

rKwaZulu

/A =057

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court

/disput

RlBuneE

over land

'By Sam Sole

THE land dispute between KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Ndebeli tribal leader Chief Zuluslubhekifa Ndebele was taken a step further this week when Dr Buthelezi lodged opposing affidavits with the Supreme Court in Durban.

Chief Ndebele is attempting to halt the excision of a portion of Ndebele land by KwaZulu.

He has claimed the KwaZulu Chief Minister usurped powers granted to only the State President in removing the land allocated to the Ndebele Tribal Authority in 1968.

In his replying affidavit, Dr Buthelezi claimed the disputed land was traditionally occupied by the Buthelezi tribe before it was included

in the Ndebele Tribal Authority's area of jurisdiction.

Dr Buthelezi said he protested at the inclusion at the time for precisely this reason.

â\200\224â\200\224t

He said the people Iiv-  
His own actions, and  
- of the State President  
Qu NNy

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TV\\MNE,

\\ â\200\224 Og- %9

ing in the area had al-  
ways wished to re-  
main members of the  
Buthelezi tribe, and it  
had â\200\234become neces-  
saryâ\200\231â\200\235â\200\231 therefore to  
place the area under  
the jurisdiction of  
Chief Thembitshe Bu-  
thelezi who was bereft  
of his own tribal au-  
thority.

those of the KwaZulu  
Cabinet, had been  
lawful and proper.  
The relevant powers

and his Cabinet to de-  
fine tribal authorities

had devolved on him-  
self and the KwaZulu  
Cabinet when Kwa-  
Zulu became a self-  
governing territory.

His finest moment  
Sundadaiianes; ik ~3S-â\202~4  
turned into his '  
final moment .

MR CHRIS HEUNIS, soâ\200\230often dubbed the â\200\234Minister  
of Everythingâ\200\235, must see bitter irony in the fact  
i finest moment :

Within the narrow confines of the racial thinking the e  
National Party has set for itself, Mr Heunisâ\200\231s exposition of | Government has spent  
most of its  
-the newest landmark in a tortuous policy process last Friday | efforts trying to force the  
issye.  
N o Tk mbieat apparent sven Jouns it became

After 40 years of hardship caused by the NPâ\200\231s insistence that the policy wasn't gop  
. to  
that people must be divided according to their race, the work, andpfhisyswas admigttdF  
Governmentâ\200\231s .Minister |in The truth was recognised, as Mr  
charge of this policy stands Heunis made clear in Parliament  
up and says this is no longer last week, that the â\200\230majority of  
S0, ;

It can be, but it doesn't have  
to, he says, People can decide  
for themselves where they be-  
long or want to belong.

Granted, it wasnâ\200\231t the idea as such  
that led to his downfall. But the  
specifics of its logical application as  
he spelt them ont â\200\224 all â\200\234entitiesâ\200\235  
w be represented in single, cen-

tral institutions of power â\200\224 were an by â\200\230es â\200\231e"

important elemen in his personal  
doom,

; fron? classification ag nothing  
' less th  
s ;:as the primary element holdintg

But what to do about it

â\202~ party, a tantals-  
ing new idea began emerging,

; Could one not allow rouns to  
plsa crown pr&r:.ce of the Nationigg V enter form themselves natura%ly?

arty realm, eunis was B ) Mr Heunis, along with others  
charge of marping out the cqgntryâ\200\231s who set the tone of thinking in the  
constitutional future, i |

j | Sunday Times Politica; | arty, began to answer in the af.  
Now that the crown has fallen Correspondent } i~\201rmiuve',â\200\230 1  
from his head, there arises the mat- | â\200\224â\200\224 :  
of whose head it will be placed :h Btut it rapidly became a parent \ COIIâ\200\231"SiO"

a \

It seems clear from the events of were &Tgi~\201linzi~\202fi~\201ui~\202s :t,ig: Signposts to the new thinking

the fgft?:ggolftmtth&g{;h M second Ty, of nations entered the have appeared recently, but they

) secon ;

Klerk, \_vivi~\2021 ' ;f;{ivee ocfon;;lizntti:l?g The NPâ\200\231s pre-eminent intellpe. tl;a

n.datinatlop: At thei~\201gening of

over Mr Heunisâ\200\231s portfolio in | tual, Dr Hendrik Verwoerd, set Parliament this b Septambec. MO himself the task of giving racia] â\200\230'began usingâ\200\231 the term â\200\234freedom of

practices a presentable philo- associationâ\200\235 and Mr De Klerk said

on.

sophical - dressing rather than the NP was not as bound to the cmde chngng the effe<Âst of these prac- group concept as people thought, But Mr Heunis will not be easily | tices, When Mr Heunis gave the first

forgotten, The crux of the philosophy was full description of the nev w idea a He did bring constitutional poli- | to recognise ethnic distinctions week ago, there was un derstand-

Âÿ to a turning point, and a very | and cast them into law as the able confusion.

real question is: t will happen founttlations of South African It was thought by some â\200\224 and the Heunis legacy? ety.

to'lâ\200\230he 'ce:tl;-lzl isggu! is the NPâ\200\231s So each group â\200\224 blacks were that he was saying people could-

concept of groups. y similarly divided into ethnic com- decide which group they wanted The group concept began in the partments â\200\224 was to seek its sepa- to belong to. :

early years of the partyâ\200\231s reign, rate destiny.. : This is not so. The new dictum i s

whenit took over the et{os of& : But because South Africans that people should decide whe- old United Party government, = were irrevocably enmeshed ina ther they want to belong to an then still a crude distinction be- = common Â©conomic destiny, the ethnic 8roup or not. ;

tween black and white, Tealities of society would not con- The exis in ups will re- In a world emerging from the ' form to the philosophy the new main, and with them their â\200\234own

horror of global conï~\201ict, these | Politicians struggled to impose on affairsâ\200\235 government structures,

matters were not foremost in peo- it 'l:he newly envisaged â\200\234non-eth-

\_plÃ©eâ\200\231s minds, X ga ~ So between then and now the nicâ\200\231 group would,meffect , consti-

â\200\224â\200\224

South Africans saw compulsory  
an apartheid, Further, this .

of the 20th century, have indicated direction rather .

- would be a minority. poa:f  
society this included a number of MPs â\200\224 .

-pears to worry him,

g â\200\2240sso g

Sometime towards the end of  
last â\202\ar, with a new generation  
of thi{kersinth

b

tute a fifth â\200\234entityâ\200\235 in the NPâ\200\231s |  
group-based vision â\200\224 ang would  
need an â\200\234own affajrsâ\200\235 structur of

.its own.

\_Curiously, the NPâ\200\231s thinkers  
seemed to believe this new entity  
They dis-  
counted the distinct bility  
that â\200\224 given the history of the  
affair â\200\224 the majority â\200\234of SAâ\200\231s  
black citizens, just for a start,  
would ditch ethnic categorisation  
if given the choice,

owever this point resolves it-  
self, Mr De Klerk seems to accept  
the new basic philosoghy. Itis tl?e  
detail of implementa ion that ap-

That is a debate his new  
administration will plunge itself  
into. ; â\200\230

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FRIKAANS, the use of which in schools prompted black resistance to National Party policies in 1976, is in for a major setback when the country has been rid of apartheid, and

English will emerge as the main language of the new society.

This is the central thrust of a controversial new

- study released today by the University of Cape Townâ\200\231s

Institute for the Study of Public Policy.

The report is written by respected educationist and former Robben Island prisoner Dr Neville Alexander, who argues that:

B Afrikaans cannot be guaranteed official language status at national level;

B The new English will be very different from the standard language spoken today;

B Children must be taught three languages to make barriers disappear.

The backlash against Afrikaans and the need for a workable language policy, Dr Alexander says, is being caused by the linguistic facts of life, which dictate that one needs to be fluent in English or Afrikaans or both if one is to secure -a good job in any sphere. !

This discriminates | ek  
against blacks and fa- X  
vours those classified ' by  
white, Indian or coloured. |

In addition, blacks re- ! s R |  
gard Afrikaans as the )  
language of the oppres- |  
sor and English as the |  
language of freedom and  
democracy.

Previously, most mid- |

| dle-class blacks support- |

ed the supremacy of Eng-  
lish as both the lingua  
franca and the language |  
of the future that would |  
displace others. They be-  
lieved a good. knowledge  
of English would secure  
their economic and class  
interests.

W\B-w\n;

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freeso

By JOHN  
MacLENNAN  
Political

Correspondent  
[ e T

~ Survival

| Others influenced by  
!

the interests of black  
workers â\200\224 such as cer-  
tain humanitarian liber-  
als, communists or radi- |  
cal socialists â\200\224 realised  
that an English-only solu- |  
tion to the question was |  
just an illusion and that

. the indigenous African  
languages were over-

. overwhelmingly part of the  
answer.

| They conceded, how-  
ever, that in the transi-

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| tion period before a fun-  
damental social change blacks would have  
| to learn either English or Afrikaans as part  
. of a survival kit.

Dr Alexander traces blacksâ\200\231 real resis-  
tance to Afrikaans to June 16, 1976 when  
the schoolchildren of Soweto took to the  
| streets with the chilling cry â\200\234Kill Afri-

kaansâ\200\235. This stopped one of the most deter-  
mined language planning exercises â\200\224  
which had been initiated and furthered by  
the Broederbond â\200\224 undertaken in the mod-  
ern world.

Until and after 1948, this secret society

. used the entrenched equality of Afrikaans  
and English to promote fully the class and  
sectional interests of Afrikanerdom.

All aspects of South African life were  
â\200\234Afrikanerisedâ\200\235. This served to reinforce  
control of the bureaucracy and played  
midwife to the development of giant Afri-  
kaner-controlled business empires.

The systematic promotion of Afrikaans  
against English, especially through the for-  
mal education system, also healed the  
pathological feelings of inferiority which  
most Afrikaners felt towards â\200\234the Eng-  
lishâ\200\235 and which arose from the humiliation



their forebears had suffered during the ruthless exploitation by British imperialism, says Dr Alexander.

According to the Broederbond's policy: "The role of the English language was to be downgraded and that of Afrikaans enhanced in all spheres of life, while the indigenous African languages were to be developed systematically to imprison blacks in ethnic cultures and curb the growth of black nationalism."

The then-Prime Minister JG Strydom said: "Every Afrikaner who is worthy of the name cherishes the ideal that South Africa will ultimately have only one lan-

guage and that language must be Afrikaans." ; This united all anti-apartheid and large elements of the white liberal establishment against the NP, even though the language

generally and heralded a period when people | . were compelled to wrestle with alternative policy was only an aspect of the total policy of apartheid which penetrated every pore of the body politic.

With Bantu education, language policy became an instrument of political control to be used deliberately and recklessly by the children and grandchildren of the Boers who had rejected Lord Milner's Anglicisation schemes by establishing their own Christian national schools.

Blacks were taught in their mother tongue as well as Afrikaans, but Hendrik Verwoerd had already made it clear that Bantu education did not intend to qualify blacks for jobs above their station.

But the events of 1976 stopped the juggles to the outdated practices of a racist society.

However, it was not until 1985, when a national language project was launched on private initiative by a trust known as the Health, Education and Welfare Society of South Africa, that an all-embracing and systematic strategy on the language question was undertaken.

In examining this strategy, Dr Alexander concludes that in a post-apartheid South Africa, English will emerge as the lingua franca because it is the most rational policy option, while Afrikaans will lose its status rapidly.

Only Afrikaner bittereinders will resist this move. It is instructive to note that the

Government already seems to have seen

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. â\200\234Theoretically ...  
every individual in South  
Africa will be able to find  
a language in which to

~ converse with any other  
South African.â\200\235 .  
It is accepted that  
3 English will remain an  
o . official language, but no  
such guarantee can be of-  
fered for Afrikaans.

Flexible

- Dr Alexander suggests  
that all languages other  
than English be given of-

%Nbp&' \] TR, & ficial status at a regional

level, depending on the  
concentration of mother  
tongue speakers of each

. of the languages.  
@ = One possibility is that  
\4% -~ S % ? official status be given to  
English, standardised  
versions of Nguni and  
Sotho and possibly Afri-  
kaans throughout South  
Africa. However, this |  
should be flexible so that  
official documents and  
other language-related  
services would be avail-  
able in English and  
| Nguni, English and Sotho,  
English and Afrikaans,  
depending on the prepon-  
. derance of speakers in a

\_ region.

]Â« - The guiding and prag-  
1:- matic principle, in  
dealing also with genuine minority lan-  
guages, such as Portuguese and Tamil,  
should be that people ought to be served in  
the language of their choice wherever pos-  
sible. .

Dr Alexander emphasises that there is  
no one nation in South Africa, that all the  
ruling groups and governments since 1910  
have aborted the birth of one South African  
nation, and all the major languages will

i have to be instrumental in uniting people  
1 into one nation.

This nation to be is likely to be served

best by non-racial, multilingual pre-schools. ;

This means children would have to be brought out of â\200\234theirâ\200\235 communities and the schools would have to be located in industrial (not group) areas and business districts.

/4 â\200\224 O, \_ T

Sunday Times

THE PAPER FOR THE PEOPLE

|4 -05-89

The â\200\234mixed Iegacylvi

THE resignation of Mr Chris Heunis has caused, if not an earthquake, certainly a major political tremor.

It is understandable. The ebullient minister symbolised most perfectly the style and heart of constitutional reform during the Botha era â\200\224 confused and insub-

~ stantial, yet prosecuted with

boundless energy and, until this week, an apparently unquenchable optimism.

Critics of Mr Heunis have cruelly described him as abandoning the sinking ship he so badly constructed. There is some truth in this but it would be unfair not to acknowledge the almost impossible political regime under which he has been forced to operate.

The simple truth is that Mr Heunis was one of the very few committed reformers in the National Party. He was defeated, ultimately, by three things: His style of reform by stealth; his inability to communicate and the ideological limitations imposed upon him by President Botha.

At the end of a long term of office it is fair to ask what the Heunis legacy is. He did not craft a credible constitutional order but he did at least shepherd the ruling party into new ideological pastures â\200\224 a single and equal citizenship within an undivided country

S

of Chris Heunis

and tentative moves towards the idea of free association  
The translation of high principle

- into working structures, as we all

know, is a tiresomely long and confused process. Until now, the ruling party has failed signally in presenting a coherent vision of the future or even credible administrative structures for the present. ~ Mr Heunis, belatedly, tried partly to remedy that in his speech during his vote last week but in so doing landed up in hot water: The National Party, it is apparent, wants the benefits of noble rhetoric but not yet the disadvantages of hard, practical proposals, least of all before an election.

In this it closely resembles much of its extra-parliamentary opposition and until it starts some straight talking it has no particular claim on the credulity of the voting public.

This week's events are certainly dramatic. The wholesale and unprecedented exodus of Cabinet Ministers just before an election leaves the National Party with an image of internal disintegration.

But the longer-term impact of Mr Heunis's departure might well be less. He has pointed the party in

" the right direction and it will surely

have to follow â€ˆ hesitant, stumbling and grumbling â€ˆ but most certainly following.



partheid, renewal

nd Klerk

A NEW word has crept into the National Party's vocabulary - RENEWAL. One of F' W de Klerk's new slogans is: Renewal, peace and prosperity (Vernuwing, vrede en voorspoed). -

Can we expect something new from the NP's new leader? Yes, without doubt. He is a new man. He represents a new generation. He was born seven weeks before P W Botha entered politics as a party organiser on 1 May 1936. He has a new style. He uses a new rhetoric and new slogans.

He represents a new approach. Hopefully he will surround (or isolate?) him-

self with a new team in South Africa. Hopefully he will

get rid of some of the dead

weight and appoint a brand

new Cabinet.

Will De Klerk's renewal create a New South Africa? Will it create conditions

conducive to peace and

prosperity? No, definitely

not.

De Klerk's policy will only be a renewal of apart-

Cunhhy Times

.

Sondiey

by Sampie

F W de Klerk

Terreblanche

â\200\230| of Stellenbosch University,  
who examines reform a la

heid â\200\224 yet another time! In  
a TV interview during the  
middle of February he said:

â\200\234I have no obsession with

group rights, but they are  
inevitable in the South Afri-  
can situation.â\200\235

His renewal will consist  
of attempts to give new defi-  
nitions to (the old) racial  
groups and to use these new-  
ly defined statutory groups  
as building blocks for his so-  
called new constitutional  
dispensation. But the new  
constitution will still be an  
apartheid constitution.

As such it cannot but per-  
petuate conditions conduc-  
ive to racial conflict, inter-  
national isolation and  
creeping poverty.

It seems as if the curse of  
apartheid is resting on the

ational Party. The NP cre-  
ated it and pampered it for  
decades. It sunk large sums  
of ideological capital in  
abortive attempts to justify

if.

All efforts to get rid of it  
have been half-hearted and  
ill-conceived. The apartheid  
system with its built-in pro-  
tection for white power and  
privileges has become such  
-an integral part of the  
National Party that the NP  
will only succeed in abolish-  
ing it if it is prepared to  
sacrifice the NP.

The road from D F Malan  
to F W de Klerk is marked  
by several milestones â\200\224 the  
milestones of different ver-  
sions of apartheid. The Old  
Apartheid of Malan and  
Strijdom was replaced by  
the Grand Apartheid of Dr

Verwoerd. :

" Humane

He promised separate  
freedoms and national self-

" determination for every

ethnic group!

Mr Vorster introduced  
Pragmatic Apartheid to  
give a more humane face to  
it, but the children of Soweto  
were not impressed by this  
artificial face! With his re-  
form policy President Botha  
built a system of Co-optive  
Apartheid.

But the black and brown  
elite that became co-opted  
were too small and too  
greedy.

In the declining economy

. ia' â\200\22408Â\$ â\200\224

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they â\200\224 and the white privi-  
ligentia â\200\224 are exploiting

the system for personal -

gain. With his bureaucrati-  
sation of apartheid, Presi-  
dent Botha has opened a  
Pandoraâ\200\231s box for corrup-

tion. -

Mr de Klerk has already  
promised that he will carry  
the torch towards a Renew-  
al of Apartheid. The slogan  
most often used by him is:  
â\200\234Differentiation without  
discrimination.â\200\235 ;

If he is to be taken seri-  
ously about this, he will  
have to upgrade Soweto to  
such an extent that no black  
man will opt to live in  
Houghton.

This is not new. It is the  
old â\200\234separate-but-equalâ\200\235  
slogan: with all the old

dishonesties built into it. Nobody ought to be misled by this verbal trick.

Mr De Klerk also declared that domination must be ended. But he immediately added that the way to do it was "power sharing without domination".

Chris Heunis announced last week that "power sharing without domination" would in future take place in one parliament with group representation.

He added that numbers would not count in this parliament because all decisions would be by consensus!

The bottom line of the NP's new constitutional concoction is that five million whites (freely associated) will still retain their decisive political bargaining power, while almost 30-million blacks (freely associated or not) will not attain such powers.

For the NP not to admit this, is dishonest. To attempt it, will be unjust. If implemented, it will perpetuate group conflict.

The National Party's

" track record shows that the

more it "divides" power, the

more it entrenches its own

dominance. Consequently, the responsibility to prove the opposite, rests squarely on its shoulders.

Mr De Klerk will indeed represent a new generation of circus artists if he can balance in one parliament, full political rights for five million whites on his right hand, full political rights for 28-million blacks on his left hand, full political rights for three million coloureds on the big toe of his right foot and full political rights for

one million Indians on a toe  
on his left foot.

To exclude any possibility  
of domination by one group  
over another, he should per-

" form his act in such a way  
that neither his fingers nor  
his toes know what the  
others are doing.

Economy

Please, can somebody in  
the NP stand up and explain  
in plain language what  
"power sharing without  
domination" means in real  
terms in a country with an  
integrated economy  
South Africa? The NP owes  
such an explanation to the  
electorate.

As long as the NP persists  
with a policy of apartheid o  
no matter in what disguised

like

form "group conflict will

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intensify, international iso-  
lation will increase, and  
stagflation will be perpet-  
uated. =  
The electorate should

PICR o e =

know that in spite of F W de

Klerk's new rhetoric, a vote  
for the NP is a vote for Re-  
newed Apartheid . . . with all  
its old disadvantages.

F W de Klerk will ow i

represent genuine RENE  
AL if he can commit himself

not to use statutory groups  
(however defined) as build-

ing blocks for the constitu-  
tional dispensation of a.  
post-apartheid South Africa.

; &

AS THE bills continue to roll  
in, Archbishop Desmond  
Tutu is under growing pres-  
sure to foot part of the cost  
of his flop appearance in

Birmingham last month.  
The money row has shaken the Angli-  
' can church in Britain after the resigna-  
who said he  
accepted the blame for the huge finan-

| tion this week of a bisho)

cial loss.

Now Tory councillors in  
the city are calling on Arch-  
bishop Tutu to make up at  
least part of the R880 000 loss  
made during his trip to the  
city last month.

â\200\234He should pay for his own  
visit as a gesture of Christian  
warmth to the city of Bir-  
mingham. He has the mon-  
ey,â\200\235 said leader of the city  
councilâ\200\231s opposition, Mr Reg  
Hales.

But Canon Allan Priestley,  
an organiser of the week-long .  
Christian celebration at  
which Archbishop Tutu was  
guest of honour, said: â\200\234There  
is no reason why he should be  
asked to pay. Archbishop  
Tutu did not ask for anything,  
and he wasnâ\200\231t paid a penny to  
come here.â\200\235

The furore over the huge

â\200\230jj; ;\_:\.\.A\,\,\,;\\*â\200\230\â\200\230\

Pay up,

Tory councillors demand help  
with massive R880 000 bill as  
bishop quits in festival furore

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|4-05&

By JEREMY BROOKS: London

bill for the festival, which attracted only small crowds in bitter winter weather, caused the resignation this week of the local Suffragan

â\200\234 Bishop of Aston, Colin Buchanan.

The move, â\200\234unheard ofâ\200\235 in the Church of England, has caused tremors right across the church establishment. On Thursday Dr Buchanan, 53, an outspoken critic of the way the church is run, said he would cease his public ministry. !

Most of the money was lost through the hire of the huge 30 000-seat Aston Villa stadium. A rally there only pulled in a crowd estimated at about 8 000 people.

Archbishop Tutu, his wife, a Press spokesman and a personal assistant were all flown over first class at a cost of about R37000. They were .

housed in a Christian hostel in the city.

Sorrow

Vast numbers of special Tutu T-shirts remained unsold, and a fortune spent on advertising, amplifiers and video screens failed to fill meetings.

A â\200\234spoilingâ\200\235 move by the rightwing Freedom Associ-

\_ation, which flew in two

black South African bishops

critical of Archbishop Tutu

at the same time, was also

blamed by organisers for Â°

causing the flop.  
But one media spokesman



said he thought that without |

the resulting publicity  
crowds would have been even  
smaller.

Announcing his resigna-  
tion, Dr Buchanan said: â\200\234I  
miscalculated. We have sus-  
tained a serious financial  
loss. Itâ\200\231s with sorrow that I  
now leave. I will miss my  
friends.â\200\235

He added: â\200\234I hope to be of  
use somewhere in Godâ\200\231s  
church in the future.â\200\235

The Archbishop of Canter-  
bury, Dr Robert Runcie, said: |  
â\200\234I greatly respect the integ- -  
tity of his decision. Colin Bu- |  
chananâ\200\231s gifts as bishop,  
scholar and pastor must not !  
be lost to the church.â\200\235

. Outcry

Canon Priestley said that  
full details of the cost of the  
Christian Celebration would  
be published soon â\200\224 but at  
the moment bills were still  
rolling in.

The shortfall will be met  
by the Diocese of Birming-  
hamâ\200\231s Board of Finance. Otï¬\201-  
er churches who took part in  
the venture said they would

| also help.

Archbishop Tutuâ\200\231s visit  
was dogged by difficulties  
from the start.

First, leftwing city coun- |

cillors and clergy decided to  
scrap a traditional St  
Georgeâ\200\231s Day parade and  
hold another instead in hon-  
our of the Nobel Peace prize

winner. They were forced to |

back down by the resulting

-\_public outcry. Then a sudden

.i

- POOR DRAWCARD .. .

burst of bitter â\200\230winter  
weather made people stay in-

doors. o

The Rev Michael Blood, a

religious broadcaster, said  
Dr Buchanan had been over-  
ambitious. He should have

held more smaller meetings -

than relying on one big rally.  
â\200\234It was an impossible job

to fill Villa Park on a Sunday  
afternoon. Billy Graham |  
didnâ\200\231t do it, Aston Villa (the |  
football club) canâ\200\231t do it.

â\200\234ThÃ© only person who can |  
do it 'is Bruce Springsteen,

and maybe Bruce Spring-  
steen and Archbishop Des-

mond Tutu are not in the  
same league.â\200\235

. Archbishop Tutu was re-  
ported to be unaware of the  
controversy. He was in a  
silent retreat preparing for a  
trip to America.

Artihbishop Desmond Tutu