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KWAZULU NURSES' ORGANISATION

SUNDAY TRIBUNE July 14, 1985
by Barney Mthombothi

NURSES STUNG BY PLANS FOR ASSOCIATION'S BASE

KWAZULU nurses are up in arms over a directive that they pay R30 and R50, according to their rank, towards new offices for their association.

Some nurses, most of them student midwives, who have not received their salaries for several months, have been told the money will be lent to them and recovered from their pay.

A spokesman for the Kwazulu Nursing Association refused to comment. "Who are those nurses? Which hospitals are they working for?" she screamed.

Controversy erupted a few years ago when it was disclosed that KwaZulu nurses had been "excluded" from the South African Nursing Association in an attempt to induce them to form their own association.

Two KwaZulu Ministers subsequently met the then Minister of Health and Welfare, Lapa Munnik, to persuade the authorities to change their minds, but to no avail.

KwaZulu's chief nursing officer, Mrs D T Dlomo, pronounced the move then as unprofessional, deplorable, and politically motivated.

By Barney Mthombothi

Despite the protests, KwaZulu established its own nursing association.

Angry nurses said this week they had been told they would have to donate money towards offices for the association.

Nursing sisters and matrons are each to pay R50 and nursing assistants and staff nurses R30 by the end of September.

"It's not voluntary. We were just told to pay," a sister said.

"It was not even discussed with us. We were told we could pay in instalments, but the money has to be in by September. We don't even know where the offices will be built — Ulundi, maybe."

A nurse said she had not joined the KwaZulu association.

"I would have preferred to have remained with SANA, but because I'm working in this hospital I have no choice.

"No-one likes it. You can't boycott it because you'll remain alone. Everyone else will pay."

She was still paying SANA and the SA Nursing Council subscriptions.

"I'm paying R24 a year to the KwaZulu association and R20 to SANA. In addition, I have to pay R25 to the nursing council every year. Now KwaZulu wants R50 from us. It's very unreasonable.

"As far as I can remember, I have never received any receipt for the money I pay in KwaZulu. It's collected in the wards."

A spokesman for the KwaZulu Nursing Association said the matter had nothing to do with the Press.

"The nurses must talk to us if they have a problem," she said.

"I don't see the newspapers coming into it."

South Africa Is Finding That Hatred Has a Hair Trigger

NYT 7/14/85

By ALAN COWELL

JOHANNESBURG

BISHOP Simeon Nkoane is much concerned these days with fire.

On June 21, he said, his home in the black township called KwaThema was firebombed. Three days later, he added, the police came to investigate. The day after, his home was firebombed again and now, he said, "I find it very difficult not to believe that it is the police" that are out to intimidate or harm him, a charge the police deny.

Last week, Bishop Nkoane, the Suffragan Bishop of eastern Johannesburg, had another brush with fire, when he helped Bishop Desmond Tutu, winner of the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize, rescue a man accused of being a Government informer from a crowd that sought to burn him alive on a blazing automobile.

At a funeral last week in Duduza, South Africa, for four blacks who died last month, Bishop Desmond Tutu (right) addressing the crowd; Bishop Simeon Nkoane (far right) pleading with angry crowd not to harm a man, at center, whom they suspected of being an informer and intended to incinerate on his burning car.

Agence Franco-Presse (Tutu); Associated Press (Nkoane); Reuters

The incidents were not ostensibly related. But in what has become self—perpetuating violence in many black townships, they suggested a hardening of tactics on both sides of South Africa's racial divide. The bishop's charge of police involvement in the firebombing of his home, for instance, reflected profound unease among black activists, who are telling followers that the police have embarked on a campaign of "dirty tricks." There is talk of official hit lists of activists and of officially sanctioned death squads of extreme right-wing whites. On June 26, eight blacks died when grenades exploded prematurely in their hands. Bishop Nkoane suggested last week that infiltrators had planted rigged grenades on a group of black activists. "They wanted to harm others," the bishop said of those who died, "but they were harmed themselves."

Although they perished on purportedly murderous missions, the eight were given martyrs' funerals last week, which led to further violence. Bishops Tutu and Nkoane, with other clerics, attended one of the funerals, but their presence seemed only to show that their power of peaceful persuasion is rapidly eroding in the black townships, where the latest cycle of violence has claimed more than 450 lives since last September.

Bishop Tutu managed to save the man the crowd wished to burn but only after a heated argument with black militants that touched raw nerves. The Nobel laureate argued that incineration of those deemed to be collaborators would not further the black cause. But many in the crowd disagreed vehemently with him in a manner that would have been unthinkable a few months ago when his presence alone was enough to stave off violence.

At one funeral last week, in Duduza township, 30 miles east of Johannesburg, the images seemed drawn more from Beirut or from Ulster than from Africa: A pickup truck speeds around a corner and men on its roof open fire indiscriminately with rubber bullets and tear gas, shouting the black slogan "Amandla," meaning power. But the men are not black activists; they are white policemen, brash and filled with the confidence that comes from confronting enemies with no guns and being able to taunt them with their own slogans. The previous week, the police shot three blacks to death and killed a fourth in an auto accident.

"It makes youngsters of 12 and 13 so angry," Bishop Nkoane said during an interview in Duduza. "They disregard their lives." Then he added, referring to the white authorities, "I am afraid that they are Irishizing the black youth."

When the unrest took root in the black townships last September, the issues, on the surface at least, were identifiable and limited to such things as rent increases and poor schooling. But that has changed. When Bishop Tutu argued with the crowd that wanted to burn a man, the talk was of "the struggle," the all-embracing term for black resistance, and "the system," meaning the white authorities. It was no longer a question of specific grievances brought about by apartheid but of apartheid itself.

The hatred, turned in on itself so as to elicit black vengeance on fellow blacks, is such, Bishop Nkoane said, that it took him a full half-hour to dissuade young blacks from storming a black civil official's home in KwaThema last week on what would have amounted to a suicide mission

Activists argue that incineration of a collaborator will further their cause, suggesting an intention to make the price of collaboration so high that no one will pay it. Already there are townships like Duduza where black policemen and black councilors have fled their homes. The only remaining symbol of authority in such places is a police station in a commandeered community hall — built, presumably, by the white authorities as a sop to black aspirations.

The fashion among black activists is to call the confrontation of the townships a civil war. In places like Duduza, it is an uneven struggle. Nobody, including the outlawed African National Congress, in whose name many black militants fight, has succeeded in getting guns to Duduza. Instead of resisting the police firing from their pickups, the people's instinct is to flee.

By ridding the township of perceived Government stooges, said an activist, the original intention was to create a "liberated zone." Instead, the unarmed residents have seen their townships occupied in an apparent demonstration that they are ungovernable except by force of arms.

There was another casualty last week — the credibility of the police. After the funeral in Duduza, policemen ordered journalists to report to their "base" in the community hall and searched cars belonging to some journalists. The following day, a police statement declared that the orders had never been issued and the searches had never happened.

THE PLAIN DEALER SUNDAY JULY 14, 1985

Scene from S. Africa jolts rabbi

Reformer says visit shows deceptiveness of apartheid

By RICHARD M. PEERY
STAFF WRITER

An old memory returned to Rabbi Arthur J. Lelyveld last week as he watched television news before going to his Fairmount Temple office for the first time in seven months.

The broadcast showed his new friend, Johannesburg's Anglican Bishop Desmond Tutu, wading into a club-wielding South African mob to rescue a suspected police collaborator who was about to be burned alive.

"I had visions of the two rednecks who came at me with sticks in their hands," said Lelyveld, referring to an incident in Hattiesburg, Miss., as he worked to register black voters in 1964.

Lelyveld and Tutu, who both are a little over 5 feet tall, were not equally fortunate. Tutu emerged from the crowd unscathed, his mission accomplished. Lelyveld was beaten and had to spend a night in a hospital.

But the rabbi said such risks were worthwhile.

"Hattiesburg is an entirely different place today," he said. "In South Africa, the prospects for reform are greater than ever."

Lelyveld, 72, and his wife, Teela, returned last week from a sabbatical leave in South Africa. He spent the time working with the United Progressive Jewish Congregations in Johannesburg and visiting synagogues across the country.

He said he expected to find a grim police state atmosphere in the bastion of racial separation where 4 million whites have all of the political power while 22 million blacks have none. Yet, he did not see in the cities evidence of the rebellion that has taken 400 lives in black areas in recent months.

"You wouldn't know segregation existed in downtown Johannesburg," he said, because businesses that have been granted an "international" designation are exempt from apartheid laws that limit their clientele to whites.

Blacks who run into trouble trying to register in a hotel can get the matter cleared up by calling the bureau of liquor control, he said.

"The press is relatively free. Only occasional stories are banned or censored," Lelyveld said. "I was worried about thought control and left my most controversial books at home. But there was no customs inspection and I saw the same books in the stores."

He said the works of novelist Nadine Gordimer and playwright Athol Fugard — staunch South African critics of apartheid — were readily available.

That appearance, of course, is deceptive, Lelyveld added. He said he visited the home of an Indian friend whose family has been in the country for four generations. The neighboring houses looked comfortable, but he learned that each was crowded with two or three families because apartheid would not let the community expand.

Blacks who work in the cities but who cannot live there may be forced to spend as much as eight hours a day just commuting on overcrowded buses, he said. Thousands are arrested each year for not having passes that give them permission to be in white areas.

Although some judges have shown courage in defending individual rights, abuse by law enforcement agencies is common, he said.

"The Bureau of Internal Affairs and the police seem to be a law unto themselves," Lelyveld said. "They commit acts of torture and violence against people who are picked up."

Press reports of the anti-apartheid demonstrations in the United States that have led to more than 3,000 arrests are generally ignored by South African whites, he said.

Lelyveld said he agreed with Gatscha Buthelezi, a Zulu leader who opposes economic sanctions against South Africa.

"I said to people there that I reject the self-righteousness of the anti-apartheid movement in America. It is a distraction when there is so much that is evil in the world — the Soviet Union, Iran. Sometimes it becomes mindless," Lelyveld said. "There is hunger, unemployment and illiteracy among blacks here in the United States. While we have to condemn evil, we have to be aware of our own failures, too. The Torah says, 'Remove first the mote in your own eye.' "

Lelyveld said he became well acquainted with both Buthelezi and Tutu, who has praised the anti-apartheid activity here. The rabbi described Tutu, the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize winner, as a "wonderful personality."

He said he met Winnie Mandela, wife of African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela, who has been imprisoned for 22 years. Mandela was recently offered his freedom if he agreed to submit to South African laws.

Lelyveld attended a rally in a crowded amphitheater in Soweto, a black suburb of Johannesburg, where Mandela's daughter, Zinzi, read his refusal of the offer. Mandela demanded in his statement that the South African government abandon violence and apartheid instead.

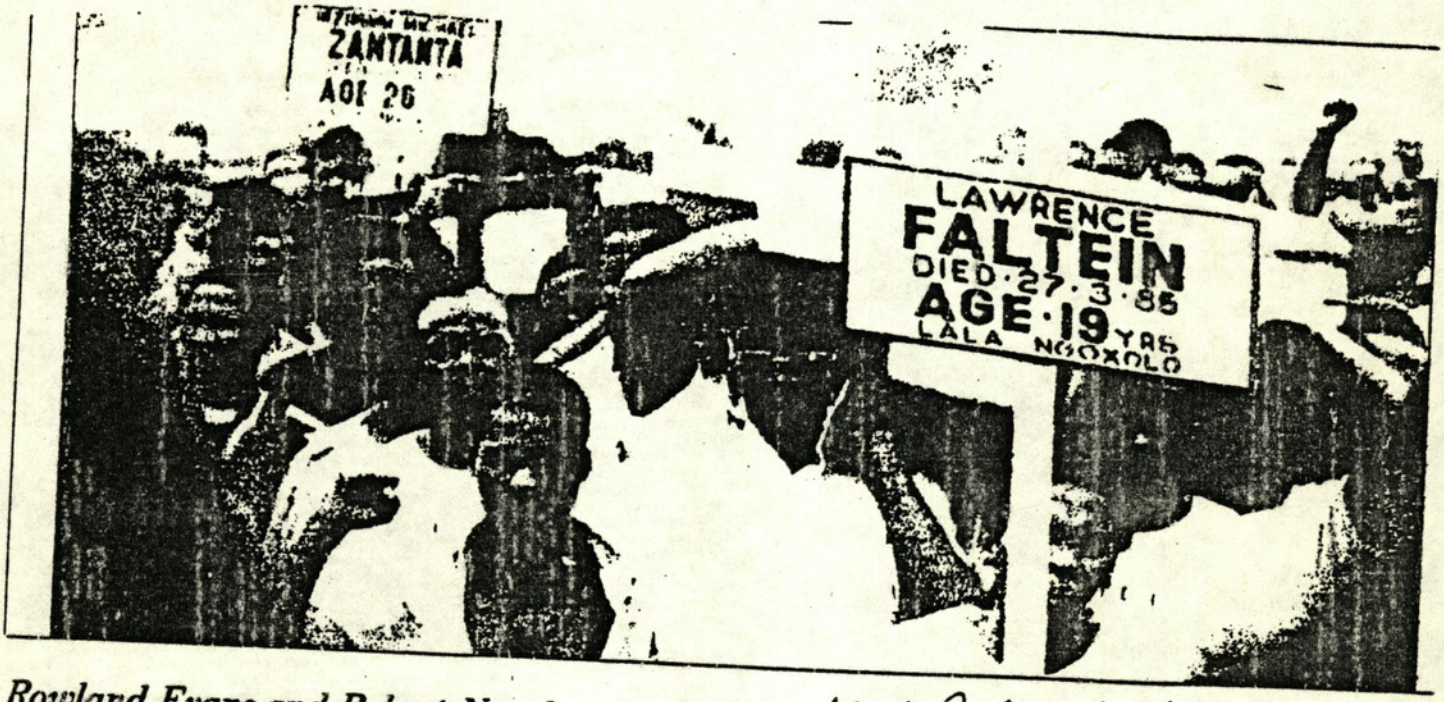
Lelyveld said that by coincidence, the text he was scheduled to use in a sermon that week was a story from Exodus about a slave who refused freedom while his family remained in bondage.

"Somehow, the Bible is always timely," Lelyveld said.

Lelyveld, a frequent visitor to Israel, said he was troubled by its warm relationship with South Africa.

"There is a feeling of guilt and ambivalence in Israel," he said. "It hasn't been forthright about trade with South Africa. Israel says it is for survival. 'We have to be free to sell arms and anything else. We can't bear the burdens of the world,' they say.

"But I say they should try," Lelyveld said.



Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

Wash Post 8/14/85

McFarlane's No-Nonsense Message

At their secret meeting in Vienna, national security adviser Robert McFarlane told South Africa's Foreign Minister Roelof F. (Pik) Botha: Your country's blacks must "perceive" the forthcoming racial reform as promising real progress, or Ronald Reagan's influence as South Africa's most powerful friend will undergo a fatal meltdown.

The president's usefulness as Pretoria's strong Western friend could be undermined if Congress overrides Reagan's expected veto of anti-South African sanctions. Indeed, hinted McFarlane, if South Africa's new reforms look like cut-and-paste cosmetics, Reagan might just sign the bill.

Last week's Vienna meeting, requested by South Africa, was a truly candid exchange. McFarlane, whose no-nonsense performance impressed Botha, pounded home the importance of President P. W. Botha's speech on racial reforms Thursday. The South African foreign minister responded by making clear the rhetorical limitations on his government.

Botha told McFarlane the racial reform will open a road toward common citizenship. It will end enforced living in black "homelands" while opening a path toward some black participation in government. But he stressed that these reforms, no matter how genuine, would be couched in the language of ambiguity to avoid instant alienation of hard-line whites wedded to apartheid. "Power-sharing" is a phrase not likely to be heard in President Botha's Thursday speech.

McFarlane, who knew that Pik Botha had read an early draft of the speech, said Reagan understood that problem. He said the president also understood that "transplanting democracy" overnight, as demanded by a powerful segment of Western public opinion, was "simplistic." But he stressed that anti-apartheid moderates in South Africa must be able to glimpse true promise in the speech.

As of today, McFarlane told Botha, Reagan is committed to vetoing the sanctions bill. McFarlane said it was too late to stop passage no matter what the the South African government does. But a racial and political reform that is genuinely perceived as such by South African blacks might give Reagan enough allies in the Senate to sustain his veto.

An unsmiling McFarlane kept hammering on how important Reagan feels the sanctions issue has become in South Africa's campaign to show the world that it truly intends to turn away from apartheid. Between the lines McFarlane's message was clear: The American president might decide to sign the bill rather than accept the blow to his prestige and credibility that would be unavoidable if the Republican Senate shared in overriding his veto.

Botha demurred. Even if the veto were overridden, Reagan would remain a hero in South Africa, and the action by Congress would not hurt the United States in Pretoria. It was then McFarlane's turn to demur: Losing a sanctions veto to a congressional override, he told Botha, might not damage Reagan in Pretoria but could devastate him in Washington.

That could set back tax reform, the major domestic initiative of his second term, said McFarlane. It also would end "constructive engagement," upon which Reagan has long depended to move South Africa out of apartheid and into racial equality.

McFarlane gently but unmistakab turned up the heat on South Afric some of whose own leaders have bee dissatisfied for months over the slo pace of racial reform. U.S. diplomat have been told that exclusion of black from self-government in the 1983 polit cal reforms for other racial minorities never was intended to be permanent bu that Botha's right wing was given to much leeway in portraying its reform that way.

Whether or not McFarlane and his State Department colleagues were convinced, they left Vienna impressed. They think President Botha intends to put into practice the reforms his foreign minister laid out on the table. But good intentions alone no longer will suffice.

Reagan will lose his bold and difficult battle for "constructive engagem President Botha Thursday fails to estab lish his credibility in explicit terms for increasing the pace of reform and instead produces a legalistically murky set of futuristic half-promises. That could bring demands of 23 million blacks to a flashpoint, with grave consequences far beyond Pretoria.

Before It's Too Late in South Africa

By Robert S. McNamara

WASHINGTON

IF the South African Government proceeds on its present course, internal disorder will continue and violence may become so great as to lead ultimately to a confrontation with forces supported by the Soviet Union. Even in the face of such a prospect, the United States should state unequivocally that it will not find it morally or politically acceptable to support the whites against the blacks.

Let me explain how I come to these conclusions.

South Africa's policy of apartheid — separation of the races — consists of two parts. One is petty apartheid and the other grand apartheid.

Petty apartheid is the practice of segregation in the routine of daily life — in lavatories, restaurants, railway cars, buses, swimming pools and other public facilities. It is true that there has been some relaxation of this type of segregation in recent years. But "separate and unequal" treatment remains legally accepted and widely practiced.

In contrast to petty apartheid, grand apartheid is the wholly unique system of racially biased laws that limit the personal freedom of all South African blacks and prohibit them from any significant political voice in their Government — a Government that controls nearly every facet of their existence.

No other country in the world practices such a thorough degree of discrimination based solely on race, and none has sought to establish racial discrimination on such a comprehensive system of law.

Grand apartheid rests on the following legal foundations:

• The Population Registration Act of 1950 requires that every person be classified as a white, colored, Asian or black African. A person's political, civil, economic and social rights are determined by this classification.

• The ten "homelands," including the four designated as independent, make up 13 percent of South Africa's territory. The land in these areas is poor and the economy stagnant. And yet all black Africans — who represent 70 percent of the population of the country — are assigned to these areas as citizens, no matter where they may actually live. Thus, out of a total of 22 million black Africans, 11 million are residents of the homelands, and 10 million, including perhaps 2 million men who are separated from their families, are "temporary residents" in "white areas."

• The Land Laws prohibit black Africans, except in rare instances, from living outside the homelands unless they are employed by whites.

• The Influx Control Laws regulate the movement of blacks throughout South Africa by requiring that every black over the age of 16 be fingerprinted and carry a "passbook" containing the individual's identity card and employment record. A policeman may ask a black to produce his "pass" at any time, and failure to do so is a criminal offense.

The grand apartheid laws are enforced by powers granted under the Internal Security Act of 1982, which consolidates the provisions of earlier legislation. The act — through restraints on the press, civil liberties and political activity — enables the Government, without recourse to the courts, to silence anyone who poses a challenge to the regime.

The security laws were strengthened during the 1960's and 1970's by a series of tough measures allowing for pretrial and preventive detention. These laws place both whites and blacks in jeopardy of losing their personal freedom if they speak out against injustice.

It is this structure of restrictive laws and arbitrary enforcement powers that supports grand apartheid. None of these laws has been changed in recent years in any fundamental way, and they continue to deny blacks any semblance of political rights. That is what the demonstrators are demonstrating against.

The Government speaks of undertaking reform, but the weakness of its program is twofold. The pace at which it addresses the pressing social and economic needs of the blacks is far too slow, and it fails to confront the issue of political participation. Nowhere does it begin to advance toward what Edward Heath, the former British Prime Minister, has called the only ultimate solution: "The granting of full political rights to the nonwhite population of South Africa — a universal franchise at the national level."

Three years ago, speaking at the University of Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, I said: "Because the South African Government continues to refuse to make any fundamental change in its racial policies, a violent explosion appears to be inevitable. What is in doubt is precisely when the mounting racial frustration in South Africa will finally explode." I added that it would probably occur within 5 to 10 years and certainly within our lifetimes.

Having just returned from a visit to South Africa, during which I talked to scores of blacks and whites, radicals and conservatives, I am now convinced I was wrong. The process of fundamental change has already started. It is irreversible, and it will not end until the blacks share political power with the whites.

Douglas Florian

The only questions now at issue are: How long a time will be required to reach that end? What level of violence will accompany the changes? And what degree of protection, if any, will be accorded the rights of the white minority?

The South African Government has given no indication that it is prepared to negotiate with the blacks even the first steps toward political participation in national decision-making. But such action is inevitable. The longer it is delayed, the greater the violence and the greater the likelihood that, when black participation is eventually achieved, it will provide little protection to the whites.

The power of the moderate black leaders — men such as Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, leader of the Zulu tribe, and the Nobel Prize winner Bishop Desmond M. Tutu — is eroding with every passing day. Their successors will be radicals. And the targets of the violence, which until now have been largely blacks who are thought to be informers or collaborators, will shift to whites.

Opinion polls, both personal and professional, indicate that the great majority of blacks — some say as high as 80 percent — support a banned and illegal organization, the African National Congress, which the Government claims is Communist-directed and Communist-supported.

It is not unlikely that the Soviet Union and its proxies will begin to fish in these troubled waters if the violence continues and intensifies.

What should be our policy in these circumstances?

The U.S. must take a stand

Robert S. McNamara was Secretary of Defense from 1961 through 1968 and president of the World Bank from 1968 to 1981.

Forceful criticism is needed

Economic sanctions are not like to exert sufficient economic pressu to lead to a fundamental change South African policy. But, if proper framed and if supported by both t legislative and executive branches our Government, economic sanctio can be used to convey forceful Ame ican criticism of South Africa's fa ure to address the foundations of r cial discrimination. That is the mo constructive action we can take.

'We must make clear to the Sou African Government that both i separate and unequal treatment blacks and its denial of political pa ticipation on the basis of race are t tally unacceptable.

In sum, American policy toda should be based on the recognitic that the success of the black nationa ist struggle in South Africa can most only be delayed — and at in mense cost — but clearly not perma nently denied.

The final battle lines have not y been drawn in South Africa. Funda mental political change, without pr longed large-scale violence, is sti possible.

But time is running short, and th options are running out.