

# Mugabe hope of peace after eight years of independence

HARARE — Zimbabwe celebrates eight years of independence today, heading for one-party rule and still facing a serious security problem on its border with Mozambique.

Despite increasing cross-border raids by Mozambican National Resistance (MNR) rebels, the government of President Robert Mugabe has high hopes for general political stability.

The optimism arises from a pact of unity with the former opposition PF-Zapu party led by veteran politician Joshua Nkomo.

It is expected to end tribally-based politics and put the southern African nation firmly on the road to one-party government.

Politicians in the former rival parties expect the accord to end the six-year-old Matabeleland insurgency which threatened to plunge the young nation into civil war involving the majority Shona-speaking people and the Ndebeles.

Zimbabwe University

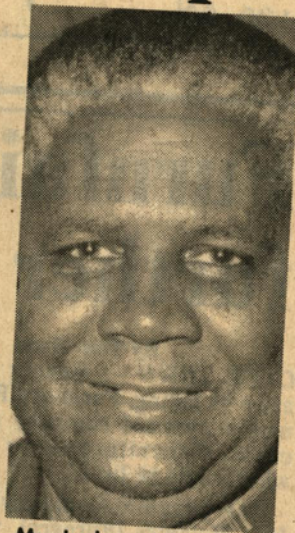


Mr Robert Mugabe ... high hopes of stability.

political science professor Masipula Sithole told Reuters that political problems experienced in Matabeleland before the unity pact were inevitable.

"PF-Zapu had to test Mugabe's and Zanu-PF's will and capacity to rule because Zapu-PF has a background of instability," he said in an interview.

Professor Sithole said the pact had been made possible by two factors.



Mr Joshua Nkomo ... after the test.

"I want to attribute it to an acceptance by PF-Zapu that indeed PF-Zanu have passed that test of capacity and will to rule," he said.

"On the other hand, Mugabe realises that he can't be a populist among the Ndebeles without Nkomo. The 1985 elections proved that he could not undercut Nkomo by appealing to the Ndebele masses above Nkomo's head," Professor Sithole added.

The government says rebel activity, which killed scores of people and cost millions of dollars in destroyed government property, has sharply declined in Matabeleland since the signing of the accord.

However, the country faces a new rebel threat along the north-eastern border, where MNR rebels have since last year attacked economic and civilian targets.

The MNR says it is retaliating for Zimbabwe's military role in Mozambique, where Mr Mugabe has sent some 12 000 troops to fight alongside Maputo government forces and to guard his landlocked country's trade routes to the Indian Ocean coast.

Meanwhile, Defence Minister Enos Nkala has said troops might soon be pulled out of Matabeleland to fight in Mozambique.

Military analysts believe they are likely to be deployed along the tense north-eastern border to block marauding MNR guerillas from entering Zimbabwe.



# Sharpeville

## 6 'shouldn't

THE STAR

## have been

18/04/88

## convicted'

LONDON — Lord Scarman, one of Britain's foremost judges, said in a television interview to be broadcast tonight that South Africa's so-called "Sharpeville Six" should not have been convicted of murder.

The 76-year-old judge, who retired in 1986 after eight years as a law lord, appealed to President Botha to reprieve the only woman among six black South Africans sentenced to death for complicity in a mob murder.

"I don't understand how the (South African) Court of Appeal could have blandly said that all these accused had the intention to kill," Lord Scarman told Independent Television's "World In Action" programme.



Lord Scarman . . .  
Would dismiss the case.

Transcripts of tonight's programme for television, which included a dramatised reconstruction of the 1985 trial, were issued for release early today.

"There was no evidence on which a safe and satisfactory conviction could be obtained because murder is a very specific offence," Lord Scarman said.

"It requires conduct which played some part in the enterprise of killing and the intention to be a part in the enterprise of killing," he said.

The six were sentenced to be hanged for the murder of a black deputy mayor during a 1984 riot in Sharpeville. On March 17 they won a month-long stay of execution when a judge ruled there was evidence that a key prosecution witness had perjured himself during the trial.

### LAST DAY FOR EVIDENCE

Mr Justice W Human, who sentenced the six to death three years ago, has given defence lawyers until today to file evidence to justify a re-trial.

No evidence has been given that any of the six joined in the killing of the deputy mayor, whom militants accused of collaborating with the authorities. They were convicted for having a "common purpose" with the unidentified killers.

Lord Scarman examined the original court records used in the case of one of the six, Theresa Ramashamola.

"On the evidence that I have seen I would withdraw the case from a jury and direct an acquittal against Theresa Ramashamola," Lord Scarman said. "Mr Botha should at the very least exercise the power of reprieve."

"I think that if Theresa had been convicted in an English court on the basis of such evidence as I have read, the Court of Appeal would have quashed the conviction on the basis that it was unsafe and unsatisfactory." — Associated Press.



Anti-apartheid image dented

THE STAR  
18/04/88

# The Netherlands helps EC break coal sanctions

AMSTERDAM — The anti-apartheid image of the Netherlands has been tarnished by evidence that it is helping Britain and its European Community partners break coal sanctions aimed at South Africa.

Coal shipped from South Africa is off-loaded at Dutch ports, from where it is distributed within Europe as "Dutch coal" though the Netherlands stopped producing coal 20 years ago.

Faced by anti-apartheid pressure to cut South African coal imports, coal traders in Britain, with those in West Germany, France and Italy, have sought to maintain their supplies of cheap steam coal by increasing imports of "Dutch coal".

In 1986, for example, Pretoria recorded British sales of 300 000 tons, while Britain admitted to 100 000 tons. Records at the Dutch Bureau of Sta-

tistics, however, showed that 1.1 million tons of South African coal was transhipped to Britain through Dutch ports in 1986.

Imports of what was officially classified as Dutch coal accounted largely for the discrepancies.

The coal was sent to Britain in two ways: as re-exports of a "Dutch blend" and as transshipments, not officially imported into the Netherlands.

The "Dutch blend", a relatively cheap mixture of South African and mainly Chinese coal, has an altered calorific value disguising its origins.

The coal was mixed in bunkers at the Dutch ports, where it was re-loaded on to other vessels, usually coasters or river barges. The re-exported coal was accompanied by re-issued papers omitting the South African label by stating "the Netherlands" as the country of origin.

Transshipment involved re-loading coal from bulk carriers at the deep-water port of Rotterdam to smaller vessels.

The Dutch increased their handling of South African coal last year while most other European countries reduced theirs.

South African coal imports in the Netherlands rose from 200 000 tons in 1982 to almost 2 million tons last year.

Transshipment through the Dutch ports trebled from 2.2 million tons in 1982. — The Observer News Service.

SA 'will tighten its grip on aid agencies'

AMSTERDAM — South Africa will retain its state of emergency after June and increase its stranglehold on aid agencies in the country, according to a visiting spokesman for a group helping families of South African detainees.

Mr Max Coleman and the Rev Beyers Naude are heading a delegation touring Europe to highlight problems facing the country's aid groups.

After a meeting with Dutch politicians, Mr Coleman told reporters yesterday: "The Government intends to smash all organisations opposed to its policies and activities, and this includes simple support groups."

He estimated more than 3 000 people were currently in detention, of which 250 were under the age of 18, and a further 1 000 had been held without trial for more than two years.

Mr Naude said trade sanctions were ineffectual: "But there can be no doubt that if they were applied stringently they would have a major impact."

Mr Kees de Pater of the anti-apartheid Dutch South Africa Committee said South African coal exports were a good example of the country getting round sanctions.

He commented that in the past two years Dutch coal imports had risen by about 65 percent, but that usage in the Netherlands had not changed. — Reuter.



U.S. bill will hit SA 'energy jugular'

# Local U.S. firms *The Natal Witness 18/4/88* face SA hostility

JOHANNESBURG — About 160 U.S. companies under pressure from anti-apartheid campaigners to leave South Africa are being made to feel even more uncomfortable by mounting anti-American sentiment in their foreign base.

Fed by Washington lawmakers' calls for stiffer anti-apartheid sanctions and by a steady stream of anti-U.S. rhetoric from the South African government, references to "the ugly Americans" are now commonplace in SA business circles.

"There is an unfortunate hostile attitude to American firms and individuals at the moment that is being spurred on by government rhetoric," Mr Adrian Botha, director of the American Chamber of Commerce in South Africa said.

More than 140 U.S. companies have joined the exodus of foreign corporations from South Africa over the past two years. They include most of the big-name multinationals like IBM, General Motors, Coca-Cola and Eastman Kodak.

Sanctions have also damaged American trade with South Africa, allowing Japan to supplant the U.S. as Pretoria's biggest trading partner in 1986.

Resentment among white South African businessmen is common and reflects the loss of influence by corporate America.

It has been accompanied by disillusionment with the expensive, high-profile social development programmes with which U.S. companies are trying to polish their images.

As the roll call of disinvestment has grown, many programmes in black education, training, housing and health have faded.

"Our efforts at social upliftment are being discredited along with our argument that we are a positive force for change working from inside the country," acknowledged one

American businessman. "People just don't trust us anymore."

Despite corporate resistance, the focus of American policy appears to be a broadening of sanctions and a determination to compel all remaining U.S. companies in South Africa to disinvest.

A new bill drafted by West Virginia congressman Mr Bob Wise and likely to come before the House of Representatives soon, seeks to force all U.S. oil companies out of South Africa.

Supporters of the measure assert that it would hit South Africa's "energy jugular", leaving the country without the capital and expertise needed to maintain oil production for its transportation and defence forces.

Mobil Oil, the largest U.S. investor in South Africa, said the plan amounted to a virtual expropriation of its \$400 million investment and reaffirmed its opposition to further sanctions and forced disinvestment.

Opponents of sanctions argue that the stream of disinvestment by U.S. firms has enabled South African companies to acquire assets at bargain-basement prices, while exacerbating the high unemployment rate among blacks.

"If you had told me a few years ago that IBM, General Motors and all these other big companies would leave South Africa, I would have thought that would be terrible for the country," Reserve Bank governor Gerhard de Kock told reporters at a briefing.

"Now they have gone and we are still here. Their leaving has created a lot of opportunities for local companies."

Foreign minister Pik Botha commented in a recent speech: "So far sanctions have only created a larger number of white millionaires and robbed hundreds of thousands of blacks of jobs." — Sapa-Reuter.



Among the mourners at the thanksgiving service for Dr Alan Paton on Saturday were the author's widow, Mrs Anne Paton, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the United States Ambassador, Mr Edward Perkins, and member of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly for Vullindlela, Mr Velaphi Ndlovu.

## *The Natal Witness 18/4/88* Distinguished list of mourners for Paton

### Witness Reporter

THE Cathedral of the Holy Nativity in Pietermaritzburg was filled almost to capacity on Saturday as people gathered to mourn the death of Dr Alan Paton.

His widow, Mrs Anne Paton, his son Jonathan and his two sisters, Mrs Dorrie Arbuthnot and Mrs Ailsa Lamplough, attended the service.

A number of Dr Paton's friends took part in the service, including Catholic Archbishop Denis Hurley and former member of the Liberal Party Mr Peter Brown.

Mourners were from across the political spectrum, and included the president of Inkatha and Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and United Democratic Front President Archie Gamede, a former member of the Liberal Party.

The presence of United States ambassador Mr Edward Perkins and the U.S. consul, Mr Tex Harris, as well as the British ambassador, Mr Robin Renwick, was an indication of the recognition given to Dr Paton internationally.

Pietermaritzburg, Dr Paton's birthplace, was represented by the mayor, Mr Mark Cornell, and the deputy mayor, Mr Rob Haswell.

Stalwarts of the defunct Liberal Party also attended, including Mr Elliott Mngadi, Mr Justice Didcott, Professor Colin Webb, Mr Christopher Shabalala and Mr Pat Poovalingam (now a member of the Progressive Federal Party).

The PFP was also represented by its Natal leader, Mr Roger Burrows and the former Natal leader Mr Ray Swart.





## Paton thirsted for righteousness — bishop

NATAL WITNESS 18/04/88

by DUNCAN HARRISON

DR Alan Paton had a hunger and thirst for righteousness which stayed with him all his life, the Bishop of Natal, the Right Reverend Michael Nuttall, said at a thanksgiving service for the distinguished author, reformer and politician in the city on Saturday.

Bishop Nuttall recalled an occasion earlier in the year when he and Dr Paton attended a service for Maritzburg College's 125th anniversary.

"Alan read the lesson — the beatitudes from Matthew's Gospel. In Dr Paton we could see the blessedness of which Jesus spoke," he said.

He referred to the mountain mentioned in Isaiah and also in the title of Dr Paton's autobiography *Towards the Mountain*, saying: "His life was a striving towards that mountain and it is there where he has come."

The bishop recalled the circumstances under which Dr

Paton had begun work on his novel *Cry, the Beloved Country*.

While sitting in a cathedral in Norway, Dr Paton was gripped by a powerful emotion. He returned to his hotel room and began the first chapter of the novel. "He had reached a turning point in his life from which there was no going back," Bishop Nuttall said.

The bishop ended his address by reading a poem written by Dr Paton entitled *Meditations for a Young Boy Confirmed*.

Earlier in the service Dr Paton's son Jonathan read the opening and closing paragraphs of *Cry, the Beloved Country*.

Psalms were read by two of Dr Paton's friends, Archbishop Denis Hurley and Mr Elliott Mngadi. Mr Peter Brown, another close friend, read the Prayer of St Francis. Dr Paton once wrote that whenever he prayed or thought of this prayer, his melancholy was dispelled and his self-pity disappeared.

See page 5

The Bishop of Natal, the Right Reverend Michael Nuttall, escorted Mrs Anne Paton from the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity after the thanksgiving service for the late Dr Alan Paton on Saturday.

Picture by GARTH LUMLEY



# Zimbabwe's hopes run high after eight years of independence

HARARE — Zimbabwe celebrates eight years of independence today heading for one-party rule and facing a serious security problem on its border with Mozambique.

However, despite increasing cross-border raids by the Mozambican National Resistance (MNR), the government of President Robert Mugabe has high hopes for general political stability.

The optimism arises from a unity pact with the former opposition PF-Zapu party (Patriotic Front-Zimbabwe African People's Union) led by veteran politician

Joshua Nkomo. The pact is expected to end tribally based politics and lead Zimbabwe towards a one-party government.

Zimbabwe has been plagued with an armed rebellion in western Matabeleland province since 1982.

The area is inhabited by the minority Ndebele tribe which has long owed unflinching allegiance to Mr Nkomo, whose party has since agreed to merge with the

ruling Zanu-PF (Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front.)

Zapu, however, denied frequent charges by the Zanu government, which has its powerbase among the majority Shona-speaking people, that it was behind the Matabeleland rebellion.

One analyst said political stability would probably be achieved but only after a long time because of deep-rooted suspicions

among the leaders.

Zanu information secretary Nathan Shamuyarira said of the pact: "It is the beginning of a long road."

The government says rebel activity, which killed scores of people and cost millions of dollars in destroyed government property, has sharply declined in Matabeleland since the signing of the accord.

Since last year, however, the country

faces a new rebel threat along the north-eastern border, where MNR rebels have attacked economic and civilian targets.

The MNR says it is retaliating for Zimbabwe's military role in Mozambique, where Mr Mugabe has sent about 12 000 troops to fight alongside Maputo government forces and to guard his landlocked country's trade routes to the Indian Ocean.

— Sapa-Reuter.



THE DAILY NEWS - 18 APR. 1988

## Time magazine publishes the last words he wrote

NEW YORK: Time magazine today published the last words Alan Paton wrote.

"A literary remembrance," was an incompleated essay commissioned for Time. Paton had been asked to write about South Africa today. He died before finishing it. In a note to Time his wife, Anne, said: "It was almost done and during the last few days before he went into the hospital he was just too tired."

Paton's last essay was about "his immediate preoccupations", says

Time: his sense of mortality and his love of words. The magazine printed it exactly as Paton left it.

It begins: "I turned 85 in January of this year. What is it like to be 85? One does perhaps feel a little pride — quite unjustified — in having reached such a venerable age. Apart from that, there's nothing to make a song about. Another 85 years would be the death of me."

The text gives Paton's thoughts on the written and spoken word in which he quotes from Cry the Be

loved Country and lists General Smuts and J.H. Hofmeyr as "masters of the spoken word in South Africa". At the end of the text, Paton's son, Jonathan, senior lecturer in English at Wits, adds: "These are the last words my father ever wrote. I discussed the article with him a few days before he went into hospital. He told me he intended adding some comments made by Churchill towards the end of his life, and then, ironically, he would write something about the end of his own life." — Sapa



# Paton memorial: African tapestry pays its tributes

THE DAILY NEWS  
18 APRIL 1988

**Graham Spence**

ALTHOUGH people throughout the country have mourned the death of South African author Dr Alan Paton, the most poignant memorial service was that held at the weekend in Pietermaritzburg, capital city of the province he dearly loved.

His wife Anne, his stalwart of the past 20 years, his son Jonathan, and many politically battle-scarred colleagues and admirers from the turbulent days of the now defunct Liberal Party were there to pay their last respects.

So were many others, not necessarily political sympathisers, but just saying goodbye to someone no one would deny was a son of Africa.

It was a simple and moving ceremony at the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity, attended by about 1 000 people.

And as the simple prayer for Africa and all her peoples was read out from his soon-to-be published autobiography, there were many moist eyes in the church.

The richness and variety of his friends and admirers was seen in the impressive audience — a tapestry of the people of South Africa. KwaZulu leader Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi was there, as was the chairman of the United Democratic Front, Mr Archie Gumede.

The Administrator of Natal, Mr Radclyffe Cadman and National Party MP for Pietermaritzburg South, Mr Brian Edwards were also there, as was the Progressive Federal Party Natal leader Mr Roger Burrows and his predecessor, Mr Ray Swart.

## FINAL PRAYER

**THIS is the final prayer for South Africa included by Dr Paton in his autobiography, *Journey Continued*, due to be released in a few weeks.**

**"I shall not write anything more of any weight. I am grateful that life made it possible for me to pursue a writing career. I am now ready to go when I am called.**

**"God Bless Africa.  
"Guard her children  
"Guide her leaders  
"And give her peace.  
"Amen."**

## Rich variety of mourners says farewell

There were also representatives of the Natal Indian Congress, the Indaba, American Ambassador Mr Edward Perkins and consul Mr "Tex" Harris, and the British ambassador Mr Robin Renwick. And of course, those people of all creeds and colours who had loyally stood by him throughout the decades of immense State hostility.

His favourite prayer, the prayer of St Francis — "Lord, make me an instrument of thy

peace" — was read out by close friend and former Liberal Party Chairman, Mr Peter Brown. He said that the prayer — "where there is hate, let me sow love" — had always been an inspiration to Dr Paton. Then as Dr Paton's son Jonathan read the first and final chapters of *Cry the Beloved Country*, the book that made his father famous, heads were again bowed — either, perhaps, at the beauty of the words or the prophetic vision.

In his address, the Anglican Bishop of Natal, the Right Rev Michael Nuttall read from an account by Dr Paton on how he came to write "Cry" — a book that arguably has portrayed the beauty and tragedy of South Africa more vividly than any other. It was during a trip to Norway when Dr Paton was in a "strange mood" of dark homesickness for Africa that "sentences which seemed to me to be very beautiful" came to him. The result speaks for itself.

"Alan was a prophet without honour in his own country," said Bishop Nuttall. "He endured to the end what he knew to be right. And he had the courage to speak what he believed to be the truth."

As the crowd rose to sing John Bunyan's immortal hymn, *To be a Pilgrim*, UDF chairman Archie Gumede remained seated, head bowed, weeping silently into his spectacles. A white man standing behind put his hand on Mr Gumede's shoulder and squeezed for a brief instant.

Perhaps that flash of human accord is what Alan Stewart Paton spent his life trying to bring about....



# Tutu's sanctions plea to Portugal

LISBON—Archbishop Desmond Tutu yesterday urged Portugal to use its position within the European Economic Community to press for tougher trade sanctions to end apartheid in South Africa.

Archbishop Tutu, head of the Anglican church in South Africa, made the appeal to Foreign Minister Joao de Deus Pinheiro during a stop-over in Lisbon on his way to Madrid, Spain.

'Portugal is a member of the European Economic Community, among whose 12 members are some of South Africa's principle trading partners,' Archbishop Tutu told reporters after 45 minutes of talks with Mr de Deus Pinheiro in the VIP lounge of Lisbon Airport.

He said he hoped the Foreign Minister would try to persuade his European colleagues to press the South Af-

rican Government to abolish apartheid.

He also said it was in Portugal's own interests to press for negotiations to end racial conflict in South Africa because of the community of some 800 000 Portuguese emigrants living there.

'If there is not a peaceful settlement in South Africa and we have a racial war, the Portuguese, being white, will be involved. A peace accord could only benefit them,' the news agency Lusa quoted the archbishop as saying. — (Sapa-AP)



NATAL MERCURY

## Not so sweet sale

18 APRIL 1988

LAST MONTH's sale of the Entumeni sugar mill shows that small industry takes a bashing when the 'big boys' move in, and how easily the Government's encouragement of small business is swept aside.

Ironically the previous owners of the mill, the Premier Group under the leadership of Tony Bloom, had, by their espousal of free enterprise and running the mill at a small profit, encouraged the sugar industry to establish Zulu cane farmers in the area.

There are well over 1 000 small farmers who will have their profits wiped out if their cane has to be taken to the next nearest mills. Bigger farmers in the area, who made an unsuccessful bid for the mill to run it as a co-operative, have the option of selling their land to the fast-growing timber industry. Some have done so.

And now the responsible politician tells the players in this forlorn game that 'they have to

face reality' and come up with some feasible options.

There is probably one economic option — the mill must continue, the milling and growing quotas must be retained and the Government has to take its painful, but necessary, decision to get an ethanol industry going.

For the sale of sugar land to the foresters hints that all is not well in the sugar industry itself; that it can be kept alive only because it sells its product on the local market at several times the world price.

That is the real dilemma facing the Cabinet — must it keep alive and protect, by refusing import permits for sugar, an industry that is profitable only because consumers have no other options for that touch of sweetness?

Small farmers are, sadly, ground between government and economics. If the mill is to be closed they must surely be bought out at fair prices by those who take the decision.



## COMMENT

# Tailoring students

**T**HE prediction by Unisa's principal-designate, Cas van Vuuren, that finding work for university graduates is going to be an enormous problem in the years ahead is just the latest in a series of warnings on a similar theme. The De Lange Commission pinpointed years ago that there was a need for more technical education, and the fact that sensible rationalisation in tertiary institutions has become essential has been recognised by the universities themselves, most recently in the report of the Committee of University Principals.

Complicating the problem is the demand for higher education by a rapidly growing student population, many of whom are handicapped by a poor standard of schooling. Thus there are appeals like the one by advocate Ismail Mahomed at a Wits graduation ceremony, calling on the university to adopt "an aggressive policy of affirmative action" so that it could serve the needs of the whole multiracial community more effectively.

There are serious questions of how this flood of students is going to be accommodated, how their studies will be financed and how standards will be maintained, without the institutions imposing what Van Vuuren terms "inhuman" admission requirements. But overshadowing all this is the question whether education should not be tailored to the future demands of the job market.

The first step is surely to identify

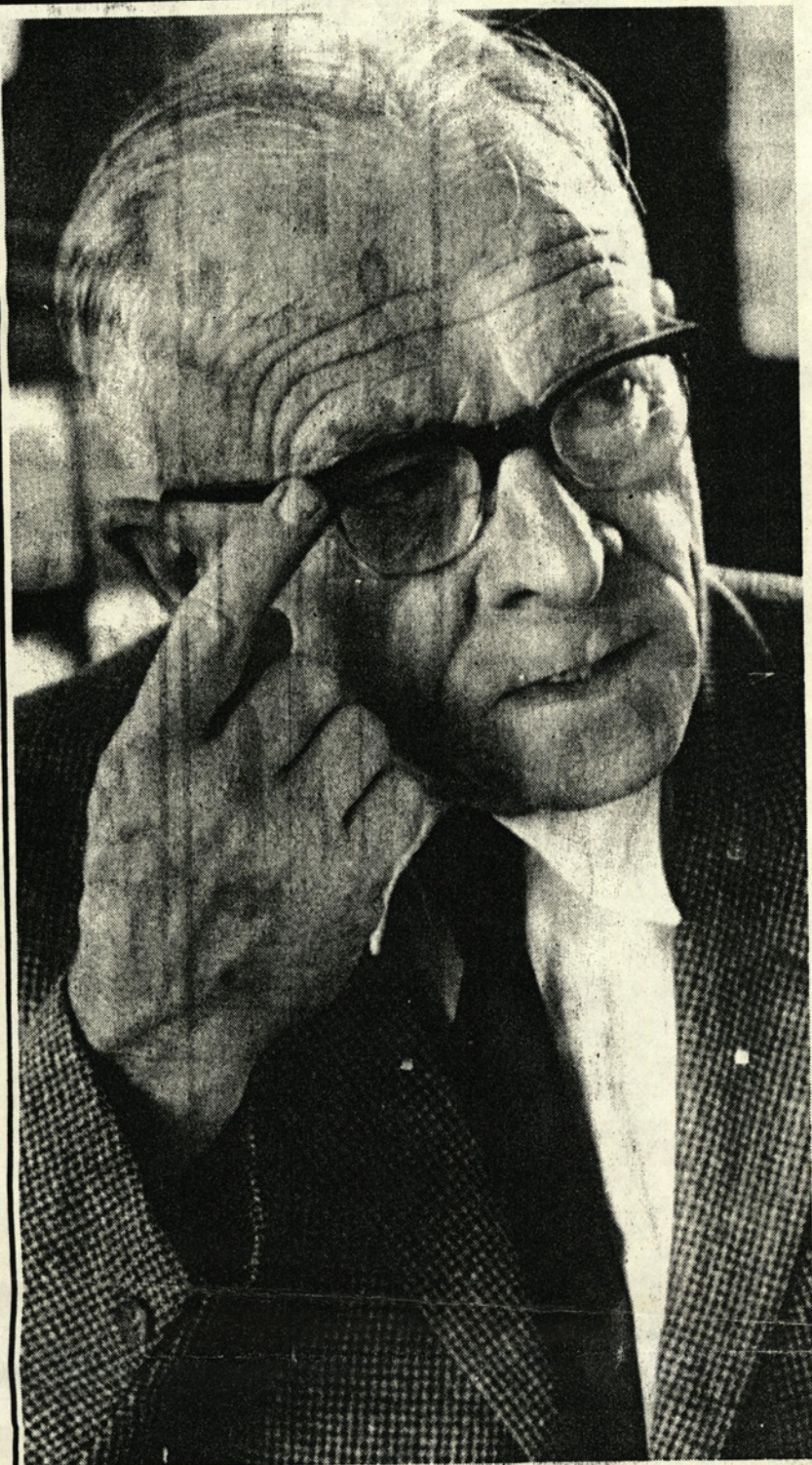
the future needs of the country and its economy rather than the likely preferences of the students. For instance, the belief that SA needs more engineers than teachers may be true, but only partly so. The real need, according to Tom Cooper, chairman of the Board of Control of Engineering Technicians, is for technicians rather than engineers.

According to the accepted ratio in the profession, four technicians are needed to support every engineer, and six trained artisans for every technician. These are the jobs that will have to be filled in the years ahead, and it is up to the companies who will need the workers to ensure that the facilities are provided for their training — by lobbying government and supporting the relevant institutions.

The role of the technicians in preparing young people for the workplace is increasingly acknowledged, but they still carry the stigma of being not quite the place for a socially acceptable student to pass the time. This is not to say the universities need surrender anything of their role — far from it. But in a South Africa strapped for cash, isolated from world technology and desperately in need of steady economic growth, the distortions in the education system simply have to be acknowledged and corrected.

People need to be educated, too, into understanding that higher education is a privilege that must be earned, and that society has a right to expect a return on the facilities it provides.





Alan Paton . . . highly articulate commentary.

The great problem confronting whites is whether they can undo the damage of Verwoerdian doctrines

## Thoughtful overview of South African life

HERE is a book which could hardly have appeared at a more propitious time. It is, in essence, the embodiment of Alan Paton's philosophy as a writer-philosopher and appeared shortly before the great author of "Cry, the Beloved Country" died last week.

Its publication will be widely welcomed by that very considerable body of readers, here and abroad, that Paton attracted during a distinguished writing career which began in 1948 and continued to virtually the end of his life.

"Save the Beloved Country" is a collection of what journalists call "occasional pieces" — essays on topics of the moment, short and long articles on a wide variety of subjects, speeches made to audiences of varying kinds, literary profiles, book reviews, political comment covering a wide spectrum, biographical sketches and much besides.

The whole adds up to a thoughtful, thought provoking and eminently readable compendium which is also a highly articulate commentary on current South African life and thought by one who has, with justification, been called "the doyen of South African intellectuals, an elder statesman without peer, and a respected philosopher."

In his foreword, in which, among other things, he explained why he had dedicated the book to that other great South African, Helen Suzman, Alan Paton wrote that he had come to the conclusion that the best people in the world were those who re-

### Quote

The rule of law is one of the noblest achievements of sinful man.

garded service to their country and their society as the chief purpose of their lives, apart from their private and personal duties and obligations.

That, Alan Paton said, was the reason why he had dedicated this anthology to Helen Suzman, "who had served her country and her society with courage and tenacity and of course with great distinction, and I choose her as a representative of all those who have tried to do the same."

Throughout the anthology one comes across fragments of the wisdom which forms part of the Paton philosophy. For instance: "There is no liberty without the rule of law. It is one of the noblest achievements of sinful man. When it is set aside, it is not only the liberty of the wrongdoer that is lost, but the liberty of us all . . . we lose liberty only when we cease to desire it."

### No animus

Writing about the "first loves" of his life, his country and his language, Paton had this observation to make: "Although Afrikaner nationalism outlawed the Liberal Party and inflicted grave punishments on many of my friends, I have never felt any animus against the Afrikaans language. It still remains for me one of the most vigorous and expressive languages in the world . . . In 1972 Karel Schoeman published "Na die geliefde land", a novel which to me is a masterpiece. It is written in Afrikaans, but it speaks to me about my own country more powerfully than any other book has done . . . The Afrikaners may at

### René de Villiers reviews



### SAVE THE BELOVED COUNTRY by Alan Paton (Hans Strydom, pp312)

times behave like fools, but they do not behave like cowards."

Paton's assessment of his contemporaries provides some of the most thoughtful reading in the anthology. So, for instance, we get this pen-picture of Smuts: "He had a great mind, but it failed to grasp the two great facts of his own life and times. He never understood the nature and strength of Afrikaner nationalism. He never foresaw the end of the colonial age. In fact, he did not realise it was ending until the close of World War 2. Smuts was a tough man, but white South Africa was tougher".

### Generous attitude

One of the questions Paton was frequently asked, particularly on his journeys abroad, was "Is South Africa worth fighting for?"

He invariably answered in terms like this: "There is, for a person like myself and for any young man who thinks as I do, one decent reason for going to the border, and that is to fight for the chance to make this a more just society. I would go there because I do not want to be liberat-

### Quote

We lose liberty only when we cease to desire it.

ed by the Cubans and the Russians. I would go there because I would want the chance for the white people of his country to liberate their country themselves."

Those few sentences embody a great deal of Alan Paton's philosophy. He was able to explain his own generous attitude to Afrikaner nationalists in similar language. P.W. Botha, he said, was an Afrikaner who was born in the prison of Afrikaner nationalism, but he did not want himself or his people to die in prison. "He has come to realise that in the end the Afrikaner cannot rule by the gun."

Paton's outspokenness manifests itself frequently in these pages. So we find these words addressed to Archbishop Desmond Tutu when the sanctions debate was at its height.

"I do not understand how your Christian conscience allows you to advocate disinvestment. I do not understand how you can put a man out of work for a high moral principle . . . It would go against my deepest principles to advocate anything that would put a man — and especially a black man — out of a job. Therefore I cannot understand your position."

"I think your morality is confused, just as was the morality of the church of the inquisition, or the morality of Dr Verwoerd in his Utopian dreams . . . However, I wish you luck, wisdom and courage. You will need them all."

"Our rulers have done some unforgivable things. We had Albert Luthuli, but they threw him away. We had Z.K. Matthews, and they threw him away. We had Robert So-

### Quote

Smuts was a tough man but white South Africa was tougher.

bukwe — he was thrown away. I hope they don't throw you away, too."

On those occasions when he allowed his sarcasm free reign Paton was often at his most readable. So, for instance, when reviewing the book "White power and the Liberal Conscience" by Paul Rich, we read Paton writing this hard-hitting passage: "I have learned from it (the book) something I had never realised, that white liberals belong to one or more of the following categories — crooks, fools, opportunists, tools of capitalism and manipulators . . . As a record of the Liberal Party from 1953 to 1960 it is quite shocking . . . The book is written by what is — for me — an entirely alien mind. He chooses to write about conscience, but he shows no awareness of the possibility that people do certain things because they think that the doing of them is right."

### Doubly hostile

"Am I writing out of hostility?" Paton asked and answered at the same time: "Of course I am. I am doubly hostile because I am sure that the self-satisfied writer of this book has never paid a fraction of the price so many others have paid for their beliefs: that is, of course, if he has any belief except that the end justifies the means."

"Save the Beloved Country", which covers the years 1968 to 1987 and therefore does not include the "Cry the Beloved Country" period, is essential reading for anyone wanting to make a close-up study of Alan Paton and his times and is looking for a deeper understanding of both.

"The great problem", Paton writes, "which confronts white South Africans and their country today is whether they will be able to undo the damage of the Verwoerdian doctrines and gain, to some extent at least, the trust and confidence of Black South Africa in the goodness of their intentions."

"This collection of articles does not answer that question, but it prepares us for the task of considering it knowledgeably and intelligently. I hope it reaches many people."

So do countless South Africans of all creeds and colours.

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