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Umcago Defender Reagan outrages leaders

Message unacceptable to apartheid opponents

by Henry Locke and Juanita Bratcher

rights leaders Tuesday sharply criticized President Reagan for refusing to impose sanctions on Several national, local and civil South Africa as a way of forcing that racist regime to eliminate its apartheid system.

They also expressed outrage, anger and disappointment about the White House's five-point plan to allow South Africa to end its racist policies voluntarily, saying Reagan's suggestions will "fall on deaf ears and Blacks will continue to live as slaves."



Rep. William Gray, D-Penn., watches President Reagan on television Tuesday from House Speaker Thomas O'Neill's office. Gray delivered the Democratic response to President Reagan's speech on South Africa.

from the usually diplomatic voice fender interview. of South Africa's own Bishop Des- "It's totally asinine for the published reports.

American citizens."

"Blacks will never gain their policies. freedom in South Africa as long as "Without imposing sanctions," U.S. Rep. Walter Fauntroy of prison or lift any of the restrictions The most stinging rebuff came Washington, D.C., in a Chicago De-

mond Tutu, who said "The West President to think apartheid will be can go to hell," according to ended in South Africa through dialogue," Fauntroy added. That In separate interviews, the lead- he has discussed Reagan's "do ers also accused Reagan of "in- nothing" suggestions with several sulting the intelligence of other members of Congress, who also condemned the White House's

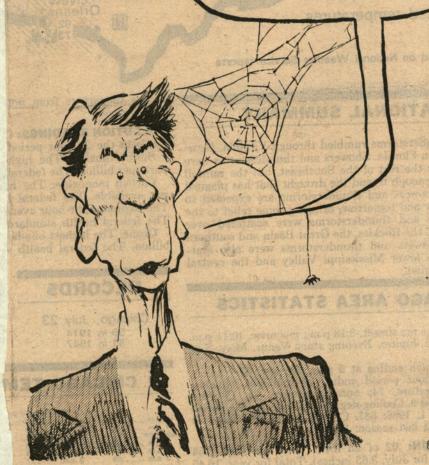
Reagan attempts to solve the pro- Fauntroy said, "South Africa will blem through kind words," said never free Nelson Mandela from

(continued on page 3)

CHICAGO SUN-TIMES, Wednesday, July 23, 1986

35

"NEW" SOUTH AFRICAN POLICY



HIGGINS DIEBECHICAGO SAN-TIMES

Chicago Sun-Times

Robert E. Page, President and Publisher

Kenneth D. Towers, Managing Editor

K. K. Gaur, Editor of the Editorial Pages

Vapid words on S. Africa

After listening to President Reagan's long-awaited speech on South Africa we had to wonder: Why did he bother?

He enunciated no new policy. He staked out no new territory. He made no new proposals. He suggested no new vehicles for opening negotiations. He provided no new ground on which the antagonists could meet. He stirred no hope. He provided no vision. He showed no leadership.

We conclude so even though we agree with much of what he said. We agree that punitive sanctions will be counterproductive, that they would most victimize those already the victims of the oppressive apartheid system. We share the sadness over the black violence against blacks. And most of all, we condemn the brutality and injustice of the apartheid system.

But he or his administration have said all that before. He again urges the obvious: the need to get contesting sides to the bargaining table, the release of jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela, establishment of a timetable for the elimination of apartheid, the legalization of black political movements. He says he will dispatch Secretary of State George P. Shultz to consult with Western allies on how internal South African negotiations can be encouraged.

But he has given neither side reason to move toward those negotiations. Both sides still hear the same words, words the white minority government understands as

continued winking at the oppression and the black majority understands as continued tolerance of an immoral system.

Instead of giving a boost to the middle ground, as he intended, his speech leads to further polarization, and damages America's moral leadership. Witness the reaction of black Anglican Bishop Desmond Tutu, considered to be among the nation's moderates: "I think the West, for my part, can go to hell."

How much further could the president have gone? He could have called for a Camp David-style meeting of antagonists. He could have insisted on the *unconditional* release of Mandela, without the usual preconditions demanded by the South African government. He could have set his own timetable for elimination of apartheid. He could have set a meeting with South African President P. W. Botha.

Instead, he sent a message to the world that this is something not really deserving of his time. Again, we are troubled by what appears to be the president's lack of passion in a cause so crucial to the United States, to the free world, to humanity.

Nothing less than the credibility of what should be the free world's leading spokesman has been seriously damaged. And there wasn't too much of that credibility left to squander anyway, thanks to the stubbornness, ignorance, confusion and indecision that have marked the administration's South Africa policy.

Leaders react to Reagan speech

(continued from page 1)

imposed on Blacks who are fighting and dying while trying to gain their freedom."

Fauntroy said U.S. Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.), U.S. Reps. Ronald V. Dellums (D-Calif.), William Gray, (D-Pa.), Edolthus Towns (D-N.Y) and Mickey Leland (D-Tex.) all agreed that Reagan's address will not help Blacks there in anyway.

U.S. Rep. John Conyers (D-Mich.), expressed similar sentiments, saying Reagan's speech "sounded like it was written by the South Africa government."

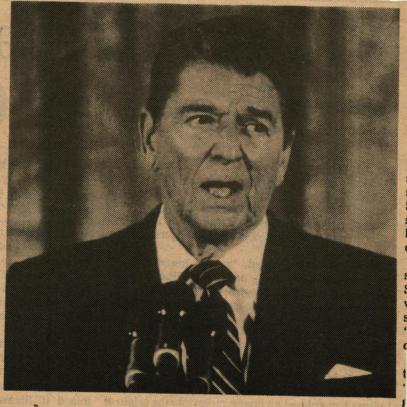
"The president has clearly shown that he and England Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher have isolated themselves with the Pretoria government of South Africa and they stand along against the rest of the free thinking world," Conyers said.

Reagan's claim that to impose sanctions against South Africa would hurt Blacks most is untrue "because we know that to impose sanctions would cut the jugular vein of that racist nation," Conyers said.

"It is a known fact that the U.S. has extensive influence in that country and owns 70 percent of the computer industry, 45 percent of the oil fields and 33 percent of the automotive companies, which collectively employ fewer than 1 percent of Black South Africans," Conyers added.

Because of Reagan's refusal to impose sanctions on South Africa and to treat that nation with kid gloves, the two congressmen said they are urging all 'fair-minded Americans' to write to their U.S. senators and urge them to pass legislation, similar to that adopted by the House, mandating that American-owned firms and groups cut their financial ties with that racist regime.

"This is one issue that the American should not allow the White House to soft-peddle," Fauntroy added.



President Reagan, in a East Room address to a gathering of foreign policy leaders, delivered Tuesday a major speech on South African policy.

On the local scene, Black elected officials and civil rights leaders said they are not surprised at Reagan's actions.

State Rep. Carol Moseley Braun said Reagan has had "no difficulty at all standing up for oppression and the racist government of South Africa. It is up to us to continue the struggle for democracy and majority rule in South Africa and, of primary importance, to express to the South African majority there are friends in the United States who support their liberation struggle."

NAACP Executive Director, Mel Jordan, said "It is tragic that this president would be talking about freedom on the installment plan," but said it is consistent with the "immorality" of his presidency.

Jordan, quoting Civil Rights Leader Dr. Martin Luther King: "As one approaches the emancipation of today's Black from all those traumatic ties that still bind him to slaveries other than physical, this shadowed footnote, this half forgotten history of a system that bartered dignity for dollars, and stands as a painful of the capacity of society to remain complacent in the midst of injustice..."

It implies, he said, that the assumption is that society has the right to bargain with minorities for the freedom which inherently belong to us.

"It is no longer possible to be half-free than it is to be half-alive,"

Jordan stated.

State Rep. Douglas Huff said "Anyone who reads the scriptures with wisdom and understanding knows that President Reagan could do nothing other than what he proposed. A thousand years of apartheid will end within an apocalyptic climax, shortly after the president leaves office, six months before his term expires," he said.

Dr. Hycel Taylor, national president of Operation PUSH, said it is clear that the United States is missing the opportunity to stop a bloodbath in South Africa.

"Reagan's constructive engagement is destructive engagement is destructive engagement," Taylor stated. "The inability of this administration to recognize what the world has recognized—that the Botha regime no longer has acceptance, and (it) is doing serious violence, not only to the Black majority, but all nations in the world that want to have a relationship with South Africa."

State Rep. William Shaw said Reagan has within his powers to readily bring appartheid to an end, but instead he is dancing around and prolonging the issue.

"It is no different than what people did years ago to Black people in this country," Shaw stated. "I call it gandry dancing around the issue. Everybody knows that divestiture would rapidly bring apartheid to an end."

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The Manacles on South Africa's Media

By John B, Oakes

"What the eye doesn't see, the mind doesn't know - and the heart will not grieve over."

In the study of his parish church of St. Alban's in a run-down corner of Johannesburg, Bishop Desmond M. Tutu was reflecting on the reasons why the Botha Government had imposed its drastic clampdown on the

Second of a series of articles

press. "By and large, they're right from their point of view," he mused. "The purpose of the regulations is to prevent the white community from knowing what's going on. If they did know, they'd panic; but they don't really want to know anyway. They never did."

They are not likely to find out from reading the newspapers, which are forced into a straitjacket of self-censorship - or by watching TV or listening to the radio, which are under complete Government control. Few newspapermen will risk the penalty of 10 years' imprisonment and a heavy fine for reporting "subversive statements" when the definition of "subversive" is so broad it can cover virtually anything the Government wants it to cover. A few days ago, however, a courageous provincial court held that the law was so loosely worded as to be "unintelligible" and struck down some of its broadest provisions. The rest remain.

No police action of any kind affecting "public order" may be described in the press without official sanction - meaning that reporters who have witnessed brutal, provocative, sometimes fatal attacks by the police on black demonstrators are stifled into silence. The names of arbitrarily "detained" people may not be revealed. except when the authorities say so.

Since the decrees went into effect in mid-June, half a dozen publications have been seized or threatened with seizure. Newspaper offices have been invaded by fully armed policemen. At least a dozen journalists have been jailed without charges and without of those detained, almost all are

black (a term now increasingly ap-

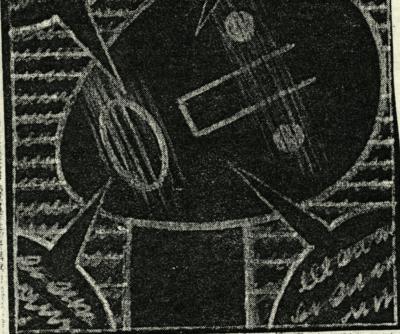
John B. Oakes, the former Senior Editor of The New York Times and a member of the Committee to Protect Journalists, recently visited South Africa.

plied to all nonwhites), almost all had been working for small newspapers or news services and almost all are

still in jail.
"All this," says a noted Afrikaner columnist generally in sympathy with Government policy, "is to play into the hands of the real revolutionaries and keep the public from being informed. It is totally counterproductive." The press still is free to criticize editorially and it does - especially, the English-language and black-oriented press. But they are all hamstrung in reporting the news by regulations that they dare not - and do not - test too far.

"Editing a newspaper today is like walking blindfold through a mine field," says one publisher. "We have no idea what's permitted, and the authorities have no idea of telling us."

"The two most lethal things that can happen to an editor," says Percy Qoboza, editor of City Press, "are Berne .



having the Government look over your shoulder and having a lawyer sitting by your side. We have both."

Long before the new regulations, the most useful book any journalist could own was a 332-page tome, Newspapermen's Guide to the Law." It is in its fourth edition; a new one is needed now.

Elsie's River is a black township

near Cape Town, A month ago at a church there a dozen policemen armed with whips and rifles invaded the building as the service ended, blocked the exit, declared the service an illegal gathering, pulled the speaker from the platform, arrested the more than 200 people in attendance, including children, dragged them off to jail, held them without charges for varying periods of up to two weeks - and managed to keep all details secret from the public under the security regulations that forbid publication of such incidents. A Cape

Times reporter was arrested with everyone else, held incommunicado and freed only 10 days later because his newspaper had brought legal action to force his release.

The cost of such action is prohibitive. This is one of the Government's most effective weapons against the press. Only the largest and most affluent news organizations can afford the cost of legal defense for them-

selves of their reporters. offices of The Weekly Mail, an uncompromisingly anti-Government newspaper, as the presses were running. Although they could not point to a single offensive line, they seized a number of copies. Two other publ tions in Johannesburg, City Press a. The Sowetan, both primarily serving black readers, had similar visitations. The police action in each case was a none-too-subtle warning. If three or four successive issues of a

newspaper fail to appear (or are preyented from appearing), the paper loses its registration and thus its right to publish. This threat hangs over . every paper hostile to the Government, especially the smaller ones,

To remind its readers that they are anot getting all the news, The Cape Times publishes a drawing of the three little monkeys: "Hear no evil; see no evil; speak no evil." The Jo-hannesburg Star states on the front page, "This issue has in effect been censored." The Weekly Mail in a recent issue ran a long list of names of people in detention, every name heavily blacked out. The Sowetan carried a cartoon of a young black man talking - but the balloon for his speech

was blank.
The Sowetan, like City Press, is owned by a white newspaper group. No significant journals are owned by blacks, but those intended for black audiences usually have black editors and reporters.

When asked what Americans can do to help the South African press, the head of one press organization replied: "Establish a legal defense fund for those of us who are or are about to be 'detained.' Foreign correspondents are expelled; we get put in jail. Most of us don't have big organizations behind us to pay for our lawyers - and lawyers are necessary."

The editor of a major daily adds: "If you impose sanctions, do it selectively. If you cut us off from your computers, for example, the first thing the Government will do will be to seize ours. That will effectively shut us down and silence one of the last voices of protest. Think what you do - but, above all else, don't stop thinking about us. We're not lost yet and we need your constant attention and moral support to help us regain our freedom."

DAGLIKSE NUUS 23 JULY 1986

Sanctions: Stay in that tormented land, don't cut and run

WASHINGTON: In his speech on South Africa, President Reagan said there were six necessary components of progress toward political peace in what he called "that tormented land":

 A timetable for elimination of apartheid laws should be set;

 All political prisoners should be released;

 Nelson Mandela should be released to participate in the political process;

Black political movements should be unbanned;

• The South African Government and its opponents should start to talk about a political system based on the consent of the governed — where the rights of majorities, minorities and individuals were protected by law. The dialogue should be initiated by the Government itself.

• If post-apartheid South Africa was to remain the economic "locomotive" of the the region, its strong and developed economy must not be crippled. The United States Congress and the countries of Western Europe must resist the emotional clamour for punitive sanctions.

President Reagan said if Congress imposed sanctions, it would destroy America's flexibility, discard diplomatic leverage, and deepen the crisis

"To make a difference, Americans — who are a force for decency and progress in the world must remain involved.

"We must stay and work, not cut and run," Mr Reagan said.

COMMENT

Rumblings from abroad

Γ IS very easy for white South Africans to shrug their shoulders while watching the Commonwealth tearing itself apart, starting with the Commonwealth Games which start tomorrow. It is so far, and oh, so pointless, my

But is it that far off or that pointless?

The people who are boycotting the Games and those who are urging their governments to impose sanctions against South Africa have spelled out why they are doing it: they have said they abhor apartheid. And they have been saying this for decades now.

South Africa is wont to say: See who's talking. It is so easy to find breaches of human rights in other countries and to use these to whitewash oneself.

But not when you have to live and work next to your black neighbour, who feels the pinch of the shoe regardless of what is happening somewhere else.

Blacks in this country have been saying — for centuries — "Treat us as human too. Whatever it is that you have for yourself, for your family, let me have too. This country is big and rich enough to accommodate us all to satisfy all our needs."

Once white South Africans turn to their black colleagues to hear this clearly, honest solutions will not continue to elude them.

If they turn to blacks with the hope of pulling wool over their eyes, they will be disappointed. They will be frustrated. And we will continue on the mad merry-go-round of violence and counter-violence.

We should see what is happening to the Commonwealth as a strong signal to us. Already the majority of blacks feel intimately touched by the events that white South Africans are scoffing at.

TODAY Mrs SHEENA DUNCAN, advice office director of the Black Sash, looks at the restoration of South African citizenship.

HE Restoration of South African Citizenship Act is very compli-

In September 1985 President Botha said that citizenship would be given back to those from whom it had been taken away, because of the independence of the homelands. He said nine million people have lost their South

Four million of them are outside the independent homelands and five million live in those homelands.

Now, Mr Stoffel Botha, the Minister of Home Affairs, has told Parliament that the Government thinks that 1 751 400 people will get South African citizenship back. That is less than one quarter of the number of people who had their South African citizenship taken away.

Note: Applying for South African citizenship is NOT the same thing as applying for an ID.

These are two different laws — one about identity documents and another about citizenship so people have to make two separate applications.

People who have property and families in one of the independent homelands are scared to take their citizenship back because the homeland governments might victimise them.

Such people can apply for a South African ID in order to have freedom of movement in South Africa but they can wait a while to apply for South African citizenship if they are unsure about the security of their property and family inside one of the independent home-

Citizenship

The following people are entitled to get South African citizenship back:

• Those who were born in South Africa before the date of independence of the homeland; (Note that a person born in a homeland before independence was born in South Africa) and who were perma-nently resident in South Africa on June 30, 1986; and who have been permanently resident in South Africa since the date of independence;

and who notify the Director-General of Home Affairs in writing that they want their citizenship back;

 Those who came from the homeland to South Africa after the date of independence but before July 1, 1986;





Mrs SHEENA Duncan.

Who can get SA citizenship?

and who have had permission to be in South Africa for one year immediately before applying for citizenship;

and who have also been resident in South Africa with permission for another four years in the eight years before they apply for citizenship.

This means a person must have been resident with permission outside the homeland and in South Africa for at least; five years before he or she applies for citizenship.

· Children who are under 21 years of age and one of whose parents have managed to get South African citizenship should also get their citizenship back. They should consult an advice office if they have difficulties.

• Citizenship by naturalisation is a complicated and difficult process for people who leave the homeland after July 1, 1986.

Complicated

They must first get permission to reside permanently in South Africa. After that they have to wait at least five years before they can apply for citizenship.

The five million people who live inside the independent homelands have no choice of getting their South African citizenship back in the foreseeable future.

It is not going to be easy even for people outside the independent homelands to get their citizenship back

The law is not clear and is very complicated.

Because it is not clear, clerks and officials are going to give people wrong information.

For example, one Xhosa-speaking person at Ekangala was told that he must have owned his own house for five years before he can apply for an ID or citizenship.

This is not true.

Permanent and lawful residence has nothing at all to do with a person's accommodation or whether or not he owns a house.

People who are refused an ID or citizenship should check with an advice office to find out what the law really says.

System

It is going to be a long time before we can understand the new system. We need information about it before we can decide what we want to do about it.

The pass laws and influx control will not disappear until all the people who live in the inde-

Political comment in this issue by J Latakgomo and A Klaaste. Sub-editing, headlines and posters by S Matlhaku. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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Mr STOFFEL Botha . Minister of Home Affairs.



without their loved ones in these troubled times. God said: "My name Emmanuel which means God with us." He is the God who stood with the three in the fi-

Desmond Tutu, is es-

pecially for those

families who are

ery furnace. Jesus said: In the world you will have suffering, but be of good cheer, I have overcome the world."

That is our God. If this God is for us, who can be against us? Nothing in heaven or on earth or underneath the earth can separate us from the love of God, who did not only give good advice but came and was involved with us in our suffering. He died, and they thought they had killed him, but he rose and overcame evil. And so we know we will be free. We know that we will be able to live together as brothers and sisters, mothers and fathers, whatever the forces against us."

pendent homelands are free to move around South Africa as they choose.

As things are at the moment people who can get the new identity document are going to have a better chance of finding work than those who have bantustan passports.

Reject

Someone with an ID can work without any permit. People with a homeland passport must have a work permit issued by an immigration officer.

This means that employers will choose people who have IDs and will reject those with homeland passports.

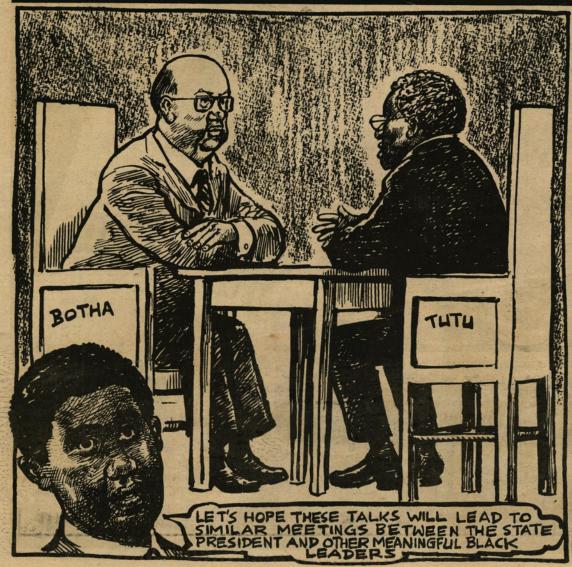
This is just what has been happening in re-

Employers have offered jobs to people with Section 10 rights and have turned away those without Section 10 rights.

Now Section 10 is gone and the decision will be between those with IDs and those with passports.

Freedom of movement is for those with IDs but not for those who cannot get an ID and must go on carrying a homelands passport.

Freedom of movement will not be a real freedom until all those who belong to South Africa are free to move around their country as they choose.



Black leaders

BLACK leaders and organisations have reiterated their intention not to meet the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, who arrives in South Africa today.

Jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela; Bishop Desmond Tutu, Archbishop-elect of Cape Town; and Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, have said they would not see him during his mission.

It seems only the South African Government will meet Sir

The United Democratic Front and its affiliates, and the Azanian By SELLO RABOTHATA

People's Organisation (Azapo) have also indicated that they will not meet him

Dr Boesak, who is a patron of the UDF, said the Eminent Persons Group's report had given the last word on negotiations.

The UDF this week sent a memorandum to the British and European Community governments urging them to pressurise the South African Government to dismantle apartheid.

In the memorandum the UDF demanded among other things:

• The immediate release of all political prisoners and detainees;

• The immediate unbanning of the ANC; and

• The scrapping of all security legislation.

"We must warn your governments not to dismiss the will of our people to resist and dismantle apartheid," the UDF said.

It said the visit by Sir Geoffrey would not serve any purpose because thousands of leaders and activists were in jail, detention or hiding.

"We must make it absolutely clear that no representative of the UDF is going to meet Sir Geoffrey Howe," the movement said.

• This report has been restricted.

Pay rise for Mawu members

Labour Reporter

THE Metal and Allied Workers' Union has achieved a breakthrough in plant-level bargaining with the announcment that its members at Siemens and Crown Cork will be granted a minimum rate of about R3 an hour.

In addition the 500 Mawu members at Crown Cork's two Witwatersrand plants will now have a reduced 42hour week.

The minimum rate is R3,10 an hour in terms of the agreement between the two parties.

Negotiations between the union and Siemens Limited achieved a minimum rate of R3 an hour.

THE National Education Crisis Committee has requested an urgent meeting with the Department of Education and Training to discuss the present school situation.

A spokesman told the Sowetan yesterday that the NECC sent a telex to the Deputy Minister of Education and Training, Mr Sam de Beer, last Thursday and were still awaiting

The request comes amid pressing de-mands from black parents that the NECC consult with the DET to resolve the school crisis. The situation has been made more urgent by an alleged DET threat that schools may be closed if unrest continues.

"We fear that should DET carry out its alleged threat, all other Meet

MAKOBANE

areas of community life will be destabilised," the spokesman said.

He also said for the authorities to shift the blame to "outsiders" was "an escapist attempt not to face the responsibilities of a situation which could possibly be said to be of their own making.

"They need to be reminded that parents are not outsiders on the issue of education."

Alleged ANC

Congress insurgents have been arrested and a large quantity of Russian arms, ammunition and explosives seized in the Durban area, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, an-

the last few months, a statement released by the Minister said.

• An explosion at an electrical sub-station in Jacobs on

• The removal of Gordon Webster, an alleged ANC insurgent, from the Edendale Hospital on May 4. One

person was killed and five injured during this attack; • The placing of a large quantity of explosives of Russian manufacture on the fourth level at the Pine Par-

• The car bomb which exploded in front of the Parade Hotel, Durban, on June 14, killing three people and

 An explosion which damaged a storage tank at "industrial oil processors", Jacobs, on June 22;

cobs on June 22;

 An explosion at a water pipeline, between Durban and Westville, on June 30: and

• Handgrenade attacks in a Durban suburb. — Sapa.

members held

nounced yesterday. The arrests and confiscations are related to the following incidents in Durban and vicinity during

kade, Pine Street, Durban, on May 28;

• An explosion at the "West Side" building on the corner of West Street and Brickhill Drive, Durban, on

• The explosions which damaged an oil pipeline in Ja-

Witness

IN A surprise move in pen to him. the Cape Town terrorfused to give evidence against the seven accused was jailed for a

The witness, who is a detainee and who by order of the court may not be named, repeatedly asked to be joined with the accused.

After a short adjournment he was warned by the magistrate, Mr J M Lemmer, that in terms of the state of emergency regulations he could be jailed for five years for his refusal to testify.

In answer to a question from Mr Lemmer as to why he would not testify for the State he replied that he did not know what was to hap correspondent.

"I don't know what ism trial yesterday, a reason, I don't know ss who re- why, it's just my feeling. If I agree it's the same as seling them (out)."

> Mr Lemmer told the witness that in terms of Section 189 of the Criminal Procedures Act he was sentenced to a year in prison.

Facing two charges of terrorism under the Internal Security Act are Mr Mzweandile Mciteka (25), Mr Andile Gusha (23), Mr Donald Mxutu (66) and Mr Simon Mayholewene, all of Guguletu, Mr Bathemba Lugulwana (33) of Langa, Mr Taelo Ntlaba (19) and a 17-year-old youth from Paarl.

They have pleaded

