

[SouthAfrica --.--â\200\224- a Lebanon?

posed to forced removal â\200\234unless it is
' accompanied by the provision of bet-
ter living standards.â\200\235

ByDesmond M. Tutu

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CAPE TOWN

lack 'South Africans have
1 exercised the most re-
in
their

markable patience
pressing:
human rights.

.for

1950â\200\231s,

In the

they
launched a nonviolent defiance cam-
paign. In 1960, their peaceful protests
Qwere met with the bullets of Sharpe-
ville and the banning Of the African Na:
tional Congress and the Pan-African
Congress. With nothing to show for half
a century of pleading, the black leader'-
Ship went underground or into exile to
begin an armed Struggle.

But. the peaceful campaigning went
On, with Steve Biko and other young
1 black intellectuals forging a new phi-
losophy of black consciousness that
helped people aSsert their humanity
and self-respect. The uprisings of
1976 began as peaceful protests by
our children against their fifth-rate
education and turned violent only in
_ reaction to police bullets. â\200\230

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In the 1980â\200\231s, the pattern has contin-
ued. Whileincreasing numbers, the
young in particular, haveychosen vio-
lence as a last resort, many of us still
explore every last possible peaceful
avenue for change. We have devel-
1:0ped a range of organizations (the
largest of which is the United Demo-
cratic Front, a coalition of about 600
antiapartheid groups) whose purpose
is to resist a Government that in 1984 ,

> went so far as toâ\200\230incorporate apart-
heid into the. Constitution by creating
separate chambers of Parliament for
different races.

emergency

We have used many nonviolent ways, of trying to bring change, such as strikes, rent Strikes and consumer boycotts. The authorities have responded, by declaring states of emergency and 'tightening regulations.

They ban peaceful protest, they detain our children and they ban our leaders. Step by step, since 1985,â\200\230 President â\200\231P. W. Bothaâ\200\231s Government has closed off avenue after aVenue of peaceful political change .â\200\224 â\200\230most recently, last weekâ\200\231s ban on the newly formed ComÂ» mittee for the Defense of Democracy;

At the same time, Mr. Botha isnâ\200\231t

even delivering the â\200\234reformsâ\200\235 he , promised us. A few years ago, many claimed that the Governmentâ\200\231 3 â\200\234final solutionâ\200\235 â\200\224- its policy of uprooting people from their homes and dump-, ing them to starve in the bantustans , in pursuance of its aim of segregation â\200\224â\200\224 had been abandoned. Now we hear otherwise. In Mr. Bothaâ\200\231 5 old parliam-entary seat, the authorities want to remove the people of a small place called Lawaaikamp. When the people appealed, he told them he was op-

Desmond M. Tutu, Nobel Peace Prize winner in 1984, is Anglican Arch-bishop of Cape Town and head of the

' Anglican Church in Southern Africa.

Just over a fortnight ago, the Government removed nearly all effective means of working for true change by peaceful. means when it prohibited political activity by 18 organizations and banned 18 leaders.

What other church leaders and I found particularly horrifying were the restrictions placed on two leaders of the United Democratic Front who , had been advocates of peace in two of the most desperate crisis areas of our land â\200\224- at a squatter camp in Cape â\200\230Town and the townships around Pietermaritzburg in Natal province

In an unusually strong statement, we , argued that when we saw the banning of these leaders, the harassment of peacemakers, the Governmentâ\200\231s failure to arrest people against whom â\200\230 there is clear evidence of murder and assault, we could only conclude that â\200\234the authorities are deliberately obstructing peace in our country and en-

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Washington,
London
and Bonn
to make new
demands
on .

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Pretoria.

l couraging violence among our people.â\200\235

â\200\234Their purpose,â\200\235 we â\200\230said, â\200\234is to use .
surrogate forces toâ\200\230smash effective
opposition to their heretical policy of
apartheid, and to insure as far as pos-
sible that it is the blood of black peo-
ple, and not of white people, that is
spilled in pursuance of their aim.â\200\231

If allowed to continue, the deliber-
ate incitement of violence in our
country will turn it into a Lebanon-
like wasteland.

We felt so strongly about this that

on Feb. 29' we tried to proceed to Par- 1
liament to present a petition calling
on the Government to turn from the
path it had chosen. The most crea- ~11
tive response to a peaceful act of
Christian witness that the Govern-
ment could come up with was to ar-
rest us all.

It has become abundantly clear
that the present Government has
chosen a military option for the fu-
ture. The Law and Order Minister,
Adriaan J . Vlok, has spoken openly of

the need to â\200\234eliminate radicals and
revolutionaries.â\200\235

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Not only does the Government
threaten the security and lives of the
people of South Africa, it is destabiliz-
ing the whole of Southern Africa and
threatening the interests in the region
of its major trading partners, includ-
ing the United States, Britain and
West Germany. Even if
its most
extragavant claims of offering a
power sharing deal with blacks were ~
to be believed, they offer nothing .
more than token black faces in the
Cabinet". The Government has no in-

tention of relin uishing control.

â\200\230 never toâ\200\230 resort to violence under any
circumstances, _I_ also believe there
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a time -- as when the Na21s!

invaded Euro1
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â\200\230tFuze with those South Africans who
have already decided that Violenceis

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. has chosen to ban even this group.

r myself, though, I agree withâ\200\230
. Dr. .Allan Boesak, head of the Dutch
~Reformed Mission Church and a paâ\200\224
tron of the United Democratic Front,
when he says that we muSt not de-
scend to the GoVernmentâ\200\231 3 level in re-
Sponding to its latest actions with vio-
Ience. That is the reason that a num-:
ber of us in Cape Town formed the ,
Committee for the Defense of Democ-
racy to fight peacefully against the '
Governmentâ\200\231s suppression of its op-
ponents. And now, the Government

I want to issue a challenge to the
American, British and West German
Governments. You say you
are
against apartheid. If you are, then
make three demands of the South Afâ\200\224
rican G0vernment:

It should come as no surprise, there-
fore, that th0Se of us who ask desperate
people to take nonviolent action are
filled with despair when they learn that
the U S. and Britain have once again
vetoed international attempts to do the
same.1-The American and British deci-

sions to veto sanctions in the UN Security Council were all the more staggering in the light of the South African representative's arrogant challenge to the Security Council to do your damndest.

Or do you want another Lebanon? :

If the Government does not meet these demands, you must cut diplomatic ties. That would not be a radical step to take in the circumstances. It's not going to cost jobs and lives. It would be a gesture, but a dramatic one with profound psychological consequences for those who wield power in South Africa.

Third, detainees, particularly children, must be tried in open courts or released.

First, the state of emergency must

Second, last month's restrictions against our people's organizations

and leaders must be lifted.

be lifted.

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