 30/4/89.

CP Correspondent

CHURCHES in Southern Africa must help bring peace and stability to the region, the president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches (WARC), Rev Allan Boesak urged on Tuesday.

He was opening a three-day annual WARC conference in Blantyre in Malawi.

Referring to the political events in Angola and Namibia, he said churches should not "stand by the wayside and watch the events".

Boesak said churches represented the hope and demands of the people.

He said Southern Africa was torn by war and enmity and that churches could help create the right climate for reconciliation.

"The region needs more than relief work," said the 43-year-old spiritual leader, and called on churches to make people understand the events happening now, and prepare them for the future.

Rev Allan Boesak

On church relations in SA, Boesak lamented that the Dutch Reformed Church had not joined others in the fight against racial laws and said it still supported the Pretoria government.

"That much we know," he said – Ano.

are expected to appear in court soon.

Cape Times 11/5/89 (28)

UK bishops to visit SA

Archbishop Derek Worlock and Archbishop Derek Sheppard, from Liverpool, are to visit this country at the invitation of their counterparts here — Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Archbishop Stephen Naidoo. They will be in Cape Town on May 22 and stay for about a week.

Tutu takes SA peace plan to US

From DAVID BRAUN, The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — Archbishop Desmond Tutu leads a high-profile South African church delegation to the US next week with proposals for ways in which Americans can help peaceful negotiations in South Africa.

In spite of widespread expectations that the pro-sanctions lobby in America will use the visit to boost their campaign, there are indications that the clerymen may show flexibility on punitive measures, choosing instead to emphasis the need for peaceful negotiations and the creation of conditions to make them possible.

Archbishop Tutu, leader of the Anglican Church in South Africa, will be accompanied by the Reverends Beyers Naude, Frank Chikane and Allan Boesak.

Organisers of the visit said the four would unveil a new peace plan to bring an end to apartheid.

The plan will be revealed at a forum on Wednesday which will bring together members of Congress, governors, mayors, foundation heads, university presidents, and civil rights, business and media leaders.

The clergymen have an interview with American President George Bush, to present their proposals to him.

Mr Randall Robinson, director of TransAfrica, an African-American lobby on Africa and the Caribbean, organised the forum.

He said yesterday the plan by the four South Africans "provides us with an opportunity to engage all our political resources in the US to move the South African government towards negotiations that can lead to democracy".

"It is one final opportunity to avoid bloodshed."

SENATOR

Some of the prominent Americans who will be attending include Mr Herman Cohen, the new US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, senator Edward Kennedy, Mrs Coretta Scott King and Mr Jesse Jackson.

● It was reported from London that an Anglican bishop has resigned over a R800 000 loss incurred during the recent visit to Birmingham of Archbishop Tutu.

The Bishop of Aston, The Rt Rev Colin Buchanan, resigns immediately after 30 years in the church.

Archbishop Tutu had visited Birmingham as part of the city's centenary celebrations — but the crowds anticipated never materialised.

Russell to charge 'rude' police

ANGLICAN Bishop of Grahamstown Reverend David Russell is laying assault charges against the Ciskei security police after being "manhandled and sworn at" when he was ordered out of the "homeland".

Russell and a fellow minister were on their way on their way to attend a confirmation service, a healing service and mass in Thornhill, Ciskei, when they were stopped and ordered to leave the area.

Russell said the charges he laid against the security police were for their "offensive behaviour and words".

"I tried to explain that ... in terms of my obligations and Christian calling I was going to do services; nothing else but my work.

"We went to Whittlesea and stopped at a service station, where security police became rough and angry and manhandled us. They rushed us to the police station, where they were very aggressive and rude."

Security police then drove Russell to the South African "border" and told him to return to Grahamstown.

The next day Russell was allowed to conduct the confirmation service. — Ana

(28) (8) WMail 12-18/5/89

Washington Letter by SIMON BARBER

16/5/89

Cape Times

Will Tutu and Co get the point that sanctions do not work?

(28)

YET another new improved opinion survey is to be released here today showing that a majority of black South Africans oppose sanctions and disinvestment. Two cheers.

We will be told that this is the most thorough poll of its kind ever made and that infinite care was taken to conduct it in such a way that all the usual criticisms would disintegrate in the face of its perfection: the interviews were of unprecedented length and scope, any fear respondents might have had to make them less than candid was reduced irreducibly, the questions themselves were state of the art in their quest for objective truth and so on.

This may well be, but it is also beside the point. What rank and file black South Africans actually think on any issue is thoroughly immaterial. If they say that unemployment is their principal concern, and they do, that is because they have a selfish interest in feeding themselves and their families in utter disregard for the livelihood of the intellectuals and not-so-intellectuals who purport to represent them overseas.

Timing

Now you could, of course, argue that surveys of this nature permit voices to be heard that would otherwise not be. Alas, that rather depends on who is listening. In this case, the poll has guaranteed itself a less than functional audience. The problem lies not in its scrupulousness — that, at least, seems beyond reproach — but in its sponsorship and the timing of its release.

The thing was paid for by the South African Chamber of Mines, which surely will not take umbrage if told that it is not an institution that can boast much credibility among those whose minds must be changed on sanctions and disinvestment. As for timing, the sponsors could hardly have laid themselves more open to a charge of cheap political trickery had they tried.

The release has been deliberately hurried to coincide with the arrival in Washington of Archbishop Desmond Tutu. Tutu plus The Reverends Allan Boesak, Beyers Naude and Frank Chikane are to unveil a "new plan" for ending apartheid at a Capitol Hill forum tomorrow.

So the chamber had the wheeze of having the poll hit the newspaper headlines the same day. There is a word for this. It is "cute". And while cute may look swell back at head office, here it simply does not play.

Tutu and his fellow sanctioneers will say the following. One, what do you expect a poll conducted by white mine owners to conclude? Two, we are no longer advocating sanctions and disinvestment, we are asking a dozen or so banks not to extend or roll over any form of credit. Three, no one asked the masses what they thought of that.

All of which, in a serious discussion, would be laughed out of court. But Tutu is a man of God, a Nobel prize-winner and a representative of the oppressed. Therefore whatever tripe he chooses pipingly to utter must be treated as received wisdom. Thus does the West infantilise the Third World and its spokesmen.

If the sanctions and disinvestment campaign is to wither before it has succeeded in turning South Africa into Albania, it will do so as the result of quiet reflection by the politicians and policy-makers who have been swept up in it, not because of flashy clever-boy attempts to discredit men like Tutu. Beating up on the archbishop only exacerbates the shrillness of the "debate" so that it drowns out the real signals that are coming from South Africa.

Vibrations

The latest poll is just one of those signals and had it been released without trumpets. the better might it have been heard and acted upon. Capitol Hill is already picking up other vibrations, which is part (albeit a small one) of the reason no one in a position to know up there predicts any rush to legislate again this year.

What people like Senator Paul Simon, chairman of the Senate Africa subcommittee and currently the sanctioneers' designated ball-carrier, are hearing is this: talk loudly and make like you're carrying a big stick, but don't use it.

The Mass Democratic Movement (if we must call it that) has been trying for some time to warn American and European activists that they are going too far, but the warnings, of necessity somewhat subtle and convoluted, have generally been ignored by those, like transAfrica's Randall Robinson, who make their livings in the game.

Last year, for example, a fairly radical Canadian publication called Southern Africa Report printed a biting attack on two New York-based activists, Jim Cason and Mike Fleshman, who had complained in a previous issue that "ambivalence" inside South Africa after the passage of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act was ruining their fun. "Cosatu's increasingly ambivalent attitude towards corporate withdrawal," they wrote, "is undermining the divestment movement — by far the most important and successful anti-apartheid campaign in the US."

Rebuttal

The author of the rebuttal was a black South African well-placed within the MDM writing pseudonymously under the byline of Geoffrey Spaulding. Here is a flavour of what he had to say:

"It is true that some in South Africa, most notably church leaders, have on occasion presented sanctions ... As an alternative to other forms of political struggle. But this is not common, and indeed most North American activists would, if asked, endorse the sentiments expressed last year by Richard Trumka, United Mineworkers of America president and US Shell Boycott chairman: "Sanctions alone cannot eradicate apartheid; that task is ultimately left to the people of South Africa themselves. Economic pressure can only hasten the day."

Ritual nod

"Nevertheless one sometimes has the sense, from US activists, that this is little more than a ritual nod to self-determination for South Africans. Hidden behind this is the notion that what is really needed to do the trick is American power. A shared view of the omnipotence and justice of American foreign policy in sorting out other countries' conflicts is found among many Americans who differ only over which side of the conflict should be the lucky beneficiary.

"In the anti-apartheid arena, this is reflected in the prioritising of US sanctions/disinvestment campaigns over the strategic needs and choices of South African organisations. Hence (Cason and Fleshman's) attack on the trade unions in effect for failing to adapt their sanctions policy to the needs of the US campaigns."

In a follow-up article, "Spaulding" discussed how outside activists might better use their energies. Principally, he pleaded with them to recognise "we are now in a new period" in which the prescriptions of the CAAA and its successor, the Dellums Bill, were no longer as valid as they had been "in the days of optimism — 1984-86".

"International strategy at this stage therefore demands supporting the rebuilding of organisations inside South Africa, not helping undermine them — as sanctions would appear to do. This may require a basic reorientation on the part of sanctions campaigns ... Towards more "positive" measures to assist the rebuilding process."

PAUL SIMON ... "Carry a big stick, but don't use it."

BEYERS NAUDE ... "New plan to end apartheid".

Adopted

"Spaulding" observed that such measures "are increasingly being adopted by foreign corporations", and suggested, though in a very roundabout way, that groups like the Interfaith Centre on Corporate Responsibility, which have spearheaded disinvestment, might try to "engage with (the companies) more positively in an effort to ensure that corporate actions are as appropriately oriented as possible", instead of simply pressuring them to leave.

It will be interesting to see whether Tutu, as one of the church leaders "Spaulding" criticises for their obsession with sanctions, has hauled aboard the point. If he has not, the net effect of his visit will be to muffle yet further those for whom the world has anointed him to speak.

Negotiation main issue, Tutu group tells US forum

ARGUS 17/5/89 (28)

From DAVID BRAUN, The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — If the South African government could be pressured without sanctions then so much the better, a delegation of South African churchmen under the leadership of Archbishop Desmond Tutu told a meeting of prominent Americans here.

The methods which were used to put pressure on the South African government were secondary to the main issue, which was to get to the negotiating table, they told about 90 Senators, congressmen, academic, business and labour leaders at a special forum on South Africa.

"However, the methods which you use to put pressure on the South African government are secondary to the main issue, which is to get to the negotiating table. If it can be done without sanctions, so much the better."

The fourth member of the delegation, the Rev Frank Chikane was so ill yesterday that it was feared he would be obliged to withdraw from a series of functions he was to attend in Washington.

Mr Chikane arrived in the US before the rest of the delegation topvisit his wife who is studying in Wisconsin. According to the church group, he collapsed and was "not at all well".

Bishop Tutu was accompanied by former South African Council of Churches general secretary the Rev Beyers Naude and the moderator of the Ned Geref Sendingkerk, Dr Allan Boesak.

The delegation was expected to meet President Bush later today.

In their statement at the forum they called on the US to support the struggle for freedom and democracy in South Africa.

Convinced

The church leaders said they remained convinced the South African government would not be brought to the negotiating table without pressure. The time was therefore not appropriate to lift the campaign to exert such pressure.

The statement said: "At present, there is a new emphasis on the ways in which financial sanctions in particular could achieve that aim.

KENNEDY CLAN: Archbishop Desmond Tutu and the Rev Allan Boesak share a laugh with Senator Edward Kennedy on their arrival for dinner at the senator's home in McLean, Virginia. The South Africans are in the United States to meet congressional, business, academic and labour leaders.

Cape Times 19/5/89 (28)

Bush 'open', says Tutu

WASHINGTON. — Nobel laureate Archbishop Desmond Tutu urged President George Bush yesterday to "take the moral leadership" toward ending South Africa's apartheid policies and said he was enouraged that Mr Bush had a "warm openness" to that cause.

"We do not want to be overly optimistic," Archbishop Tutu told reporters, adding that he had been impressed that Mr Bush appeared to genuinely abhor apartheid, that he wanted to be "a catalyst for change" and "a positive influence".

Archbishop Tutu and two other anti-apartheid leaders, the Rev Allan Boesak and the Rev Beyers Naude, who briefly met Mr Bush at the White House yesterday, did not give details of their conversation. Archbishop Tutu indicated, however, that they did not ask for specific initiatives other than that Mr Bush should urge Pretoria to negotiate with its opposition.

"We said we wanted to help the United States to take the moral leadership of the world in helping to end apartheid and bringing the South African government to the negotiating table, which is our primary aim," he said.

Although the White House said a day earlier that Mr Bush did not intend to back further sanctions against Pretoria, the leaders were upbeat after the meeting.

"I think there is a very warm openness and we think the door stands ajar. No door has been slammed in our face," Archbishop Tutu said.

The meeting itself was seen as a small victory for the anti-apartheid activists.

Dr Boesak said that under former president Mr Ronald Reagan, whose anti-sanctions veto was overridden by Congress, "we had the idea that here was a position that was taken and there was no further possibility of even discussing the issue. Here we have a feeling that the president has not closed his mind to any possibility of how he could best be helpful in the South African situaion". — Sapa-Reuter

Church plans protest in CP town

28 Religion Reporter Star 19/5/89

A confrontation appears to be looming in Springs between the Presbyterian Church and the Conservative Party-controlled town council.

The Rev Martin Young of St Michael's Presbyterian Church says the town council is behind a police investigation into mixed worship in the church, which is in the centre of town.

Now he has announced that the entire congregation of the Presbyterian church in the neighbouring township of kwaThema will join his "white" church for communion on June 4.

St Michael's was this week the subject of an "informal inquiry" by the police after a complaint — from the town council, says Mr Young — that blacks and whites worship together there.

East Rand police liaison officer Lieutenant Willie Meyer confirmed an inquiry had been completed but said no charges had been laid against the Presbyterian Church or Mr Young.

But Mr Young said the inquiry centred on blacks and whites worshipping together and whether they needed a permit to do so.

He said it was launched at the instigation of "a Mr van Vuuren on behalf of the town council".

He was told by the investigating officer that no permit was needed for mixed worship.

The church would go ahead as before despite the incident and would "certainly not" apply for a permit for the June 4 joint communion service.

Mr Gert Parsons, chairman of the town council's management committee, said he was not aware of any inquiry and refused to comment on the council's policy regarding people of all races praying together.

The press liaison officer for the town council said there was no Mr van Vuuren on the town council and said he was not aware of an inquiry.

Churchmen call for US finance pressure

BY MARLENE STANGER
In Washington

SOUTH African church leaders Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Reverend Allan Boesak and Reverend Beyers Naude this week called on the United States government to exert strong economic pressure on South Africa to bring the government to the negotiating table.

"The pressure of financial sanctions is crucial as a means of ending apartheid," Tutu told delegates to the American Forum on South Africa in Washington on Wednesday.

The forum was organised by the Washington-based anti-apartheid organisation, TransAfrica, and hosted by senators Edward Kennedy and Paul Simon and congressmen Ronald Dellums and Howard Wolpe.

Its aim was to inform the Bush administration of "the true picture of where the South African majority stands vis-a-vis economic sanctions and how the US can help achieve a peaceful settlement in South Africa".

Boesak told delegates that he had not come to offer an indictment of the South African government. "If SA was a democratic country, if everyone had the right to vote, if there was freedom of speech and expression, if our leadership was not banned or in prison, and if organisations opposed to apartheid were not banned, the South African government in its present form would not exist.

"The fact that it does is its own indictment," noted Boesak.

He stressed the vital role the US could play in averting a "catastrophe" in South Africa by "taking the sanctions package that it has and rigorously applying it to South Africa".

Like Tutu, he emphasised that sanctions were not an end in themselves, but an important means to the abolition of apartheid.

In addition to the limited sanctions imposed in 1986, he listed air links, coal, gold and oil as important elements of any sanctions package, and urged the US to encourage South Africa's major trading partners, notably Japan, Germany and the United Kingdom, to apply sanctions as well.

Naude spoke about the South African economy and told delegates that unemployment was an issue in South Africa long before mention was made of sanctions.

Unless apartheid was abandoned, economic growth was virtually impossible, he added.

Naude noted that the proposed meeting between FW de Klerk, Margaret Thatcher and George Bush would "once again fool and mislead the business community and outside world that new directions towards reform were being taken". This was not the case, he said.

The resignation of cabinet ministers Chris Heunis and Stoffel Botha indicated tensions within the National Party, he said, but the current leadership lacked vision.

"Until they accept the unpalatable truth that you cannot have a separate but equal political policy in a country that is geographically and economically integrated, they will have no peace."

Naude said the US was in a better position than any other country to play a decisive role in helping the people of South Africa achieve their political goals. Thatcher's offer to act as a peace-broker was of limited significance, as she had little credibility.

Tutu told delegates that if apartheid could be ended without sanctions, "I would be the first to shout 'I agree'". However, pressures applied by the US, especially the pressure of economic sanctions, were proving to be effective, he said.

"We believe Namibian independence could be achieved because sanctions made it increasingly difficult to finance the war in Angola."

Tutu repeatedly stressed that sanctions should not be treated as a punitive measure against South Africa but as a conditional strategy aimed at achieving peaceful negotiations.

Tutu said that the message of sanctions should be extended to the international community, including international bankers and financial institutions. If South Africa wanted loans, for example, various conditions should be met: the lifting of the state of emergency, the release of all political prisoners, allowing exiles to return home, and the unbanning of political organisations.

(28)

Weekend 19-25/5/89

Rash of anti-Tutu posters in city

Argus 19/5/89

By REHANA ROSSOUW, Staff Reporter

DOZENS of posters discrediting Archbishop Tutu have been put up in the centre of Cape Town and in some suburbs.

Headed "For God's sake listen" in red, they were pasted up near stations along the suburban line and walls and windows in the centre of town.

The poster claimed that the archbishop was "killing our children" and said "stop calling for sanctions".

PROTEST LETTERS

It invites people to send protest letters to Archbishop Tutu and gives his Bishopscourt address.

The glossy posters do not bear an imprint publishing the name of the organisation which issued it, or the printer.

Some of the posters have been pasted up with red stickers saying "Tutu help build South Africa — don't destroy our future".

Archbishop Tutu met President George Bush in Washington yesterday, where he is heading a delegation of South African church leaders who are calling for selective sanctions.

● See page 3.

CHURCH LEADERS MISSION A SUCCESS

by DAVID BRAUN, Weekend Argus Foreign Service in Washington

RCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu could leave the US in a happy mood this week, having put yet A another successful diplomatic mission behind him.

The Bishop and his fellow church leaders who accompanied him, the Rev Beyers Naude and the Rev Allan Boesak, enjoyed the kind of attention and access to American power that the South African government can only dream about.

Ironically, though, their visit might have cleared the way for an invitation to the leader of the National Party, Mr F W de Klerk, to come to Washington for top-level meetings.

Anti-apartheid activists in America had demanded President Bush meet with the church leaders before meeting with Mr De Klerk.

ISHOP Tutu did not shoot down a Bush-De B Klerk meeting, provided the South African government offered something by way of a *quid pro quo*.

From all accounts, the church delegation successfully nudged the Bush Administration closer to the position of the Democrat-controlled Congress on South Africa, while stiffening the resolve of several legislators on Capitol Hill.

The Administration is still reviewing its policy towards South Africa, so the clerics' visit could not have been timed better.

They won a commitment from the President himself to act as a catalyst for change in South Africa, and they got the new US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr Herman Cohen, to state publicly that both the President and the Secretary of State, Mr Jim Baker, were very, very angry with what was happening in South Africa.

R Cohen said the President and the Secretary M wanted a bipartisan approach on South Africa, which was why he had attended a forum organised by TransAfrica, and which included a large number of Democratic lawmakers seeking public support for legislation to impose comprehensive sanctions on South Africa.

TransAfrica, an African and Caribbean lobby, was the primary force behind the mass demonstrations outside the South Africa Embassy a few years ago, and it has claimed credit for the 1986 Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act, which introduced some economic sanctions on South Africa.

In certain respects, the Tutu delegation expressed views in Washington which were between those of the Bush Administration and TransAfrica/Democratic Party.

Whereas the White House released a statement during their visit that Mr Bush remained opposed to sanctions, it was evident during the forum that many of the Democratic legislators wanted comprehensive sanctions against South Africa.

HE church leaders asked for selected financial T sanctions: no extension of credit for South Africa on its foreign loans, a ban on its gold and coal exports, a ban on oil imports and a severance of South Africa's international air links.

Bishop Tutu seemed to take the most moderate line of the three on sanctions, several times saying he was not obsessed by sanctions, and that they should not be seen as punitive measures.

The Bishop also implied pressure on South Africa could be positive as well as negative, interrupting forum discussions at one stage to say it was not only a matter of telling Pretoria no more loans, but rather of saying South Africa would get loans if it did certain things.

Positive and negative pressure is something the Administration is currently considering.

If the Congress could be persuaded to opt for one or two selective sanctions, it is not inconceivable the Administration would follow suit.

HE new American policy could well be a T tougher line on Pretoria, but with room to hand out a few rewards for concessions.

The first test for Pretoria in this regard will be the anniversary of the state of emergency on June 10.

If the emergency is not renewed, Mr De Klerk could be a guest in the Oval Office.

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Tutu unhurt by sanctions survey

TWO important events influenced the debate on South African sanctions in the American capital this week: the visit of the Tutu delegation to drum up support for more measures, and the Chamber of Mines survey which found an overwhelming majority of South Africans were opposed to sanctions.

The Chamber spent a lot of money to release its fascinating study at a simultaneous Press conference in Washington and Johannesburg —the two connected by satellite-relayed closed circuit television.

It made no secret of the fact that it deliberately timed the release of the study for the eve of Archbishop Desmond Tutu's arrival, arguing that it could have just as easily been criticised for releasing it after the church delegation had been to Washington, when it no longer had the opportunity to respond to its findings.

In the event, Bishop Tutu and his colleagues didn't have to worry about the survey. The mainstream US media showed almost no interest in it, and most of the major newspapers did not bother to attend the Chamber's Press conference, let alone publish a report on it.

AT Bishop Tutu's own Press conference, on the first full day he was in Washington, hordes of media people jostled to film and photograph America's favourite South African hero. Journalists asked him dozens of questions, but no one asked about the Chamber's sanctions survey — or at least no one who wanted to ask Bishop Tutu about it had the opportunity to do so.

THE DELEGATION SEEKING SANCTIONS

THE AMERICAN SCENE

W/E ARGUS 20/5/89

by DAVID BRAUN, Weekend Argus Foreign Service in Washington

28

It was as if there were two different worlds — that of the majority of South Africans who clearly did not want sanctions, and that of Bishop Tutu and the American media, who do not hear the South African vox populi because they do not want to listen.

Bishop Tutu referred to the voice of the people when he addressed about 90 influential Americans at a forum on South Africa on Capitol Hill.

The forum, arranged by TransAfrica, a lobby passionately in favour of comprehensive sanctions, was held in a magnificent Senate caucus room, with vaulting marble pillars holding a ceiling over what looked to be at least a double-volume hall.

The Bishop told his audience that were it to hear the combined voice out of the thousands of grateful throats whom he and his fellow clerics represented there, the ceiling would be blown off.

At that the Americans gave him a standing ovation — or was it for themselves?

THE forum more or less decided the best strategy against South Africa would be to impose selected financial sanctions on Pretoria, specifically on air links, rolling over South Africa's foreign debts, coal and gold exports and oil imports.

Bishop Tutu stressed the sanctions were not to be seen as punitive measures. They had been very carefully selected as pressure points to force the South African government to the negotiating table, he said.

Dr Allan Boesak was of the opinion that if the sanctions were properly applied, in a co-ordinated multilateral effort, he could not conceive of a situation where the South African government would not succumb to the pressure.

Nobody mentioned the tens of thousands of coal and gold miners, most of them black, who stood to lose their jobs and their families' livelihoods in this experiment.

The Chamber of Mines admitted that the 1986 wave of sanctions applied by the US cost 8 000 coal miners their jobs.

The type of sanctions the men of the cloth are now talking about could destroy ten times as many jobs.

THE Gallup opinion poll of all South Africans, the most comprehensive and reliable study ever undertaken on the issue, found a large majority of people were scared of losing their jobs because of sanctions. A majority rejected sanctions even if other people lost their jobs.

A majority of blacks and whites rejected sanctions even if they could be sure such measures would force the South African government to step down in five years.

But none of this mattered in the lofty halls of Congress this week.

'We want negotiation, not sanctions' — Tutu

By KAREN STANDER
Religion Reporter

INTERVIEW

AMERICA'S role in applying pressure on the South African government to begin genuine negotiations was critical, according to Archbishop Desmond Tutu who has returned to Cape Town from the United States.

The Anglican leader also discussed in an exclusive interview the change in tactics on sanctions adopted by a delegation of top South African churchmen who visited Washington last week.

And he speculated on how United Democratic Front President Mrs Albertina Sisulu came to be invited to Washington. He also spoke about the delegation's meeting with President George Bush.

Observers noted a change in emphasis in the message delivered at a special forum on South Africa by the church delegation, which included NG Sendingkerk moderator Dr Allan Boesak and former SA Council of Churches general secretary the Rev Beyers Naude.

The clerics said the pressures put on the South African government were secondary to getting it to the negotiating table. If the government could be pressured without sanctions, so much the better.

Archbishop Tutu said he had been guided by the position adopted last month by his church's synod of bishops.

The bishops called for "carefully selected and specifically targeted" sanctions, singling out the refusal of landing rights to South African Airways, coupled with an agreement by major airlines not to use South African airports, and the refusal of international banks to "roll over" South Africa's loans.

Archbishop Tutu said it was important that he and his fellow bishops now moved together.

"They specifically said targeted. They didn't say *exclusively* (targeted sanctions), but I didn't even want to go beyond the examples they had given me, the financial sanctions and the landing rights."

There had been no softening of his position, he said.

"I have always said I want effective sanctions. It is not a softening because now we are saying here are sanctions that will work, or their chances of working are much higher, the financial sanctions especially.

"We are stressing that it is not sanctions we are after, it is negotiations, genuine negotiations. And if those come about without the imposition of further sanctions, then well and good, we would welcome it."

He believed Mrs Sisulu's invitation was influenced by Senator David Boren, the conservative Democrat chairman of the Senate select committee on intelligence, who "had the ear" of President Bush.

During a vist by Senator Boren and Senator Sam Nun to South Africa last year they had met President P W Botha and were "livid" over the way he had treated them.

"They told me he (President Botha) was the best recruiting officer for sanctions.

"They told me about the extordinary interview and (it was) through this treatment that they realised it was important for them to do what they could to change the situation.

"David Boren especially was very deeply impressed with his interview with Mrs Sisulu. He said the way she spoke about the children, without any bitterness, was one of the most moving things he'd heard.

"It is a matter of record that when he returned to the US he spent an hour-and-a-half with President Bush and the president asked him to keep a watching brief on SA affairs. They subsequently had a two-hour meeting, and that is quite remarkable because President Bush has been giving 15 to 20-minute interviews only.

"Now if David Boren has the ear of the president and if he was so impressed with Mrs Sisulu, it seems reasonable to suppose he suggested it would be a good thing to invite her."

Archbishop Tutu said President Bush asked the delegation for their opinion of National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk. They said they had not met him but suggested that a visit by Mr de Klerk to Washington should be conditional on a move such as the lifting of the state of emergency.

US secretary of state Mr James Baker had made it clear in a meeting with the churchmen that the Bush administration intended to have a policy quite different from that of the previous administration.

"They don't want to be seen to have a policy of benign indifference. They want to be a positive catalyst."

Washington Letter by SIMON BARBER

Cape Times 23/5/89

Bringing SA to negotiation table has become the highest priority

JOSEPH HANLON is a researcher doing spadework for the new sanctions strategy Commonwealth heads of government are to discuss in Kuala Lumpur later this year. He clearly has a well developed sense of mission. His problem is that many of those he feels should be grateful for his labours are starting to thwart him. The ingrates!

One such is President Joaquim Chissano, whose views on socialism, South Africa and sanctions have ceased to be exactly congruent with Hanlon's. Chissano has strayed beyond what he is permitted to think by the anti-apartheid movement. This has obliged the researcher to call him an expedient liar.

"We must accept that Frelimo has been forced into duplicity by the World Bank and the United States, saying publicly that economic restructuring is good, when plainly it is not," writes Hanlon in the current issue of Canada-based Southern Africa Report.

"Similarly, we know Pretoria wants cringing statements on sanctions. If Frelimo feels that such duplicity will save the lives of tens of thousands of Mozambicans, we should accept that judgment. But I think Frelimo will also expect us ... to continue the fi ht for sanctions."

Dr Allan Boesak

President Chissano

their message to the US Congress and administration:

"The methods which you use to put pressure on the South African Government are secondary to the main issue, which is to get it the negotiating table. If it can be done without sanctions, so much the better. Nevertheless, we reiterate that we remain totally convinced that the South African Government will not be brought to the negotiating table without pressure and therefore the time is not appropriate to lift the campaign to exert such pressure."

That is what the clergymen said in writing. Orally, and perhaps in part to please their audiences, they were considerably more vehement, Boesak in particular, in their calls for specific sanctions, or comprehensive sanctions and disinvestment.

The latter approach has been a blessing for US politicians and activists in that it has provided a set of simple-minded objectives (the passage of legislation, the badgering of corporations and the coercion of college authorities to sell "tainted" stock, for example) and a stick to beat up anyone who tries, for whatever reason, to stand in the way. In short, it has turned common sense and an empirical appreciation of how things work into "racism" and "immorality".

It has also distracted South Africans on all sides from what actually needs to be done. For example, South Africa might be a lot better off if the Chamber of Mines stopped trying to persuade the rest of the world that the majority seen over here as irrefutable testimony that sanctions are hurting the right people.

Secondly, the poll demonstrates something quite other than what its sponsors obviously intended. This is that when the State and a small number of giant corporations have their population by the short hairs, socially, politically and economically, most people's priority is simply to stay alive and protect what they have.

That priority must be respected, of course, but what must not be overlooked, which often is, is that the majority desperately wants to be in a position to have other priorities

Not alone

The only way that position is going to be reached is through negotiation in which all sides start out with a minimum of respect for each others' viewpoints Last week, I found myself having a lot more respect for Tutu's views as gantly elephantine effort to show the Archbishop up The Chamber was still focusing on the means as if they were the end Tutu, as noted above, had moved on.

The Chamber is not alone in being left behind. At last Wednesday's Capitol Hill love-in for Tutu, Boesak and The Rev Beyers Naude, maximalist sanctioneers like Congressman Ron Dellums also found themselves in the lurch. Boesak publicly told him that his comprehensive sanctions bill was no longer needed because no one thought it would pass and its threat had therefore ceased to be credible.

Dellums was quite put out, especially when Senator Edward Kennedy, of all people, sat on him as well

Boesak continued that if they were to be new sanctions, which itself would depend on the South African Government's readiness to move to the negotiating table, they should instead be "[illegible]" rescheduling of debt. For good measure, Tutu interjected that any new sanction should not be "punitive", a Talmudic distinction perhaps, but also a clear dismissal of the Dellums blunderbuss approach.

Benediction

Another sanctioneer put in his place was David Dinkins, Manhattan borough president. A New York mayoral candidate, he has been attempting to win votes by calling for the expansion of the city's selective purchasing law to deny contracts to companies that maintain non-equity ties with South Africa even though they have pulled out. This would hit IBM, for example.

Dinkins asked for Boesak's benediction, but did not get it quite as fulsomely as he might have hoped. "Disinvestment is a second-tier strategy," he was told, somewhat dismissively. By contrast, Tutu urged his listeners to "invest in" black South Afri-

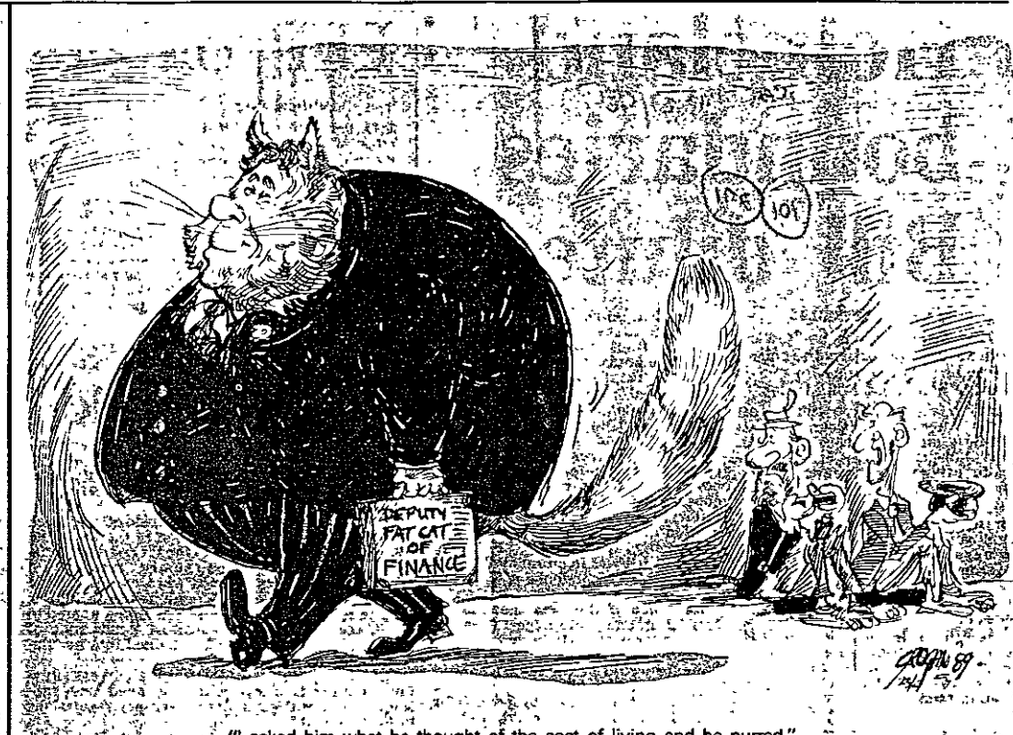
All this was very good news for the Bush administration as well as the moderate majority of Democrats and Republicans in Congress, all of whom have come to the conclusion that it is time to speak with one voice on South Africa and elevate the debate above the coils of domestic racial politics. By stressing that the end, not the means, is what counts, Tutu and Boesak contributed to a workable script.

That script calls for, among other things, Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Herman Cohen to repudiate President Reagan's policy and to declare that Bush and his Secretary of State are "very, very angry with what they see happening in South Africa" Bush will make a point, as he is already doing, of seeing a broad cross-section of South African leaders. A non-binding condemnatory vote or two at the UN may be required Certainly, there will a high-

the possibility — of financial sanctions.

Its bona fides thus established, the administration will then, with the help of Democratic Party intermediaries such as Senator David Boren, chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee, work to make the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act a more flexible tool for promoting negotiation. This would include the possibility of "ratcheting down" pressures, as Boren put it last week, as well as ratcheting them up

The deal between the White House and Congress, if it gels, will make a lot more sense for South Africa than what has gone before, but it will be fragile. Whether it holds and produces anything useful will depend very much on Pretoria and, in particular, on FW de Klerk living up to his early notices What should also be remembered is that Tutu, Boesak and other similar if quieter voices, not



"I asked him what he thought of the cost of living and he purred."

the lives of tens of thousands of Mozambicans, we should accept that judgment. But I think Frelimo will also expect us ... to continue the fight for sanctions."

Decisions

Can't have mere Africans disturbing our circles, now can we? Dear me, no. If they take decisions that interfere with our own agendas, we'll just have to say the poor dears are either dissembling or incapable of thinking for themselves. Or so, effectively, maintains the egregious Hanlon.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu and The Rev Allan Boesak have yet to step off the reservation quite as dramatically as Chissano, but in their visit here last week they left no doubt they were inching just a little too close to the fence for the comfort of Hanlon and his ilk. Here is the nub of in part to please their audiences, they were considerably more vehement, Boesak in particular, in their calls for specific sanctions on foreign credit, gold, coal and oil.

In a corner

Nonetheless, their overall presentation was as "new" — to American ears, at least — as its advance billing suggested it would be.

It was the first time in many years that any South African of Tutu's and Boesak's foreign standing had made a proposal that does not back the US administration and other responsible Western governments into a corner. This is because the proposal was couched in terms of achieving a reasonable end — negotiations — rather than as a demand for the application of irresponsible means — needs to be done. For example, South Africa might be a lot better off if the Chamber of Mines stopped trying to persuade the rest of the world that the majority of blacks don't want sanctions and put more effort into pressing for what blacks actually do want, which is first class citizenship, economic opportunity and the right to express their opinions in a polling booth rather than to a pollster.

Repugnant

Let me note in passing how repugnant, not to mention childishly counterproductive, I found the manner in which the Chamber released its new Gallup survey last week. However compelling the data, the fact remains that the spectacle of white mine-owners spending lots of money to generate evidence that backs their cause is tiation in which all sides start out with a minimum of respect for each others' viewpoints. Last week, I found myself having a lot more respect for Tutu's views, as modified, than for the Chamber with its arro- sanctions, which itself would depend on the South African Government's readiness to move to the negotiating table, "they should instead be "incremental", starting perhaps with a threat to obstruct the ment is a second-tier strategy," he was told, somewhat dismissively. By contrast, Tutu urged his listeners to "invest in" black South Africans, though there is still some dispute as to exactly what he meant. cross-section of South African leaders. A non-binding condemnatory vote or two at the UN may be required. Certainly, there will a high-profile effort to rally allied support behind the possibility — and I stress on FW de Klerk living up to his early notices. What should also be remembered is that Tutu, Boesak and other similar if quieter voices, not only have helped make it possible but can help undo it as well.

LETTERS Box 11 CAPE TOWN 8000

Squatters merit support

From ANDREW MacDONALD (Rondebosch):

AS SOMEONE living in relatively comfortable conditions, I condemn the victimisation of the Noordhoek squatter community (Cape Times, 8 May) and the failure of the authorities to improve the sanitary conditions.

This conduct is one example of so many cases which destroy respect for the authorities, Government and police, and are a major cause of bitterness.

I hope your paper will follow this case, to support these people struggling to survive in harsh conditions.

BA degrees broaden students' view of life

From DANIEL SILKE (Sea Point):

AS a social science Masters student (Political Studies), I was distressed to read the letter from Patricia McMagh (Cape Times, May 8, "University is not a country club").

Ms McMagh seems to suggest that (a) only school leavers interested in a select group of professions such as engineering or science should be enti-

the world but more specifically, they break down the stereotype that most first-year students have as their cultural baggage from a grossly inadequate schooling system. This is the considerable value to the wider South Africa that is clearly needed in our troubled society.

Fourthly, Ms McMagh should take note of the American university system. There, in many cases, it is mandatory

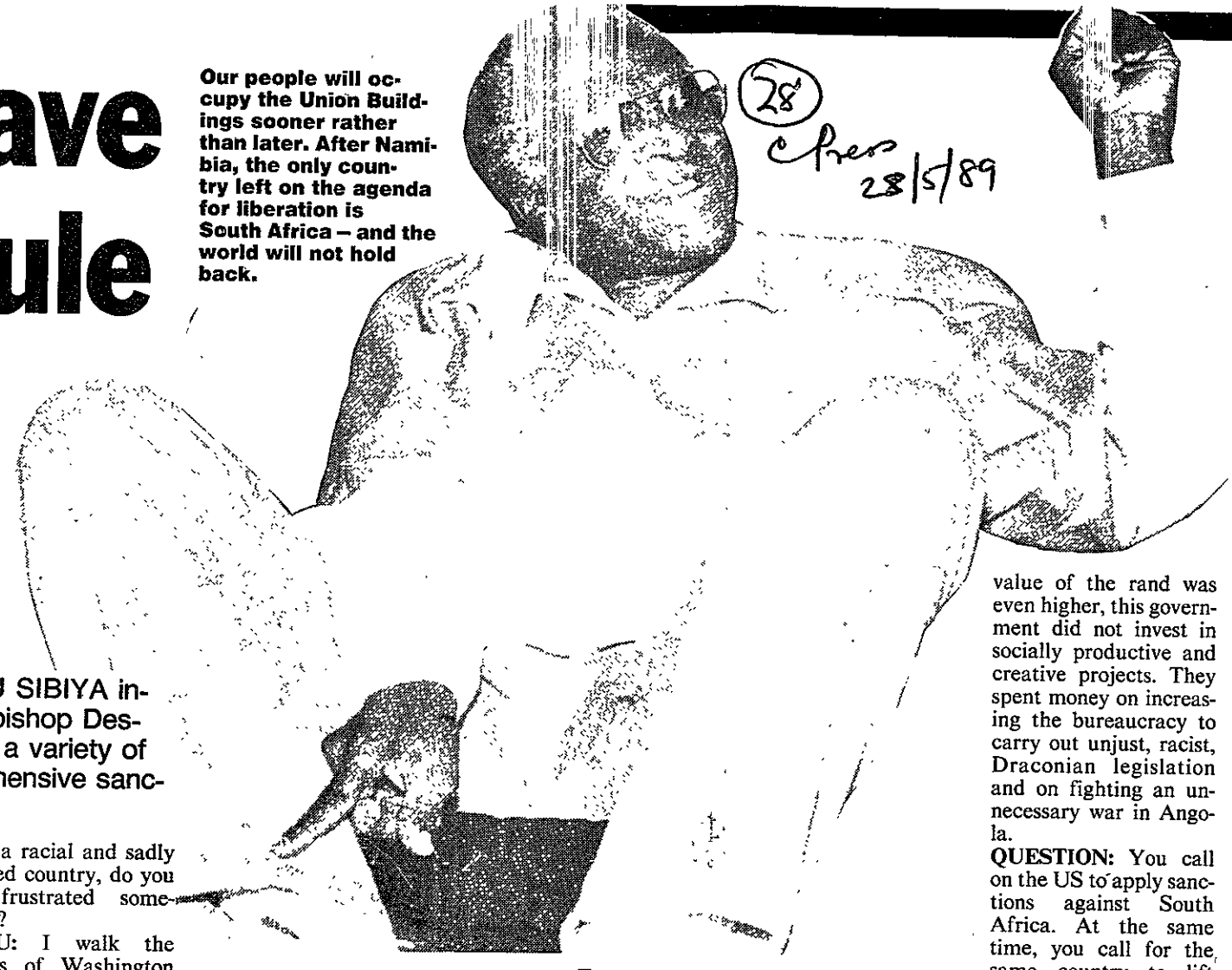
SA needs to put right the wrongs of the past

From JAMES V THACKWRAY (Kenilworth):

THE frightening increase in our inflation rate, now in excess of

We will have majority rule in SA, says Tutu

Our people will occupy the Union Buildings sooner rather than later. After Namibia, the only country left on the agenda for liberation is South Africa – and the world will not hold back.



■ Pic: ANDRIES MCINEKA

28 Press 28/5/89

World support for the struggle for a just South Africa

City Press Editor KHULU SIBIYA interviewed Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu this week on a variety of issues, including comprehensive sanctions and disinvestment.

QUESTION: Archbishop Tutu, you are probably one of the most recognisable people in the world today, whether people agree or disagree with your views. Is it because you are a religious and a political leader.

TUTU: I have never understood why people have a problem with religion when it speaks about the whole of life.

Privileged people accuse religious leaders, who condemn the status quo from which they benefit, of interfering in politics. I have not yet been accused of being political by the oppressed, the poor and the hungry. If anything, they will say the church is not political enough.

I have no political ambitions whatsoever.

QUESTION: Do you think people in this country accord you the same respect as you get in other countries.

TUTU: I get a lot of respect from a very large part of the population of South Africa: the black community and a small part of the white community.

In terms of the authorities in this country, no. They do all they can to vilify, denigrate and discredit me. In a sense their attitude is a very good barometer of the effectiveness of what we are doing.

It is good because it reminds me very forcibly that I belong with the oppressed.

We are told there are people who are animals and not human beings. I too am thought of in that way. I experience the pain of being humiliated because as a black person I know a white child has more rights than us.

QUESTION: As a leader in a racial and sadly divided country, do you get frustrated sometimes?

TUTU: I walk the streets of Washington and people stop me and say we support you and pray for you.

They are not paying tribute to Desmond Tutu, but I am representative. The world supports our struggle for a just, non-racial and democratic South Africa. They pay tribute to all who are involved, black and white.

I'm sustained by the fact of acceptance in the black community – that I know the people are with me.

QUESTION: What are you going to do about what Barend Strydom said in court – that you and Dr Allan Boesak should be killed.

TUTU: There's not a great deal that you can do to protect yourself against people of that kind.

Obviously you try to take precautions and don't do unnecessary things, like standing at an open window at night with the lights on, but you can't go about apprehensively.

QUESTION: You have been accused of having no mandate from the people to call for sanctions and disinvestment. The latest Gallup Poll, commissioned by the Chamber of Commerce, says at least 86 percent of blacks and whites in South Africa are against sanctions and disinvestment. Your comment please?

TUTU: Only two years ago a poll appeared in the London *Sunday Times* which said 70 percent of blacks supported sanctions. Yet it was not taken seriously.

The way questions are put affects the way they will be answered. If you tell people they will lose their jobs if sanctions are introduced, only a crazy man will support them, but when you say sanctions are necessary to end apartheid many will say yes.

I have never said I am speaking for other people when I call for sanctions, not even my church. It is my own opinion. Nor have I ever been repudiated by the credible leaders.

Cosatu released a statement rejecting the Gallup survey. Cosatu is a federated trade union – you expect a trade union to say sanctions will cost members their jobs, but have you ever heard Cosatu say Archbishop Tutu wants to destroy our members' jobs?

The chemical workers did not go out on strike because Mobil disinvested from South Africa. They are not opposing Mobil's disinvestment, but how they have done it.

In calling for targeted sanctions, I have the unanimous support of the Senate of Bishops of our church.

QUESTION: In light of what you have said, where do you think the economy of this country is headed?

TUTU: Apartheid is destroying our country. Everybody knows the inflation rate has nothing to do with sanctions, its got everything to do with gross mismanagement of the economy.

When the price of gold was high and the value of the rand was even higher, this government did not invest in socially productive and creative projects. They spent money on increasing the bureaucracy to carry out unjust, racist, Draconian legislation and on fighting an unnecessary war in Angola.

QUESTION: You call on the US to apply sanctions against South Africa. At the same time, you call for the same country to lift sanctions in Nicaragua and Panama because they are hurting those countries. Is this not a contradiction in terms?

TUTU: I have never advocated indiscriminate sanctions.

Anybody who says sanctions have not worked should ask the SA Government why they stopped fighting in Angola – largely because the economy could no longer take it.

We don't want to use violence, we prefer non-violent change. Our liberation movements have called for sanctions.

In Nicaragua, neither the government nor the people want sanctions.

The Americans are the ones who are inconsistent. They say sanctions don't work and that they hurt the ones you want to help most-but they apply them in Panama and Nicaragua.

The Americans applied sanctions in those countries because they wanted to remove governments they didn't like. What about South Africa? This government does not even pretend to be democratic.

QUESTION: How do you see the future of this country?

TUTU: There is no doubt about a new dispensation in this country. The people are determined to be free.

America and the West have the opportunity to make a critical intervention that will ensure the process is as inexpensive and uncostly as possible in terms of human suffering.

We will have universal adult suffrage – one person, one vote.

It will be the best person for the job. Whether you are white or black will be immaterial, because race will not be a determining factor.

QUESTION: When do you think blacks in South Africa will be free?

TUTU: In 1980 I said within five or 10 years we would have a black Prime Minister in South Africa, but now I cannot give a timetable.

I will venture to say the September 6 election will be the last ethnic election.

I have not the slightest doubt that our people will occupy the Union Buildings sooner rather than later. After Namibia, the only country left on the agenda for liberation is South Africa – and the world will not hold back.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu. ■ Full interview page 4.

Apartheid on eve of doom, says Tutu

28 Argus 28/8/89

By KHULU SIBIYA

ANGLICAN Archbishop Desmond Tutu said in an exclusive interview this week that the September 6 general election will be South Africa's final ethnic election.

Speaking from his Orlando West home in Soweto, Tutu said: "I don't have the slightest doubt that our people will be occupying the Union Buildings. That we will be in Parliament sooner than later. Because when Namibia is sorted out, the only country in the world that is on the agenda for liberation is South Africa."

He said he had predicted in 1980 that in five to 10 years South Africa would have a black prime minister.

"What was true of that prediction was the inevitability of what one was referring to at that time," he said.

About the state of emergency, he said: "The fact that this country will have a fourth successive state of emergency is an admission that the government is no longer in control."

He said he told Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok to lift the state of emergency and Vlok's reply had been that unrest would flare again as soon as the emergency was lifted.

Tutu: Sept 6 'final ethnic election in SA'

Cape Times 29/5/89

JOHANNESBURG. — The Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev Desmond Tutu, said this week that the September 6 general election would be South Africa's final ethnic election.

In an interview with the City Press, Archbishop Tutu said: "I don't have the slightest doubt that our people will be occupying the Union Buildings. That we will be in Parliament sooner than later. Because when Namibia is sorted out, the only country in the world that is on the agenda for liberation is South Africa."

He said he predicted in 1980 that in five to 10 years South Africa would have a black prime minister.

"What was true of that prediction was the inevitability of what one was referring to at the time," he said.

About the state of emergency he said: "The fact that this country will have a fourth successive state of emergency is an admission that the government is no longer in control."

He said he told the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, to lift the state of emergency and Mr Vlok's reply had been that unrest would flare up again as soon as the emergency was lifted.

Referring to sanctions, Archbishop Tutu said he never spoke for other people when he called for sanctions and had never advocated indiscriminate sanctions.

"Anybody who says sanctions have not worked should ask the South African government why they stopped fighting in Angola — largely because the economy could not take it," Archbishop Tutu said. — Sapa

Sanctions: AG ruled out charging Tutu

CAPE TIMES 30/5/89 (28)

By BARRY STREEK

THE attorney-general declined to prosecute the head of the Anglican Church in Southern Africa, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, for advocating sanctions against South Africa, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said yesterday.

However, he did say police had taken action and intended taking action against South African citizens who advocated sanctions against South Africa.

He was asked by Mr Clive Derby-Lewis (CP indirectly elected) whether he intended taking action against Archbishop Tutu in this connection.

Mr Vlok replied that a charge in terms of the Internal Security Act was investigated and the case docket submitted to the attorney-general, who "declined to institute prosecution".

Star 31/5/89

(28)

Scrap Die Stem, urge Anglicans

DURBAN — A motion claiming Die Stem is unsuitable and unacceptable as a national anthem will come before the provincial synod of the Anglican Church in Southern Africa, which opens at St Thomas' Church in Durban today.

The motion says Die Stem does not place God above all.

"On the contrary, it encourages people to place their country before God. In this way it idolises the State," the resolution says.

The motion says the present national anthem has not been accepted by the majority of the people of South Africa.

It calls on the synod to discourage the use of Die Stem at institutions that have any connection with the Anglican Church, more especially church schools.

It further calls on members of the Anglican Church and all its

Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika suggested as national anthem

associated institutions to use Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika at major occasions and festivals.

Another controversial motion to be discussed calls on the synod to authorise the bishops of the Anglican Church in Southern Africa to ordain women who have been selected and trained for the priestly ministry.

Women are not ordained as priests at present in the Anglican Church locally, but are being ordained as deacons.

A further resolution maintains that it is "manifestly inappropriate" for members of the Security Police to hold office either as church wardens or as parish councillors in the Anglican Church. — Sapa.

Church urged to stop using 'Die Stem'

Cape Times 31/5/89

28

DURBAN. — A motion claiming that "Die Stem" is unsuitable and unacceptable as a national anthem will come before the provincial synod of the Anglican Church in Southern Africa which opens at St Thomas's Church here today.

The motion says "Die Stem" does not place God above all.

"On the contrary, it encourages people to place their country before God. In this way it idolises the state."

It calls on the synod to discourage the use of "Die Stem" at institutions which have any connection with the Anglican Church.

The motion further calls on members of the Anglican Church to use "Nkosi Sikelel iAfrica" at major occasions. — Sapa