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Attenborough s New Film

â\200\230Crv Freedomâ\200\231:

13:1% 0@88 CLIFF GOSHNEY ;P

12/ Human Events / JANUARY 23, 1988

In an interview with the Washington -

Past aver his recent film â\200\234biographyâ\200\235
of South African â\200\230â\200\230black con-
sciousness'â\200\231 leader Steve Biko, director
Richard Aitgnborough tells of his 1984
meeting wifh Winnie Mandela. Atten-
boreugh took the opportunity (o0 meet
wifh the wife of jJiILd ANC leader
Nelson Mandela witiic in South Africa
for the premicre of his movie Gandhi.

The South African TV news account
of the imecling was highly critical,
amounting to, Attenborough told the
Post, â\200\234*a type of [character] assassina-
tion the likes of which you Â¢anâ\200\231t im-
agine.â\200\235â\200\231

Attenborough then goes on to relate
that the newscasterâ\200\231s name was *â\200\230Freek
Schwatt or something like that. Weâ\200\231ve
had fun with the name since â\200\224 Freak
Fart and so forth.â\200\235

With this bit of toidy humor, Atten-
bÂ¢ muhh brings the current level of
debate over South Africa and upartheid
lp to the third-grade level.

With his movie, Cry Freedomi, he
brings it up to the fourth,

Which may explain why, the day 1
went (o see the film, a number of school
buses were waiting outside the theater
to pick up a group of school children

who had just scen the film,
-As Lwaiked up to purchase a ticket, a

-jbIacE child 1a!_Â\$'-sneered'at'xxxÂ¢ "â\200\234VJâ\200\230W&I

G2 E A

man

;South Afnca Portrayed
ln Strfdent Terms& gt -__ eut

Three hours uiter after seem&. what
he had sÃ©en, I could. well understand
such hostility. Intelling the story of the
tife and death of Steve Biko and his
friendship with white South. African
newspaper editor Donald Woods
director Attenborough has portrayed
South Africa in the most strident,
simplistic terms possibic,

All whli-\\201*i are either besotted, stupid
brutes or shielded iiberal dolts. All
blacks, ec pr'ua!ly Biko, exist in a state
of grace bordering on sainthood.

Even the black mnewspaper, the
Sowetan, which takes its name from the
bla-u}. South African township of

owcto, called atiention to Atten-
hDru&x&li-\\201 s ham-handed depictions,
writing that **The South Africa in Cry
Ereedom is a place of cruel beauty and
one-sided - caricatures where all
Afrikaners are viÂçious or unfeeling and
all blacks are noble vicums.â\\200\\235â\\200\\231

Shortiy after-Bikoâ\\200\\231s death in 1977 at
age 30, a death due to head injuries sus-

. tained while being held in detemxon o,
South .. -African polu:e over 2,00(
members of the anti-apartheid Fâ\\200\\230m~
gressive Federal party prolcsaed the
death outside Johannesburg's City Hall

and â\\200\\230called for the ouster of

lcs(&rs were white.

Mr. Tarne is an A:soc;a!e Editor of HUMAN
EVENTS -who recently returned from a visil (o
South Africa. :

Justice
Minister James Kruger and the repeal
of all internal security laws. ThesÂç pro-

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B r GENE TARNE

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There is simply novbdmrhowever, in
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Atienboroughâ\\200\\231s Sou!} Africa for such
whitesâ\\200\\224that might ..orn@lmuwxxw (s

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and black communliiie\$ in a scarch fora
new direction Hor. the. t.oxml ry, Lhe
FEVICWCE tci th, Sâ\\200\\230()m lin P gints oul.
â\\200\\234This is a mujol flaw in the movie as
political statement, since it will lleave its
viewers without aâ\\200\\230my idea ol the strong

commitment among many whites
English and Afrikaans- x;mxk ng, L
finding a new ciil'duionâ\200\230 Nm docs it
convey the e.ha.rp and violent conffict
between â\200\230a.af'ko

Only. whites (thÃ© flmâ\200\231s real hero,
Donald 'Woods, excepted) who con-
sider Lâ\200\230nd"Ks as subhaman find a place
in this film. BuL "then, this simplifying
pâ\200\230o' dî-\202Vu.e may be Atienboroughâ\200\231s way
of dramat izing a centralt net of Biko's
â\200\234magk â\200\230consciousnessâ\200\231â\200\231 thought -~
that-allâ\200\230whites, even those looking for
a way out' of apartheyd share in a col-
Jective, almast mmeaI guilt for the in-
justices suffered by blacks under apart-
heid,

OthÃ©r samphftcutwm amount-
â\200\234ing lo distortions abound dung
ihe course of Attenborough's
would-be epic.

" The diregtor strips the Soweto riots
1976-77 â\200\224 an ugly cpisode in South
i y where police fired into
~Js aâ\200\234.d upwards of 700 mostly
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their schools

cro wd -â\200\230\ (the fâ\200\231nd of Lh!f
=nching sequence, the smoke Ã©
d the screen is littered with the bodies
of hundreds of school children.
But the deaths that occurred dur xâ\200\234â\200\230g
the Soweto uprisings did not occur in
f:alygmc massacre as depicted in
- vie, Rather, the unrest and the
deaths that resulted from- if occurred
l month Beginning in
n 1976 and spr-\ddmg o othigr
the country, the unrest did not
intil well into 1977.
lmâ\200\230lon-â\200\230l riody of unt est,
went far beyond the me
ving stage,

violence,

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with all sides engaging
There were incidents of
olack-on-black violence, as radical
black students â\200\224 many of them in-
fluenced by â\200\235black consÃ©ciou
thought â\200\224 tried to enforce a work stop-
page by forcefully keeping black con
tract workers Irom their jobs. In turn,

workers, who could not afford lo
fî-\202rfcâ\200\230-t their incomes, turned violently

gainst the students.

Whereas the police responsible for the "massacre" depicted in the movie are all white, many of those firing on the crowds during the unrest of 10 years ago were black. In fact, a large portion

of the victims were black.

It's Truth Or Propaganda?

South Africa: The police were armed

and remained non-violent,

All of this is in no way meant to excuse the death toll during the uprisings. But it raises suspicions as to the bold statement proclaimed onscreen, before the movie unfolds, that all the events depicted are true and actually happened. Attenborough simply did not portray the circumstances of these tragic deaths truthfully, as they actually happened.

But this is not the result of ignorance on Attenborough's part; on the contrary, everything in this movie has been clearly calculated by its director.

In the PBS interview, responding to the observation that he has used the same imagery to portray South Africa as a police state, Attenborough replies, "I think that it is inevitable. One must reach the unknown, the murky, and even those who would advocate the furtherance of the present regime."

Historic Events Must Be Tailored and Reworked

Beneath the rhetoric, Attenborough here all but admits that his movie is a piece of political propaganda and, for it to work, it is inevitable that the historic events on which the film is based be tailored and reworked to achieve its propagandistic ends. Indeed, in other interviews, Attenborough himself has called the film an exercise in propaganda.

But if, against all odds, honestly, do you know who still holds apartheid? Even in South Africa today there is an overwhelming conviction that most whites must be

is not merely propaganda
how many people

to bring blacks into the s
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the uneasy suspicion grows tnai At
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that the director is .xorâ\200\230ug th
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â\200\234police state,â\200\235â\200\231 an _
forced to use against it
violence and terrorism â\200\224 ar
fied.

Towards this end, not only must
whites be pomaycd as uncoms-
promisingly evil, blacks must be
secn as unuunpn)mmge) saintly.
This goal Mknhmough achieves
in his portrayal of â\200\230â\200\230biackâ\200\231 con-
sciousnessâ\200\231â\200\231 ieader Steve Biko.

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In fact, when Biko f:rff :

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saints. Under the eircy msmn ey, actor
Denzel Washington can do n'ue put
portray Biko as the sy mbolic namc*.gm
Atienborough needs to carry th

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Biko's thought, a just emphasis on encouraging blacks to take pride in themselves, but within gadivony and hoitage

and in which they could anchor their identity in WAOAMIND O T S D

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no pamnt Ât reference,â\200\235â\200\235 Biko stated in 1976.

â\200\230This is the aspect of Biko's thought with which Cry Freedom almost exclusively deals, time and again throughout the movie, the actor portraying Biko misses no opportunity to express his hope for a non-racial South Africa and his desire that this can be

1 peacefully (given the portrayal of whites in the movie, however, the viewer can only conclude that this is

an impossibility)

But there is another, more ominous side to Biko's thought

which Auenborough, in this evident film homage, studiously ignores.

Just where did Biko's positive emphasis on the warth and :funi-\202y of the black man be :onâ\200\230.& a negative judgment on the essential depravity of whites? Biko warned on occasion that **Black C,On;fâ\200\230tOUSi-\202{Ss should not lead to

â\200\234â\200\230anti-whiteism.â\200\235â\200\231 But in the context of his other pronouncements, this caveat

was..gither, hopelessly naive or dis-

was â\200\230their ownâ\200\231

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themselves rigidly-apart Tudainn whitss.

The.1971 EASQ policy manifesto â\200\224 which Robert Fatton.. in his detailed and sympathetic study, â\200\230Black Consciousness in_ South Africa (State

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Whites must be excluded.â\200\235

All Whites Were
To Be Held Gulty

Biko did aot restrict his criticiam af -

whites to those who supported apart-
heid. Even those liberal white South
ATricans who stood In cvlear uppwsitivi
to apartheid had lo ve excluded, for ac-
cording to Biko all whites; just bccau;c
they were white, were lo be held-guilt

In fact, Biko was cspecaally adamant m
exhorting blacks to avoid in particular
such white liberals. Even Alan Paton,
the renowned author wno nas bpt:lll hn
life in cposiilon o apalheid, i lo
jected hy Rikn â\200\234â\200\234The liherals â\200\224 Atlan
Paton and o on â\200\224 one would reject at
any stage, any siage be it now on up (o

thÃ© revoluton,â\200\235 " Faion clies Biko as

declaring.

And what would â\200\230â\200\230the revolutionâ\200\235
bring? Biko did not merely want to see
the system of apartheid abolished so

hlacks eould rightfully share power
with whitcs in governing South Africa.
All structures associated with the white
aans st gu. Accunding wo Biko, â\200\230It
not only capitalism that is involved, it is
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systems which has been adopied as
siandard by Scuth Africa, Both whilcs
and blacks so rarâ\200\231â\200\231 (batton, page /Â¥)..
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capitalism and nnpccfnl'sm â\200\224 he
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talking about, Now that they are with

us â\200\224 the student body and the mass of
the people â\200\224 it is easier to explain the
fundamental problems of our struggle

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not really a racial struggle, that we are more concerned with the socio-economic structure (Fatton, page 98). Biko himself stated that capitalist structures must go and be replaced by socialism.

In other words: democracy and capitalism, along with apartheid, must go. Although not Communist itself, the Black Consciousness movement embraced the Marxist struggle for power in Mozambique as the Portuguese were preparing to give that country its independence. In 1974,

both SASO and the Black Peoples Con-

vention can't deny all these things. Fear the future of the world who have been freed by Trelima.

Far from the blacks in Mazamhine, however. Frelimo's black rulers imposed on them a rigid Marxist-Leninist system that has

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we have white bones in the Sgwiet Uliwa wiiv aite Fay vy ool wad

ruthlers than the white government in South Africa,

At 3. Biko's analysis of black and white in South Africa is

similar to the Marxist analysis of history, with the categories of race

replacing those of class. In the black consciousness framework, bourgeois exploiters become the while race; blacks take the place of the proletariat and the black consciousness becomes the vanguard leading to liberation.

At other times, Biko's thought seems to be a black mirror image of white apartheid. Therefore, we wish explicitly to state that this country belongs to Black people and to them alone. Whites who live in our country.

Twin Tor gl narwnite y o toranas lail aloswa hy Rlarks and an condition they repact Black people, SASO's policy manifesto boldly declares. :

In explaining this passage during testimony at the trial of nine Black Consciousness leaders in South Africa in 1976, Biko said, "It is conceived that Whites are here and that they may live in this country, or they may leave the

country, depending on their relationship with Blacka, and their acceptance of whatever conditions Blacks in this country shall lay [down] at a certain time.

Needless to say, Attenborough avoids altogether this side of Hiko

in his film biography: it would

be jarringly out of place in the

director's attempt to canonize

Biko and make his political points.

Despite Dilega's warnings and other

expressed repugnance at cooperating

with whinn, Asronbrangh too Wianels

in the movie say that "We must Change [South Africa] in the foreseeable future"

Woods declares his hope that it will be in partnership and that whiles will accept Biko's leadership in such a partnership.

Many Doubts About Friendship with Woods

As for Woods and Biko's own personal partnership "a partnership: which the movie's ads, in hypothesis characteristic of any Attenborough project, hype as the friendship that shook South Africa and Awakened the World" "leaders of the Black Consciousness movement have their doubts.

None of Steve's associates believes that Woods was a true confidant. Steve had to use him to take over the leadership of the Daily Dispatch (the paper Woods edited). But we are disgusted that Attenborough would use Woods's brief acquaintance with Steve as a basis for a feature film, "says Steiny Moodie, a South African journalist. Moodie was one of Biko's closest associates in the Black Consciousness movement throughout the '60s and '70s and was imprisoned on Robben Island (where Nelson Mandela is currently incarcerated), for his role in the 1976-77 riots." "None of Steve's associates believes that Woods was a true confidant. Steve had to use him to take over the leadership of the Daily Dispatch (the paper Woods edited). But we are disgusted that Attenborough would use Woods's brief acquaintance with Steve as a basis for a feature film, "says Steiny Moodie, a South African journalist. Moodie was one of Biko's closest associates in the Black Consciousness movement throughout the '60s and '70s and was imprisoned on Robben Island (where Nelson Mandela is currently incarcerated), for his role in the 1976-77 riots."

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The Orlando Sentinel, Sunday, February 7 1988 B3 /1

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Lawyer collects books for South Africa

. By Patsy V. Pressley

' OF THE SENTINEL STAFF

DAYTONA BEACH - Attorney Hugh Gosney's pro-

ject to collect Florida textbooks for South African

children has him high-stepping through a political
- minefield.

Gosney, in conjunction with U.S. Rep. Bill McCollum,

has collected about 4,000 books donated by the

- Seminole County school district and is searching for
more. The books, many of which are more than 10
years old, are considered obsolete by state officials
but soon will be headed for South Africa's black
homelands.

The idea for the project sprang from Zulu Chief
Mangosuthu Buthelezi, a controversial figure be-
cause of his opposition to U.S. trade sanctions. Buthe-
lezi (pronounced bosth-a-lei-zi) visited Central Flor-
ida at Gosney's request more than a year ago and ap-
pealed for books.

Gosney said he expects questions about the obso-
lete books and his political connections. But so far he
has steered clear of the explosive aspects and the
project remains on track,

It's an obsession but it's a magnificent obses-

sion, the civil trial lawyer said. "These are the poorest
of the poor. Not only do they not have any books,
they don't have any libraries."

The books are housed in the basement of the Day-
tona Beach YWCA awaiting shipment to South Africa.
Meanwhile, Gosney, 59, has formed a fledgling

- group called Benevolence Through Education in
Southern Africa to promote the booklift and other
projects.

-+ Gosney stresses he is simply the booklift's coordi-

nator. The idea sprang from McCollum, a Republican
congressman from Altamonte Springs,

During a reception for Buthelezi in November 1986

at state Hep. Alzo Reddick's Orlando home, & question arose about what Floridians could do for blacks living under apartheid, MceCollum recalled.

Buthelezi's : that the students needed books. On a per capita basis, South Africa spends \$205 for each b e student compared with \$1,427 for each white, g to one study.

cCollum contacted SeminolÃ@Tschool superintendent about using that district's old books. State law required the Seminocle school district to offer the txis to every district in the state. -Because there were no takers, the books were headed for the Zarbage dump.

Nancy Haigh, Seminoleâ\200\231s coordinator of books and media, satd the district was happy to cblige with the project, parficularly if it required no cest to taxpayers

But she questioned how much use South African children will have for books that their American counterparts no longer need even though South African children are taught in English,

"You think yourself of changes made in Just geog. raphy in the last 10 to 15 years,â\200\235 Haigh said.

osneyâ\200\231s answer is that organizers are picking through txis searching for sociclogy, language, math and spelling books with timeless appeal. They are removing books on econamics, history and BOv-

ALTSWCT WE

â\200\230ernment, wary of any political connotations.

For added emphasis, Gosney has a leiter from Buthelezi that reads: â\200\234Cliff, there isnâ\200\231t a single [black] school who will NOT need hooks.â\200\235

But Ken Eke, a Bethune-Cookman College professor of political science, questions the prajectâ\200\231s ties to

Buthelezi. Eke (pronounced eck-ay) attended the Orlando reception and the two exchanged sharp words. he's one of those will-" -Ang to cooperate with the Seuth African regime. Most

â\200\234Among the black leade

black leaders are opposed to him,â\200\235 said Eke. who was born in Migeria,

Buthelezi draws most of his political power from his ancestral leadership of the country's Â\$ mellion plus â\200\224 one of the largest ethnic groups in South Africa

Eke said Buthelezi is popular among some whites who are gambling that Buthelezi will become a mgjor government player if apartheid is dismantled.

Gosney said he is aware of the pitfalls of his relationship with Buthelezi. He does not plan to let the chief help distribute the books.

â\200\234As painful as it is to me, thatâ\200\231s an option that

we're going to have to say no to. Chief Buthelezi may not like it, but he'd understand," Gosney said.

Gosney's solution is to distribute the books through civic groups and private universities. He added that Bethune-Cookman's cl fraternities and sororities agreed to help pack the books.

Gosney's interest in Africa dates back to his early travels, producing friendships with the former U.S. ambassador to South Africa and Buthelezi. The African continent also became the focus of Gosney's missionary work because it was there that he became a born-again Christian. He said he plans to travel to South Africa next month to set up distribution plans.

Despite the political pitfalls, Gosney is confident the book program will thrive and spread throughout the state,

"We're not supporting the government of South Africa, nor are we opposing the government of South Africa. We're only helping people," he said.

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politics

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MARIK LOSEV/SENTINEL

Gosney loads some of the 4,000 books he has collected to give to South African children.

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rtional Congress?
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aad charged in court, It happened in 1985 at . 7 0
a time when a lot of business, academic and ' Â¥

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unusual that South Africans were not given
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ided of cai¬\201tons is really to- try to allayâ\200\231
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TOKYOâ\200\224AS anti-apartheid activists in the U.S. Congress threaten to punish countries still trading with South Africa, Japan can serve as a catalyst for true reform there by sticking to the principles of free trade. Japan, South Africaâ\200\231s main trading partner, should take the lead in seeing that reform there is advanced by opening up the market and demonstrating to blacks

that apartheid and not capitalism s thelr

ultimate enemy. = -

Japan became South Africaâ\200\231s largest trading partner last year, with two-way trade of \$4.27 billion, up from \$3.59 billion in 1986, Japanese products enjoy a high profile in South Africa, with Toyota, Nis-

it and Mazda accounting for nearly half the auto market, and brand names such as Sony, Seiko and Nikon having become status symbols.

The increase in trade is bringing unwanted attention from abroad, and Foreign Minister Sosuke Uno has called for voluntary restraints, Yesterday, Shoichiro

Toyoda, president of Toyota Motor Co. and head of the Japan Auto Manufacturers Association, said Japanese auto makers will voluntarily curb exports to South Africa, Japan already has some restrictions on trade with South Africa. Direct investment, for example, has long been outlawed and commercial loans are restricted. In 1985, Japan banned exports of computers to South African security forces, and a year later imports of South African iron and steel were forbidden.

Yet the failure of these measures, as well as the more drastic approaches taken by other nations (sanctions have resulted in only a marginal slowing of the South African economy), has led to a reappraisal of policy. It is now more widely accepted in some policy circles that nations can continue to trade with South Africa while at the same time actively aid the cause of black rights. Although this proposition might be hard to sell to a Democratic-controlled Congress in Washington, it is in the best interests of both Japan and reform-minded South Africans.

This becomes more clear when the two basic alternatives for South Africa's future

are considered. The first is an open society-

-based on democratic foundations and in-

corporating Western norms of individual freedoms, a free-market economy, open elections and a just legal system. The second, which seems more likely if punitive sanctions are pursued, is a society structured on neo-Marxist principles. The features of this latter South Africa would include a totalitarian political system and an economic policy tending toward wealth redistribution rather than wealth creation. Assuming that the first alternative is the more desirable, the immediate challenge facing policy makers in Japan and the West should be to figure out how best to push for reforms that benefit the black majority.

The open-society alternative cannot be achieved without high and sustainable economic growth rates that must be sufficiently high to demonstrate to South African blacks in a tangible way that a free economy benefits them. Without the foreign capital supplied by nations such as Japan, leading anti-apartheid South African economists agree that the economy cannot grow at more than 3% a year, a rate that would fall far short of the development requirements of South Africa's diverse and exploding nonwhite population. (More than half the black population is under age 16. Without foreign capital, real

growth rates are sure to be inadequate to absorb the 250,000 new black job seekers coming onto the market each year,)

If Japan and the rest of the industrialized world are sincere in their stated intent to help South Africa plot a peaceful course into the future, then they must stop isolating an economy where real gross domestic fixed income has fallen 8.2% in real terms in the past five years. South Africa's reform-minded white leaders are crying out for foreign credit, foreign investment and a removal of the threat of sanctions. Although economic growth is most crucial for the black majority, in the long run the white minority's own freedoms also depend on South Africa's economic survival.

The potential for Japanese leadership in this area should not be underestimated. Now that the U.S. and Europe have largely pulled out of South Africa, Japan through its business presence can show the value of a market-oriented approach to political

(Hu. 2002;). The line is 201 of

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Japan Is Right on South Africa

reform. The alternative is to feed the mentality of white South Africans: allow them to close off their country from kind of outside influences that have further the reform process thus far:

Punitive sanctions are intended to send a signal to Pretoria, but South Africa sadly jest that Pretoria turned off its receiving equipment long ago. But the listening equipment probably would be made in very quickly were talk to begin of getting into South Africa rather than getting out.

Mr. Stern, a Tokyo-based columnist, recently finished a six-month reporting stint with Business Day in Johannesburg, where he was arrested by the South African government for "violation of the State of Emergency press regulations"

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Toms. â\200\234After all, what do middle-class
whites know of jaii in South Africa?â\200\235
He has good reason to wonder. For

â\200\234Toms - a 35-yedr~r.-ld physician who

.Served two years in the South Africgn

Defense Force (SADF) as an officer -

probably will be convicted next month - .

- for refusing to fulfiill his remaining two

years, He cannot, he says, serve inan |

Army that occupies black townships
and defends apartheid, the white gov-

emmentâ\200\231s segregationist policies,

Toms'â\200\231s case is significant in that he
is the first to be tried-under a tough
new law that could put him away for

up to three years, {Although about a
score of other South Africans have

: â\200\234H you become

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- {van Toms

TOMS from front page. - -Â»w

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(ECC) that is trying to raise the

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whites to pressure the govern-

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THE CIâ\\200\\224#RLSTHAN SCIE NLâ\\200\\231J: MONFTOq

home, he says. His father was a

â\\200\\224-municipal water-ieter reader; .
&% Athisifiother taught piano.Toms

=~aoqm:ed two.passions:; rugby
and science. T was a normal .
kid,â\\200\\235 he explains in 8 voice that
rasps like crushed gravel.
Â¢ â\\200\\234Growing up as a white South
â\\200\\234â\\200\\234African then, you- hmâ\\200\\230dl:.' were
aware of apartheid.

Although he gradually be-
â\\200\\234came more politicized, his yea.ts
a.rJ,hte University of Ca

+gtudying medicu e were nlarkecl
Â» M mgre by hig beco i
s THan than a political activigt.

Hls â\\200\\230case also is important. for â\\204¢hen came his internship in -

bmng il relaĩ-\\201veky TAreâ\\200\\231 mstartce
of white' radu:s.â\\200\\230hsntf@â\\200\\231mie thes:

1977 at Kimberley Hospital in
â\\200\\234*riorthern Cape Province, where

experiencesâ\\200\\231 that led tohis disil-* 1 Toms: worked'and socialized

lusionment are \$ ommon to'many tHwith'black Indian, and Colored -
ican hberals â\\200\\231the "sinid- â\\200\\234ri*pmived-race) professionals. 1t
- +5was â\\200\\230a huge revelation, he SaYS8.

Southâ\200\231
larities stop there' M

tled whites either: leave theY133070% M For the first time in'my life, I

colmtryortage 10 HHe's sxdelm"" went to someoneâ\200\231s home in'd col-
g+ â\200\230ored towrlstup,

hopmgffÃ@râ\200\235&mnge.'lhm s'pdle

doubts about the Army.

_ So serious were those doubts

.~ that he contacted the family in

the United States that had
housed him as an exchange high-
school student to find out about
emigrating. That fell through.
He booked a flight to London,
but canceled the day before his
call-up. He even considered go-
ing to prison, â\200\234but I was too
young, too scared,â\200\235 he recalls.
Instead, Toms was inducted into

â\200\230the SADF in January 1978.

- The experience left him more
disillusioned. He served first at 2
~ hospital in Clskez, a black home-
" â\200\234land, then in Namibia (South-
Weir\201t Adrica). There, even -

- though he was granted non-Com-

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 1988

rubber bullets, buckshot, and po-
lice dogs used against residents
were the final straws. In 1983,
he went public with his intent

- never again to wear the SADF
uniform. After a number of call-
ups that ultimately were can-
celed, Toms finally had to report
last Nov. 12, which he did, with-
out uniform, and promptly was
arrested by military police.

An inevitable path
Â¥or Toms, this outcome was
inevitable. "The time in Cross-

â\200\230roads only confirmed my feel-

ings about the viciousness of
.apartheid. To see the killings,
the injuries, the inhumanity. I
never could be a party to such

batant status - which exempted'...'â\200\234 things.â\200\235

- hiny from carrying a gun - Toms,
" "sure the government to provide

- says he sensed resentment and
* postility from local blacks, .

Â© â\200\234It doesnâ\200\231t matter if you don't
â\200\231â\200\235[bmsremm- * carry a gun,â\200\235 he contends, â\200\234â\200\230thatâ
\200\230â\200\234yearshehasbem{'}mssroads

atypuca!far his' demmon mï¬\202sm 10 bers. â\200\234Before,â\200\235 my 'only*contact - - u
niform identifies you as part of

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is impressed ' Indeed,â\200\231 wm&"â\200\234*}â\200\230*â\200\231t realized all these

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Town in Crossroads, & teeming

forces in Naniibia

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. Africa); Toms'is 'traitOrATid tÂ¢? because his nonwhite friendsâ\200\235

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â\200\230porch,â\200\231 a.mi made dozetis ol V! ï¬\202râ\200\230mack friend who died while
in -

Â¥one â\200\230c1ls)*on sdipglice detention, and wasin-
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ovali T were denied the vote under

in 2011 and 2003. apartheid He attended the

charged funeral

was 2003 by the anger of the town

7 hips, he says. By the time he got

There is a title in the bad { * 2003 - 2003 2003 2003 his first call-up - 2003 a two-year 2004

ground in 2020 of the stock
man ti su

tics hardly' were
e Hi UO 2003 J 481 n ETA

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2003 2003 2003 required of all white males

' mvenck.' 2003 Pic 2011-7 1 followed by 2003 720 days of service -
i B at i . 2003 2003 ow: rllz years he had senuus

' the system: Other soldiers didn't

' uriderstand. The } 'timughtl was . those who are both religious
. _)ectorsamiw uversalpam 201st_s

- work that would not be per-

* cetved as aiding 2003 the system, 2003 "

black squatter camp of corru-
gated iron shacks and, t:er 201, s For .,

2003 2003 several years
" beern the scene of vicious fight-
2003 'ing among police, residents, and
" different black groups over re-
peated government attempts to
- relocate the squatters. o
' Eventually, the Army moved
~in and occupied, among other

Toms says | he wants to pres-

_ alternatives for moral objectors.
He believes, for instance, the

_ should count as having 2003 served 2003
_ his country. Currently, only g

2003 2003 qualify. for alternative
- service. Everyone else either
leaves the country - or faces

, , _pnsun :
Although Toms and the ECC
claim a groundswell of support

among whites, it is difficult to
measure, . The government does
not release figures on how many
- recruits fail to report for call-
ups, and no one else has accurate
- numbers. In perhaps the most
. A visible act of support, 22 other
' young men joined Toms last Au-

gust by publicly vowing not to
. respond to their call-up notices.
The governmentâ\200\231 obviously

takes a dim view of all this. A
Defense Ministry spokesman de-
clines to talk about Toms's case,
saying only that â\200\234it's the duty of
the government to maintain law
and order. Even if the method is
perceived as harsh, its citizens
must, follow the course. You
can't start making exceptions in
a country that's in a state of
revolutionary assault.â\200\235

Preparing for life in 2 cell
Toms's trial is set for Feb. 2.
The best he hopes for, he says, is
a minimum jail sentence of 18
months. (The law allows for sen-
tences of up to one-and-a-half
times the time owed the mili-
tary, or a maxiraum of six years
for those who have never
served.) If convicted - "and I
will be,â\200\235 he says with a grin,
â\200\234because ['m guiltyâ\200\235 â\200\224 he prob-
ably will be confined to Poll-
smocr Prison. There, hie would
he allowed two 30-minute visits
and could write and receive two

B500-word letters every month.

In the meantime, he is trying
to prepare himself by pracnml.g
yoga, praying, and
puttering around his 90-year-old
Victorian house. â\200\234Look; 1 love
my life, I dorâ\200\231t want to go to
jail,â\200\235 he says, watching the late
afterncon sun play across his
living room wall. â\200\234But the thing
about South Africa is either you
live a comfortable, cushy life
like most whites, or you become
involved.â\200\235

He stops for a moment and
looks down at his hands. â\200\234And if
you become involved, there is a
cost,â\200\235 he adds. â\200\234But in the end, 1
think it is a small price to pay.â\200\235

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TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 23/ 1988:

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

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Jackson, Robertson: keeping the South Africa issue alive

' yview toward eventual power-sharing,

. 7. Albert:Gore hopes. to. make important

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reaction about the future OLUTILEAISE
policy toward that embattled:land Strong
the presidentialâ\200\231 candidates:Â¥All7of them

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but two of the contenders appear
content to leave the contentions and
complex issue of what to do about South
Africa on the back burner. Interestingly

enough, it is Jesse Jackson and Pat Rob-

ertson, the two religious candidates, â\200\230who

express diametrically opposed visions'of '

politicized Christianity, thatâ\200\231have spoken
out most vociferously about South Africa.
Where do they stand on the issue? '

On the'Defnocratic side;'therÃ©'is'a con-

mental â\200\230refoirms in South AfricaMany,
including Michaelâ\200\230Dukakis â\200\230andâ\200\231 Paul"Si-"
ther'afid nibre'comprehen-

esigned to'press the â\200\230White rather " South Africa. Jackson has supported the

cally-dek

than black S8ith â\200\230Africanis.â\200\235Others â\200\230Have s lise
expressed 'sorie â\200\230concernâ\200\231 that' s Policy"
needs'to BÃ© more â\200\234than' simply sdnctions,â\200\235 -
and that Washington shouldâ\200\234move to actâ\200\231

as a diplomatic intermediary between

Pretoria and the black opposition

gr, flew to the White House (4
feet

their Sabhoraticat appeared

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roads into the Rev. Mr. Jackson's black
in - supporters in the South, and he might be

expected to take a tougher stand against

position on apartheid since the
dramatic, as the South Af-

-South Africa than some of his contenders,
has developed - mere sophis-

0 be on zhgzvgrgg_qr a

Jackson wants much stronger sanctions
as part of a comprehensive policy. He will
strive to keep the issue alive during the
primaries. For now, however, the rest of
the pack have been generally content to
condemn apartheid and move on. =

On the Republican side, the South Afri-
can issue is the subject of more divergent
views. Robert Dole and George Bush say
they support the President's 1986 pack-
age of economic sanctions but think this is

.-.* The two, candidates, are diametrically opposed visions of
politicized Christianity, have been vociferous about South Africa.

domestic catastrophe. With the security
forces back in control and ultimate

- change on hold, most Democrats have

been left to ponder how best to formulate
policy in a distant region where US power

sensus among the rulers that 'stronger' Jackson, on the other hand, has waged
US action is necessary to further funda a nearly one-man campaign to keep South
Africa at the top of the campaign agenda.

In virtually every foreign-policy state-
ment or speech, he proclaims the need for

a

a much more assertive stance against

of United Nations forces to wrest

! Namibia away from South Africa. He has
also met many times with African Na-
tional Congress leaders and referred to

*-them as South Africa's â\200\234trueâ\200\231â\200\235 representa-
â\200\234tionalâ\200\231 Co:

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enough for now. Both speak of working
â\200\234constructivelyâ\200\235 and â\200\234behind the scenesâ\200\235
to achieve progress toward racial equal-
ity. Jack Kemp, perhaps the only Republi-
can who has openly sought to appeal to

~ black voters, has taken a very hard line

against Pretoria. But each of the candi-
â\200\230dates has expressed some reservations

. about the wisdom and long-term effects
" of sanctions, saying that they hurt dis-
- enfranchised blacks more than whites, -

â\200\230There is also a greater concern among

* the Republicans about communist â\200\230en-

croachment in the region, and all of the
candidates have referred to the ANC as &
â\200\234â\200\234terroristâ\200\235 organization. However, given

* the precarious play of South Africa do-
- mestically and the party's sometimes con- -

publicans have been happy to play down
the issue of racial separation in Africa.

Mr. Robertson has now emerged as the
hard-right conservative candidate on the
South African issue. He sees South Africa
as a crucial test of Soviet-US competition
and identifies the region's minerals as
vital to the West. In a recent interview
broadcast on South African TV,
son asserted that black Americans â\200\234donâ\200\231t
understand what they're dealing with in
South Africa,â\200\235 and that he will not criti-
cize that nation to gain votes for his presi-
dential bid. He has proclaimed: â\200\234What I
want essentially is a free South Africa.]
want South Africa as a friend of the West
and a bastion of capitalism. It would be
tragic if South Africa was plunged into a
bleedbath, if the Marxist-led members of
the African National Congress could gain
control.â\200\235

While Jackson and Robertson repre-
sent the poles of opinion in their respec-
tive parties, they do illustrate the starkly
divergent visions among the candidates
about US policy toward South Africa.
Pundits contend that neither Jackson nor

" Robertson can win his party's nomina-
tions, but clearly their positions will keep
the South African issue alive.

o Burt M. Campbell is lecturer and
assistant director of the Center for

Science and International Affairs,
-the John F. Kennedy School of Gov-
- ernment at Harvard University.

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â\200\234tives.â\200\231 Like other Democratic candidates, troversial civil rights policies
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CLIFF GOSNEY.PAa \$084-2S54-7542

s : The Orlando Sentinel

/OLUSIA

. Wednesday, October 26, 1988

Volusia books

DAYTONA BEACH â\200\224 Schoolehildren in the South African cities of Empangeni and Ballito soon will have thousands of textbooks no longer used in Volusia County. Yt - :

A shipment of 65,000 pourds, of books from the county schools went out Tuesdsy afternoon, said Cliff Gosney, a Daytona Beach attorney who is volunteer chairman of Benevolence Through Education in Southern Africa Inc. The 2-year-old non-profit âforporation, formed by Gosney is aimed at helping.black

youngsters who are the victims of apartheid, he said. Tuesdayâ\200\231s shipment was the group'â\200\231s third, bringing to about 50,000 the number of textbooks sent to South Africa in the past few months, he said. They were the first from Volusia County, said Fred Phillips, director of education materials for the district.

â\200\234It is a great thing for us to find someone who

could use these books,â\200\235 he said. The county accumulates hundreds of books no longer in use in district schools, and that builds into a storage problem, he

said.

If the used books are unwanted, they end up being dumped in a landfill. â\200\234That would be the last thing we would want to do,â\200\235 he said, :

Gosney will give the system a map showing where the books end up, Phillips said, â\200\234ItN make it more meaningful to us,â\200\235 he said. The towns are

â\200\235

e â\200\224 â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224

bound for South African schools

about 100 miles north of the city of Durban on the Indian Ocean.. ; ;

The donated books cover the basics â\200\224 language, spelling and math â\200\224 and most are for kindergarten through ninth-grade students, Gosney said. Most of the 67 county school hoards in the state are partici-

pating or will be, he said. â\200\234We're just getting goingâ\200\231

good,â\200\235 he said. Â¢

The Roundtable, a civic organization in South Africa similar to the Rotary Club, distributes the text books, he said.

Gosriey said he is unsure when the next shipment will leave but said books are available, Benevolence, which has no paid staff members, has agreed to send 50 shipments within a year to the province of Natal, he said. TR ; :

It costs about \$2,500 to have the books hauled on a tractor-trailer to Jacksonville, shipped from there to Durban, andâ\200\231 for items such as feeding volunteers who load the books onto the truck, he said. Some 20

volunteers loaded the shipment Tuesday, Gosney said.

The idea for the project sprang from Zulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, a controversial figure because of his opposition to U.S. trade sanctions. During a reception for Buthelezi in November 1986 at state Rep. Alzo Reddickâ\200\231s Orlando home, a question arose about what Floridians could do for blacks living under apartheid.

Buthelezi said the students need books, and U.S. Rep. Bill McCollum, R-Altamonte Springs, contacted Seminole County schools about using that districtâ\200\231s old books.

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Reaching
for their
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he pseudo-scientific racial

theory of the 18th and 19th

g centuries was that blacks
â\200\230 had lower intelligence than
~other racial groups because of
~smaller cranial capacity. Decent
â\200\230people (non-racists) of the era ar-
gued that it was inappropriate, and
~indeed cruel, to hold blacks ac-
â\200\234countable to â\200\234white standards of be-
haviorâ\200\235 because blacks were infe-
â\200\230rior and had only a limited
experience with civilization. Today
stheir attitudes are routinely dia-
â\200\230missed as ignorant and racist.
" But hold it! An Oct. 9, New York
~Times report, headlined â\200\234Boston
. Case Raises Questions on Misuse of
Affirmative Action,â\200\235 told how in
~1975. Philip and Paul Malone, fair-
-haired, fair-complexioned identical
+twins, took a civil service examina-
.tion to qualify as Boston firefighters
Â«and bombed out. But not to worry.
*Their mother found a photograph of
their great-grandmother, whose
-skin tones suggested a tint of black
-blood in her ancestry. Mother told
Philip and Paul, who always had
â\200\230been considered white, that they
â\200\230might opt to be black.

Armed with this knowledge, the
twins retook the civil service exam
in 1977. Again they bombed, scoring
'69 and 57 percent respectively. The
â\200\230Boston Fire Departmentâ\200\231s cutoff
â\200\230score for appointment was 82 per-
\cent. But this time, since the twins
â\200\230had applied as blacks, they won ap-
â\200\230pointment. The cityâ\200\231s affirmative-
saction program had concluded, as
:did the â\200\234enlightened"â\200\235 18th and 19th
, century thinkers, that it was cruel to
+hold blacks accountable to white
â\200\230standards. Thus, it set dual stan-
Â«dards for appointment: one for

whites, and a lower one for blacks.

, Lastmonth the Malone twins' charge was discovered, They were

Waiter Williams, an economics professor at George Mason University is a nationally syndicated columnist.

charged with making fraudulent applications and dismissed from the fire department. Their attorney's defense is that the only criteria for racial classification is self-description, and, given the sentiments of their great-grandmother, they had made a good-faith claim to being black.

Whenever society tries to divide its opportunities and blessings by race, there's bound to be fraud and various other forms of hanky-panky.

Prudent preventative measures must be undertaken. Now, if we're going to be serious about racial quotas, there is no nation better-qualified to serve as a model of how to divide the goodies than South Africa.

South Africa's Population Registration Act empowers its secretary of the interior to classify the population in categories of: white, coloured and Bantu, thereby thwarting attempts by people, mostly coloured, many of whom are fair complexioned, from making false claims and thus benefiting from goodies reserved for whites. The Population Registration Act says: "A white person is one who in appearance is obviously a white person who is generally not accepted as a coloured person; or is generally accepted as a white person and is not in appearance obviously not a white person."

he director of the census and

statistics may change the classification

of a person, and, if the person objects, he may appeal to the Racial Classification Appeal Board. The act also provides for recorded documents specifying name, sex, race, date and place of birth, and nationality. In addition, there are perjury penalties for falsifying one's race and penalties for frivolously challenging another's racial classification.

If we had a Population Registration Act as a part of our affirmative-action law, the Malone boys would simply be charged with perjury and theft of goodies intended for another race.

But let's not be too harsh on them. Back in 1960, beginning my tour of duty in Korea, I wrote in "white" as my race on a military form. When an irate warrant officer challenged this, I told him my great-great-grandfather was Irish. And, besides, I didn't want to be assigned to the worst job over there.

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Compliments of
QG Bosiey

GOSMNEY Â» P&

s Black Sout
Runs for Mayorâ\200\224
And Dodges Stones
Once Chased Out of Town

As Apartheid Apologist,
He Makes New Try Today

|

By Roger THUROW
Staff Reporier of THE WaLL STREET JOURNAL
Out of the windows of the cars people
shouted: Linda is pack home! - ..
Linde our leader is back!
â\200\224 From â\200\234AHero Returhs Âfrom Abroxd,â\200\235 by and
apout Tamsandd Linda.

PORT ELIZABETH, gouth Africaâ\200\224He'

is back, all right. Tamsanqa Linda is back
in this tattered port elty, rutning for re-

election as mayor of the troubled black

townships. Inside the Ibhayi City Council
building, a forfress-like structure sur
rounded by razor wire and armed guards,

he plots his campaign in a spartan office

with the window shades pulled down.
â\200\234The radicals, they'd like to get me
again,â\200\231â\200\235 he 5ays. {Rut T can't let that stop

.

The chubby, 41-year-cld self-promoter is
just the sort of man the government wants
running its black townships. A former rail-
road ticket puncher, Mr. Linda was elected
mayor {n 1983. Two years later, he was run
out of town by angry plack residents who
accused him of collaborating with the
apartheid government.

â\200\230T'm No Stooge'

Now, he is back, denouncing the mili-
tant foes of apartheid as â\200\234radicals.â\200\235â\200\231 He in-

sists he is no â\200\234â\200\230government stoogeâ\200\231' though -

his political philosophy sounds strikingly
like that belng pressed by Pretoria: He fa-
yors flush tollets over equal rights for
black South Africans. â\200\230e have {0 remove
the wrong palitical ideology that has beell
put in peopleâ\200\231s minds by the radicals,â\200\235 he
gays, 'â\200\230That is why 1 have returned.â\200\235

Today, for the first time in the nation's history, South Africans of all races are going to vote at segregated polls to elect representatives to segregated city councils. The black elections are a crucial ingredient of the government's strategy to reassert authority in the black townships, following years of unrest in the mid-1980s (see page A19).

But the government may be disappointed by the turnout at the polls. Black activists are urging a boycott of the elections, which they condemn as an extension of apartheid. Until blacks obtain voting rights on the national level, activists say, voting on the local level is meaningless.

A Home in Flames

Mr. Linda was last seen in these parts in late 1985, holed up in the Holiday Inn, surrounded by bodyguards, a mayor in disgrace and on the run. Members of the city's anti-apartheid organizations had denounced him for selling out the black struggle by serving the government. After Mr. Linda purchased the home of a black family that had been evicted for not paying the rent, residents' anger turned violent. They took a torch to the mayor's house and his general store.

South African | WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER

in a 1985-1986

R 26, 1988

similar things happened in black townships: killings across the country. Some were killed

angry mobs. Mr. Linda was lucky; he escaped with his life. For two months after fleeing the townships, he lived at the Holiday Inn, then left without paying the bill. When he ate breakfast here with the state president one day, the hotel manager says, "because we figured his credit was good."

Mr. Linda did, too; he says he thought the city council would pick up the entire tab, but it left a debt of roughly the equivalent of \$5,000. Under a court order, Mr. Linda recently agreed to repay the debt in monthly installments.

After checking out of the Holiday Inn,

Mr. Linda returned to his tribal home in

the black homeland of Transkei, where he

arranged demonstrations against the anti-apartheid leader, Anglican Archbishop

Desmond Tutu. From time to time, MI. Linda also popped up in Europe and North America, speaking on behalf of his United Christian Conciliation Party, a Conservative black party that Mr. Linda claims has four million members. Not coincidentally, many are members of the Reformed Independent Churches Association, headed by Bishop Isaac Mokoena, who co-founded the party with Mr. Linda.

While Mr. Linda was away, South Africa erupted. Pretoria imposed a state of emergency, detained thousands of black political opponents and banned a host of anti-apartheid organizations - including those that had forced Mr. Linda out of town. Mr. Linda, figuring it was safe to return to Port Elizabeth, came home and declared himself candidate for mayor.

»I'm fighting back to prove to the radicals that I'm one of the greatest leaders in the country," says Mr. Linda. "I'm not hiding. I'm prepared to speak out."

Mostly he does this from inside his maroon BMW, shouting through the two loudspeakers strapped to the roof of the car as he meanders through the potholed and narrow dirt roads of the townships. These streets, lined with dilapidated shacks, are teeming with tension. Port Elizabeth was one of the hottest areas of the country during the unrest of the mid-1980s, and the government fears that its 500,000 black residents could erupt again.

Mr. Linda worries, too. His BMW has been stoned, and last week the homes of several other candidates for city council were firebombed. One other candidate was shot to death. But for the most part, it seems, his campaign is being ignored. A recent rally attracted no more than 60 to a cavernous hall where 200 chairs had been set up for the anticipated crowd. Of those who came, most were elderly, unemployed women behind on their rent payments and hoping for help from Mr. Linda. -

"Ooh, he's powerful," says a matronly woman named Jovee. "He'll give out food and houses and jobs to those who support him. He's a great man."

My. Linda's campaign literature echoes similar sentiments. He wrote most of the pamphlets himself, including a poem in which he hails himself as a black hero: "Our father Linda is out there! The people told Lindi to take his seat on Oct. 26 as mayor! and build houses for them. The leader promised."

Such patronage costs money, and the

government is ready to spend plenty here after the election in an effort to bolster the credibility of the black council and its mayor, But Mr. Linda, whose campaign is on a shoestring budget, is taking chances on the money running out. 1
Tell America to send money, Mr. Linda tells an American visitor. f
Send it to whom? he is asked. ,
I and my party, he says. "You: send money to the radicals. Why not send some to me?" :
Black activists shrug off the elections as a farce. "Our people won't vote until our real leaders are released from detention and we can vote for them," says a member of the banned Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organization who is in hiding in the townships. He points to a polling station recently built by the government—a one-room concrete hut surrounded by rolls of razor wire and guarded around the clock by several soldiers—and laughs at the idea of holding elections under the state of emergency.

A vote in these elections is a vote for our continued oppression, he says. "The people see Linda's name and they know right away that the elections are illegitimate. Everyone identifies him with the system."

Mr. Linda doesn't seem to mind the accusation. "We must support local government, for right now that is what the government is giving us. It is a step along the way," he says. "The radicals say they won't take part in elections until all political prisoners are released. But municipal elections are not the place to call for their release. That time will come."

Mr. Linda says blacks are more interested in improving their living conditions than in equal political representation. "The radicals are introducing foreign ideas that don't fit in this country," he says. A system of one-man, one-vote in a unitary state, which the radicals want, won't work in South Africa. The people in the townships aren't interested in living in white areas, like the radicals say. They just want to be taken care of in their townships. "

Mr. Linda says he is the man to do this in Port Elizabeth. He promises to start spending the million of dollars the government has earmarked for upgrading projects in the black townships. He talks about putting a flush toilet in every house. He assures those threatened with eviction for not paying their rent that he won't turn them out. For now, the other things, like equal rights, can wait,

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NESDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1988

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JOURMEY CONTINUED:

AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY

by Alan Potor

New York: Chorles Scribner's Sons

820 pp. Mustrated. \$28.50

By Merie Ruhin

N 1948, the year his first novel, â\200\234Cry, the

Beloved Country,â\200\235 was published, Alan

Patonâ\200\231s was a veice crying in the wilderness,

The principal of the Diepkloof Reformatory

for black juvenile delinquents was one of a
handiul of prophets calling attention to the plight of
South Africaâ\200\231s black majority at the very rnoment
the Afrikaner Nationalists finally came to power

and started fulfilling their dream of apartheid.

By the time of his death â\200\224 April 12, 1988 â\200\224 his political position was significantly to the right of most of his fellow critics of apartheid: Paton was not only opposed to the idea of a violent revolutionary struggle, but also spoke out, passionately and eloquently, against the Western strategies of disinvestment and economic sanctions.

Did Paton change over those four decades, or did he stand fast while times changed around him?

Perhaps a little of each. â\200\234 Jour-
BOOKS

ney Continued, â\200\235 the second and final volume of his autobiography (â\200\234 Towards the Mountainâ\200\235 appeared in 1980), covers this period in his life. To some extent, Paton himself believed he had changed: â\200\234] must say that in 1954 I was more inclined to identify politics with morality than I am today [1987], he reflects. As an older man, he felt less outraged by the particular injustices of his native land - perhaps because he'd lost his fervor, perhaps because he began to take a broader, almost timeless and placeless perspective on life, death, human history, and the universe. But in other respects, & certain consistency emerges: a lifelong patriotism, a

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

IDEAS

teaching of violence, and a conviction that punishment is not the way to make people behave better, â\200\235 be it punishment for wayward youths or sanctions against reprobate nations.

For all that Paton's rightward drift distressed many of his former friends and allies and led a younger generation of radicalized blacks (and whites) to dismiss him out of hand, he can still convey, as few other writers can, the gross indecency of the racial injustices he fought against so long. Looking back, as he does in this young written book, on the years of that struggle, he becomes outraged anew by the unfairness, and his writing takes on power from his rekindled emotions: -

Firmly anticommunist himself (he does a fine job â\200\230, of encapsulating the reasons for the natural antipathy he's observed between: Liberalsâ\200\235 and communists),

Paton is scathing about the much-vaunted anticommunism of the South African government: It was not the totalitarian nature of communism that was abhorrent to the Afrikaner Nationalist; he was to become a pretty good totalitarian â\200\230 himself. What he abhorred was the supposedly egalitarian nature of the communist State. â\200\235 :

Paton also writes movingly of what he calls the most shameful of all acts committed in South Africa

. by people who have power against those who have

none: the forced removal of nonwhites (Africans, Coloreds, Indians, East Asians) from land, farms, homes, and businesses they legally owned, in order to excise these "black spots" from areas the government chose to designate "white." - Morality was the keystone of Paton's parallel careers in literature and politics. As a writer,

Liberals (who believed in always taking

he found

recounting the disputes between more radical the principled stand) and more pragmatic Liberals (who preferred to moderate their demands for goals like one man, one vote, in the hope of broadening the party's appeal to the whites-only South African electorate). "

While politics and the Liberal Party are at the heart of * this book, Paton also describes his involvement in the world of religion. There are intriguing accounts of numerous conferences he attended and insightful, if idiosyncratic, portraits of leading figures like Paton's personal hero, Reinhold Niebuhr. Paton also tells what it was like to find himself a world-famous author, plunged into the realms of theater and moviemaking with the demand for adaptations of his "Cry, the Beloved Country." Paton was a man who loved words, and in this book he reveals how much writing meant to him.

Looking ahead, Paton's vision of his country's future is clouded, even confused. The prophetic power he possessed was not of the sort that pretends to be able to predict the future, but closer to the biblical sort that sees the present for what it is and tries to warn people before it is too late. This parable about the difficulties of persuading his fellow white South Africans to change sounds a note characteristic of Paton's simplicity and his depth:

vividly

{went to my brother and said, "Brother, I am knocking at the door." "Is he a friend or an enemy?" "I don't know," said Biko. "He will be a friend or an enemy until you open the door." "You are, my brother. You will never know if the man outside is a friend or an enemy until you open the door. But if you do not open the door, you can be sure what he will be.

himself "incapable of writing a story that does not have an emotional and moral quality." It was his religious faith (he was a devout Anglican) that led him to politics. Ironically, as he must honestly and reluctantly confess, he was to experience "the joy of fully non-racial fellowship," not in his beloved church, but in the political party he helped found.

Much of this book is devoted to the story of the Liberal Party of South Africa, started in 1953 and disbanded in 1968, when it chose to dissolve rather than submit to a government ban on multiracial parties. Aside from the Communist Party, it had been the only multiracial party in the country. Paton elucidates the principles

that held the party together - belief in democracy.
tolerance, nonviolence, and the rule of law = While

"That was written in 1969," Paton remarks. "This is
now 1987. But my brother still has not opened the door."

Merle Rubin reviews books regularly for the
Monitor.

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