

THE SUNDAY TRIBUNE

Forthright talk

27 JUN 1976

SIR DE VILLIERS GRAAFF has never been more forthright than he was in the House of Assembly when he called this week on White South Africans to take an honest look at themselves. That must surely mean that they bear a considerable portion of the blame for the violence that has destroyed the law and order of so many Black towns in the Transvaal, and of the University of Zululand at Ngoya. Whatever caused the spark, said the Leader of the Opposition, it fell on material that has been highly inflammable for years. He called for full citizenship for Black and Brown citizens

in South Africa by which we assume he means "White" South Africa. And quite clearly he was calling for the beginning at least of the task of "dismantling the vast apparatus of unjust discrimination."

This is powerful talk from the United Party. Let us hope it will continue on this unequivocal course. If it does so, it will strengthen the growing demand for change, and the growing realisation of White South Africans that change is imperative. It may bring the United Party closer to those on both sides of it, who share the same realisation.

THE

BJV and

Henry

THE SUNDAY TIMES

Show

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There were scores of journalists who spoke in many tongues and tight-lipped security men who didn't speak at all.

There were also Dr Henry Kissinger and Mr Vorster.

A woman leans on a fence and trains her binoculars on the field waiting for the first helicopter to arrive. She does not know who the VIP guests are who so transform her village. Neither does she care.

Others do. Herr Weickl, the burgomaster, dons his silver chain of office. The editor of the local paper devotes a front page editorial to greet Mr Vorster with a message of support.

Thousands of holiday-makers, who in the summer outnumber the 3000 villagers, line the perimeter of the field under the machine guns and watchful eyes of 150 policemen.

A score of young demonstrators, who came from Munich and Nuremberg to picket Bodenmais's best hotel, continue to chant their slogans after riot police twice charge and roughly remove their leaders.

'Murderer'

Earlier, a lone demonstrator held aloft an improvised placard on a garden rake. It read: "Black is beautiful".

Now the demos are more serious. "Vorster out, Kissinger out." "Murderer of Soweto" they chant. They blacken their faces to express solidarity with the Africans and unfold Communist Party banners denouncing racism and colonialism and demanding that America get out of Africa.

The conservative people of Bodenmais don't like the long-haired invasion. They cheer the charging police. A beer-drinking villager angrily admits that he would "go to the North Pole to get Hitler back."

A contingent of the far right NPD hold a counter demo and distribute Mr Vorster pamphlets.

But if the demos are new to

Bodenmais, they are not new to Mr Vorster. And Germany does little to hide its concern that it was chosen for his meeting with Dr Kissinger. The trouble started before he arrived.

The Foreign Minister Dr Hans Dietrich Genscher, had agreed to Hamburg as the site of the meeting.

But Hamburg is the home of Chancellor Schmidt and, with the threat of demonstration, an unwise choice in an election year.

Unreal

American Embassy officials were soon telephoning travel agents for suggestions for a setting which would not pose a security risk, embarrass the Government, was not in the throes of a summer convention — and could provide 400 beds.

Bodenmais's hour has come. It and Grafenau, 70 km away, meet the requirements.

But it cannot escape the shadow of Soweto. The demonstrators come. So do the police, their dogs, machineguns and shields. And it cannot escape an frantic air of unreality.

To this small village which boasts a "God carver" or maker of crucifixes, a glass-blowing craft and a dialect which strangers cannot speak, come two men to discuss and perhaps decide the fate of a remote sub-continent threatened by a racial war.

But reality comes fast. Cameramen fight for pictures. An American security officer angrily calls the German Press "animals." Dr Vorster is heard to murmur that Durban has a

nice climate while he and Dr Kissinger smile for the cameras.

Then the doors shut and the security web is complete.

During the next two days, as Mr Vorster and Dr Kissinger are locked at Bodenmais and Grafenau for nine hours of discussions, spokesmen emerge at intervals to provide the hungry Press with a bland diet of statements.

They are reviewing "the whole Southern African situation in detail." The word "friendly" is studiously avoided.

The spokesmen disappear. The 70 Pressmen go back to their typewriters. Mrs Vorster goes to look at the glass blowing. A Bavarian band in black uniforms and gold braid compas away on the lawns.

And holiday-makers in swimming trunks and bikinis emerge from the pool to inspect the demonstrators, who go on demonstrating.

An Irish-German youth displaying a Frelimo-MPLA button and a strange brogue talks about his "political emancipation".

General Hendrik van den Bergh of BOSS looks pleased with the security arrangements. "Outstanding", he says.

Premature

At nine that night Dr Kissinger leaves for Grafenau with his aides. He tells Pressmen it would be premature to go into details about the talks. Mr Vorster looks fresh and unfazed. He too refuses to go into detail. Day One is over.

At Grafenau on Day Two,

after Mr Vorster and his party arrive by helicopter, the pattern repeats itself. Except that at the Kissinger headquarters the security is even tighter, the demos are fewer and the communiques even more uncommunicative.

After a working lunch Mr Vorster escorts Dr Kissinger to the door. Journalists comment that Mr Vorster looks tired and dispirited. Dr Kissinger says he believes that a process of peaceful change has been set in motion.

He says there had been some "very straight talking", but no difficulty on a personal level.

Confirmation comes from Pressmen who caught a rare glimpse of the two men together. If their public stance was carefully correct, in private they appeared to get on extremely well.

Mr Vorster leaves for Bonn. The Press departs. A policeman says, "Gott sei dank".

Back in Bonn, the visit continues to dominate the headlines. ANC and PAC sympathisers are still demonstrating outside the barbed wire barricades that protect the South African Embassy.

Hard line

The German Government's attitude remains disapproving and chill. Mr Vorster gives a Press conference and adopts a hard line.

Separate development means there will be no Black South Africans. Churchmen tried to stop his meeting with Dr Kissinger. The Soweto riots were not spontaneous.

The visit ends on a sour note. The South African Embassy sends a stiff protest note to the German Foreign Ministry about the wording of a communique issued by a German Government spokesman during Mr Vorster's meeting with Dr Schmidt.

The statement should not have been issued before the talks were over and did not, according to the embassy, accurately reflect the tone and subject of the talks.

The government spokesman replies that he does not fall under the censorship of the South African Embassy.

Then it's all over. Mr Vorster leaves. So do the Press.

Germany is sweltering in a heat wave. "Forty degrees", screams a headline. "Heart attacks, deaths, sex crimes."

Everything is back to normal.

**Dogs, demos, machineguns
... a brass band and bikinis**

Anti-SA body sacks

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'renegade'

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Arthur Ashe



ARTHUR ASHE
No response

ARTHUR ASHE has been sacked as a renegade by America's foremost anti-apartheid organisation.

The decision to eject him from the board of the American Committee on Africa comes after a secret, but intense, fight for more than a year over the tennis star's involvement with South Africa and his appearances there.

It came to a climax with the Soweto riots.

The ACOA appealed to him to make a public statement and "honour those who have given their lives" by taking a stand, such as calling a halt for a year to his visits to the Republic.

He did not respond, a committee official said.

"I beg of you, Arthur," special projects director Ray Gould wrote in an

By RICHARD
WALKER, New York

emotional letter. "I urge you now to take up a position of solidarity."

Gould is the ACOA's specialist in sports action.

"Announce a one-year moratorium against any participation in tennis tournaments, or other events, in South Africa, perhaps a mourning period for the men, women and children who were killed," he wrote.

Such a statement would serve notice on the Government and the world that friends of the people of South Africa recognised the "abominable conditions" of apartheid.

As Ashe had a Wimbledon title to defend, Gould realised he was picking "a poor time to write on such a disturbing subject."

Contact

The ACOA is the oldest American organisation supporting African independence movements. Ashe, who has been on the board for many years, became the centre of controversy over his policy of opening up contact.

"Matters became inflamed last year when he appeared in an advertising campaign supporting contacts and suggesting that the South African situation was not all bad.

"We kept trying. We wanted to talk things over, but he didn't want to know," said an ACOA official. "It was hopeless."

Fleur
de
Villiers



*New strategy
for peace could
be in offing*

BONN. — A major Western strategy to rescue Southern Africa from the threat of racial war and possible Russian intervention could have been born during Mr Vorster's two-day meeting with Dr Henry Kissinger in Germany this week.

The first signs appeared when the South African Foreign Minister, Dr Hilgard Muller, met his German counterpart, Dr Hans Dietrich Genscher — who also saw Dr Kissinger.

While the West German-South African meetings were forthright, if not downright chilly, observers believe that Germany — at Dr Kissinger's urging — might be prepared to play a stronger role in the Western search for a Southern African solution.

Dr Kissinger, who subsequently flew to London for a long talk with the British Prime Minister, Mr James Callaghan, is also known to be anxious for Britain to resume its attempts to bring about a settlement in Rhodesia.

CENTRE STRATEGY

At the centre of the strategy, however, stand Dr Kissinger and Mr Vorster. While communiques from their nine-hour meeting were deliberately vague there is reason for optimism.

The meeting itself indicated on both the realisation of the size and urgency of the problem.

...differences in policy. ...Kissinger understood

DR K TO THE RESCUE?



The talks over, Mr Vorster and the Foreign Minister, Dr Muller, have a final word with Dr Kissinger.

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recent visit to Southern Africa, is that Black terrorists and White Rhodesians will be engaged in a conflict that neither can win and that the frustration bred from this could plunge the whole of Southern Africa into a racial war.

Although neither Mr Vorster nor Dr Kissinger spoke of plans for a further meeting, it cannot be ruled out.

LAME-DUCK

The South Africans do not regard Dr Kissinger as a lame-duck Secretary of State but someone who will leave an imprint on American foreign policy for years to come, whether or not he remains in office after the US presidential election.

Meanwhile, as he has said, Mr Vorster is going home to think things over. Despite the blandness of the communiques, changes in South Africa's attitude to her neighbours and speedier changes at home could well be under way.

Rhodesia, South West Africa or internal policy.

This is advanced as the reason for his hard line at his final Bonn Press conference. His statements on Soweto and separate development did not sound like those of a man making major concessions.

However, it is understood that Dr Kissinger did not make an issue of domestic

South African policy. He is more concerned with Rhodesia and South West Africa and has been talking about a guarantee of White minority rights in both.

The necessity of protecting minority rights was also raised by the Germans during their meetings with Mr Vorster and Dr Muller.

Dr Kissinger's dominant fear, after his

Tight security at University of Zululand

By G. R. NAIDOO

TIGHT security has been clamped on the riot-torn University of Zululand.

Campus security patrols are keeping a day-and-night watch on the nearly deserted university as staff add up the cost of last week's student rampage.

Some White staff have sent their families to live with friends until the tension is over.

And many of the students — who have been banned from the now closed university — are stranded in the Empangeni area because they haven't enough money to get

home.

According to the police, two people have been arrested in connection with assaults on two White university officials during the fighting.

In the attacks, librarian Mr Danie Theron suffered a fractured skull; and building inspector Mr J. A. Reid had head and stomach wounds.

Mr Theron is now re-

covering at Empangeni Hospital. Mr Reid was discharged earlier this week.

In Empangeni, the university's rector, Dr John Mare, said it was impossible to forecast when the university would reopen.

"It depends on many things," he added. "With the whole administration destroyed — the heart of any university — I just do not know when we can

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start again. All I can say is that the university is closed indefinitely."

Meanwhile, Durban's Mayor, Mr Dixey Adams, said yesterday that he had decided to open talks with the Progressive-Reform Party in the city with a view to calling a multi-racial meeting to discuss problems in the Black community.

The chairman of the Natal coast region of the PRP, Mr Percy Thomas, this week asked the mayor to convene an all-race meeting in an effort to avoid disturbances in Durban's townships and called for all the city's residents to take an active part in working towards solutions to problems and peaceful change.

Try harder, Vorster urged

By DICK USHER

THE Trade Union Council of South Africa, representing 250 000 workers, has sent a strong letter to the Prime Minister telling him his efforts at detente do not go far enough and are bound to fail unless expanded.

These views have been sent to Mr Vorster in a letter by Mr Arthur Grobelaar, general secretary of Tucsa, after the Prime Minister told the organisation he did not understand an annual conference resolution calling for greater efforts at detente within South Africa.

Mr Vorster was querying a section of the resolution which read "Conference warns that meaningful detente between the different race groups within South Africa must also be a top priority, and urges the need for greater efforts to be made by Government and all of South Africa's peoples and organisations in the promotion of detente at home."

In a letter to the general secretary Mr Vorster said there had been "many consultations and discussions between the Government and all the population groups".

He could not understand the contents of the resolution.

Tucsa has replied telling him that his efforts at detente with leaders of the different racial groups are not good enough.

"While it is accepted that the Prime Minister and members of the Cabinet are conducting a form of detente with the leaders of the different racial groups in South Africa, it is Tucsa's strongly held view that it is imperative for detente to filter down to all the organisations and institutions in South Africa and must be conducted at all levels by all races," says the letter.

"In Tucsa's opinion, it is not sufficient for detente to be conducted merely at the higher levels, because with the best will in the world and irrespective of the good motives of those involved, detente which is conducted only at the top will not succeed.

"It is vital for the concept to be expanded to include all levels of human activity.

"The council in fact believes that even on the individual level detente should be engaged in by the various racial groups. Tucsa also sincerely believes that the Government has a clear-cut duty to encourage and promote the conduct of detente on all these levels.

"It is also respectfully pointed out that the nature of the detente to be engaged in must be sincere, and that it cannot only be a form of one-sided dialogue. Dialogue of this type can create more problems than it seeks to solve."

**YOU
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Soweto and after... Blacks

BLACK South Africans want freedom. They will settle for nothing less and no compromises are acceptable.

This is the message from Blacks in the wake of waves of rioting and bloodshed that have rocked the country

Opinions on ways of satisfying Black

aspirations vary among individuals and organisations, but one common factor emerges: Blacks are committed to the concept of peaceful change as opposed to violent confrontation.

This week the **Sunday Tribune** asked four men from the townships to spell out the aspira-

tions of Black South Africans and to suggest steps towards change.

They are the Very Rev Desmond Tutu, the Anglican Dean of Johannesburg, Mr Obed Kunene, editor of *Ilanga*, Mr Percy Qoboza, editor of *The World*, and Mr Hlaku Rachidi, president of the Black People's Convention.



Mr Vorster wins another six months

27 JUN 1976

TIME is kind to Mr Vorster. A little more than 18 months ago he asked for six months' grace and promised the world a surprise. He was given his chance but what with the Angolan war, party pressures that saw Dr Andries Treurnicht join the outer Cabinet and then the Soweto riots he delivered only disappointment.

Then came Dr Kissinger, reluctantly, after an African tour during which he shunned South Africa. And Mr Vorster has won another six months.

But only six months. Because Dr Kissinger has only six months left in office. And there is no one else in the US Administration or anyone in prospect, particularly in a Democratic Administration, with any inclination to renew relations with South Africa as Dr Kissinger is trying to do.

Too little is known yet of the detail of what the two leaders discussed to assess whether there are grounds for real optimism. But Mr Vorster has succeeded in the one essential: a promise of on-going negotiations. Black Africa is to be brought back into the discussions, initially through Dr Kissinger's emissary, and there is hope of further meetings between Mr Vorster and Dr Kaunda.

What Dr Kissinger wants is a solid base laid for settlement of the Rhodesian and

South West African issues. South Africa has influence in one and direct responsibility in the other. The bargaining will be tough. Dr Kissinger's record in the Middle East shows just how tough he can be. But he gets lasting results. Egypt and Israel are a long way from war today and both are happier for it.

South Africans will have to steel themselves for some major concessions. Emotions will have to give way to reason. We believe that in this situation Mr Vorster is capable of both commanding reasonable responses at the negotiating table and seeing reason himself. Where we are doubtful is whether he can carry Nationalist reactionaries with him. His record at home is less than encouraging; yet ultimately it is at home that he will have to succeed.

If the talks in the Bavarian forest are to prove fruitful in the long term White attitudes will have to be seen to be moderating. Discrimination will have to go. The Piki Botha promise to the United Nations will have to be fulfilled. And these changes will have to take place within six months while Dr Kissinger is able to keep open the door of the United States and to keep Black Africa and White Southern Africa talking.

Time has been kind to Mr Vorster. But time is running out.

SAS PRESIDENT KRUGER WILL

By HUGH ROBERTON

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THE SUNDAY TRIBUNE
HARBOUR
27 JUN 1976

NEW YORK: The United Nations Committee Against Apartheid is making an eleventh-hour attempt to stop the South African Navy frigate President Kruger taking part in the spectacular international naval review in New York harbour next Sunday.

The review of nearly 100 warships, from virtually every country with a navy, will be one of the most impressive maritime events in history and one of the highlights of the United States' bicentennial celebrations.

South Africa was invited to take part after an initial snub,

UNITED NATIONS ANTI-APARTHEID GROUP FOUNDERS IN ATTEMPT TO BAN SOUTH AFRICA FROM REVIEW

and the President Kruger is now on its way to New York.

At a meeting to discuss last week's riots in Soweto, the Committee Against Apartheid expressed disappointment at the US invitation to South Africa and called on the US Government to stop the President Kruger taking part.

Although most experienced UN observers believe the committee has little or no chance of persuading the US Government to cancel the invitation, they feel the effort to do so could produce unpleasant side effects.

One could be to encourage demonstrations at the dockside when the President Kruger arrives.

Anti-apartheid groups are already reported to be planning demonstrations, and with UN backing this might upset plans for the ship's stay in the city.

Other nations may also be encouraged to threaten to withdraw from the review in protest against South Africa's participation, though few at the UN believe such threats would actually be carried out.

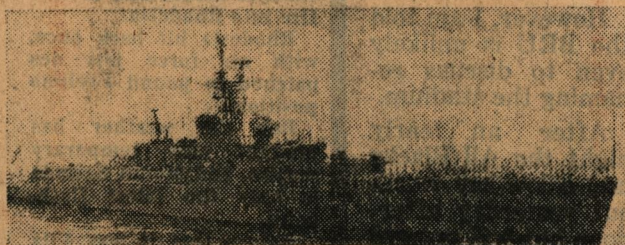
Exiles

Above all, it seems, the Committee Against Apartheid wants to use the visit of a South African warship to focus attention on its growing campaign to bring about a total arms embargo against the country.

Exile groups in New York which oppose many other governments whose navies will be taking part are understood to have given assurances of no protest.

The decision by the Committee Against Apartheid is seen as out of place — and even uncouth.

At the UN the analogy is drawn of a bad-mannered group of guests protesting against the host's invitation of a bygone friend to his birthday party.



The President Kruger ... on her way