

FOURTH SESSION OF THE FOURTH KWAZULU

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

CONTINUATION OF THE CHIEF MINISTER'S
POLICY SPEECH

I responded by saying that on the first issue of condemning violence, they must realise that I have no option but to condemn it. Quite apart from the fact that I do not believe that violence can resolve problems in South Africa, I stated that whenever there were deaths as a result of acts of violence emanating from them, I had to make a comment when the media representatives asked me for my opinion. I told them that I had to condemn acts of violence, and that I always added that if there was no apartheid there would be no such violence. On Disinvestment I told Mr Thabo Mbeki and Mr Albert Dhlomo that this issue was not an academic issue for me. I told them that there were many Black people from my clan and others who, when they were hard up, approached me to help them get jobs and that therefore, if I supported disinvestment the government, who at that time were gunning for me (before I developed the political base I now have) would tell the people that they were not getting jobs because I had campaigned against investments. They appeared to understand this, but I later got the message that these gentlemen had not come to me on the instructions of or with the knowledge of Mr Oliver Tambo.

However, later on, when I sent my emissaries to meet with Mr Oliver Tambo and some members of the Executive of the External Mission of ANC, these emissaries were bombarded with arguments on why it was important for me not to speak against disinvestment on my trips abroad. I repeated the same arguments which I advanced before Thabo Mbeki and Albert Dhlomo. This over the years created chasms between me and my brothers in the External Mission of ANC. This issue was raised again between us at a meeting of a delegation of Inkatha and a delegation of the External Mission of ANC in London in 1979. It was clear that there could be no compromise between us on the issue. That is why a campaign of villification against me was launched in June 1980 by Mr Alfred Nzo, the Secretary-General of the External Mission of ANC. This campaign has been getting worse every year and this year Mr Aziz Pahad, a member of the External Mission of ANC National Executive announced in January in London, that the External Mission of ANC would step up their offensive against me this year. This had already been obvious when COSATU founded as their front, fired the very first shots of villification against me at their very launch.

Because I have a substantial constituency it was clear that in order to drown my voice against disinvestment, they had to vilify me and proselytise certain individuals and organisations in South Africa to sing their song in favour of disinvestment and sanctions. From what you have just seen in the Harare Declaration and the Resolutions of the SACC and COSATU's stance on these issues, it is quite clear that they have now succeeded in winning certain Black spokesmen and certain front organisations such as UDF to give the

impression to the whole world that Blacks in South Africa are calling for disinvestment and sanctions.

Another method of strengthening this view was to ensure that certain academics who were pro-UDF and therefore pro the ANC External Mission, carried out certain academic surveys to prove that Black workers approve of sanctions. One of these surveys was quoted by Bishop Tutu when he called for sanctions last month. He stated that according to one academic survey, 70 percent of Black workers approved of sanctions.

You can see from the Press statement that was issued after a joint consultation between the WCC and the SACC in Harare. I had first hand information on what went on there. Members of the external Mission of ANC dominated the whole so-called consultation. The persons who told me about it said that they tried to express their individual views on the issue of sanctions and on the proposed 10th anniversary of Soweto, and they were warned privately that the external Mission of ANC had a list of the number of their rooms at the hotel; that if they persisted in holding different views from those which the external Mission of ANC was ramming down the throats of the so-called consultation, there would be retribution. Those representatives of the Churches who went to Harare as part of the delegation of the SACC will deny that they were under such pressure. But the truth of the matter is that they had no option but to toe the line or risk violence.

These methods are not anything surprising as the external Mission of ANC approves of such methods, and uses such methods. We are now only too familiar with 'necklacing', which recently received the ultimate sanctification from no less a patriot than Mrs Mandela. We are all too familiar with the bombing of people's houses, or the maiming and/or killing of those who do not toe the line. So when I was told about the kind of pressures that were brought to bear on the SACC delegation, I was not really surprised at all. In fact, as far as many members of the SACC are concerned, there was not much effort needed to persuade them as far as all these issues are concerned as we have seen from their own resolutions last year.

You will recall that their No.2 Resolution stated:

- '2. Recognises that many Church leaders and Christian people in South Africa are in favour of (selective) disinvestment and economic sanctions because they believe that the situation is now so serious that economic action must be taken to strengthen political and diplomatic pressures on South Africa to force the South African government to take seriously the need for fundamental change in South Africa.'

I have already commented on these resolutions. But I find Sir, that it is most interesting to know who the Christian people are, who have approved of selective disinvestment and economic sanctions in South Africa. Unless we approve of the concept that was bandied about during the struggle for supremacy between the Empire and the Papacy in Europe in the last century by the Popes, that they were intermediaries between God and mankind. Are Church leaders in South Africa really intermediaries between us and God? The concept also propounded by one of the Popes during this struggle for supremacy was as he put it - "I am God's mouthpiece to mankind". Are our Church leaders in that mould, when they pontificate in this manner without consulting ordinary Christians in any way? It surprised me that the SACC should take it upon itself to speak in the name of Christians in South Africa without consulting them in any way.

It is only next November that my own Church, the Anglican Church, will hold a consultation on this issue. They will be doing so 'ex post facto' as the SACC has already called for sanctions, and our Archbishop-elect - Bishop Tutu, has already called for sanctions to be imposed on South Africa last month. Will the Anglican consultation be merely going through the motions of consultation in order to give respectability to what the SACC has already approved, and what our Archbishop-elect has already approved of? These are interesting questions, and when we compare this with the statement of the ANC external Mission after the Harare consultations, the similarities are striking.

The Harare Declaration itself as you have seen states in Resolution 3:

- '3. We call on the Churches inside and outside South Africa to support South African movements working for the liberation of that country. We call on the international community to apply immediate and comprehensive sanctions on South Africa.'

The question is, who gave the participants in the Harare Consultation the mandate to call for sanctions? Is this a reflection of the extent to which they despise the ordinary people? Is it because the people are no more than just the vulgus in their order of things? Black South Africans have, for decades, suffered impositions from the State without having any say whatsoever

about their future. I find it extremely worrying to see the political conduct of those who claim that they can bring about a new order of justice and democracy in South Africa. Are we going to have the apartheid tyranny replaced by another tyranny where we, as Blacks, will continue to be no more than cogs in a wheel doing the will of the wheel? Where is respect for our human dignity in all this kind of political conduct? Where is the recognition that we also have human rights - if things are going to be rammed down the throats of Black South Africans by a new breed of dictators-cum-liberators?

In the list of what they called their explanatory statement of No.4 of the Declaration - they have as the last clause - "Draw up a list of all those governments and Churches that do not subscribe to these minimum demands." One wonders why such a list should be drawn. Is it in order to blackmail or droogoon those who will not comply with their impositions.

In the statement issued by the External Mission of ANC at the end of the Consultation, we see the sentence - "Neither will we forget the concrete support for our struggle which we enjoy from Church people in many lands." I have personally, over the years, thanked the Church donor agencies for giving humanitarian aid to all our brothers in the external Mission of ANC, and the PAC in exile. The only complaint I have stated and restated over the years, is the manner in which this humanitarian aid was not given to victims of apartheid in South Africa itself. And where it was given - it was given on a selective basis to those who have the political approval of the SACC. National Churches in the West have to deal with the SACC ostensibly because it is seen there as an equivalent of a National here since so many of the mainline Churches are affiliated to it. But you are all aware of what criteria is used by the SACC in allocating the funding they get from the Church donor agencies in the West. It might be of interest to you if I give you a schedule of grants for what is designated as the National Emergency Fund to the South African Council of Churches between January to September 1985.

SCHEDULE GRANTS AND DONATIONS RECEIVED: JANUARY-SEPTEMBER 1985

<u>Receipt No.</u>		<u>Amount</u>
0184	Oxfam - U.K.	R11 909.00
0244	R. Goldblatt - S.A.	100.00
0248	Rev. F.A. Amoore - S.A.	50.00
0252	Quaker Peace and Service - U.K.	1 172.33
0288	Waterford-Kamhlaba - S.A.	1 000.00
0291	Dr J.A. van Heerden - S.A.	50.00
0973	NGSK - Kuilsrivier - S.A.	100.00
0984	Danchurch Aid	19 762.85
1034	The Most Revd. P. Russell - S.A.	150.00
1143	ADB - Algemeen Diaconale Bureau - Netherlands	10 000.00
1149	Catholic Fund - U.K.	12 170.43
1155	NG Sendingkerk-Sarepta - SA	65.00
1157	Generale Diaconale Bureau - Netherlands	10 013.91
1164	U.C.C. - United Church of Canada	14 304.75
1177	Church of Norway	14 041.00
1178	Church of Norway	113 635.00
1186	NCCC - National Council of Churches of Christ (U.S.A.)	182 341.65
1205	EMW - Evangelisches Missionswerk (Hamburg)	276.34
1324	Rev. Peter Hortap - S.A.	100.00
1517	Generale Diaconale Bureau (Netherlands)	35 472.63
1525	Stichting Wilde Gawzen (Netherlands)	84 666.84
		<hr/> R511 381.73 <hr/>

Then let me ask you to look with me at how this largesse was dispensed.

SOUTH AFRICAN COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

NATIONAL EMERGENCY FUND

GRANTS AND DONATIONS MADE

Cheque No.	Amount
------------	--------

JUNE 1985:

T/T Eastern Cape Council of Churches - Emergency Fund - Grant	10 000.00
8503 Western Cape Council of Churches - Grant	10 000.00
8505 Wits Council of Churches Crisis Fund - Emergency Fund Grant	10 000.00
8601 Wits Council of Churches of Christ - Emergency Fund Grant	5 000.00

JULY 1985:

8751 Wits Council of Churches Crisis Fund - Emergency Fund Grant	5 000.00
8794 Masangwana Aid and Relief Service Grant	2 000.00
8859 Northern Transvaal Council of Churches - Emergency Fund - Grant	5 000.00
8920 Crisis Emergency Fund - Grant for 4 young people	500.00

AUGUST 1985:

8953 NAMDA - Subsidy for Emergency Fund Grant	2 760.00
8975 Repair to house after damage - Grant	300.00
8976 Western Province Council of Churches - Legal Aid	15 000.00
9219 Midland Council of Churches - Grant for Relief (unrest)	5 000.00
9304 Emergency Fund - Food for Soweto children in prison	1 000.00
Pietermaritzburg Council of Churches - Emergency Grant	5 000.00
T/T Border Council of Churches - Grant re: Relief Duncan Village	5 000.00

BALANCE

C/FWD.

R81 560.00

SOUTH AFRICAN COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

NATIONAL EMERGENCY FUND

GRANTS AND DONATIONS MADE

	BALANCE	B/FWD.	R81 560.00
SEPTEMBER 1985:			
9525	Western Province Council of Churches Legal Aid		10 000.00
9546	Western Province Council of Churches Grant For Funeral assistance		10 000.00
9562	Eastern Cape Council of Churches Emergency Fund - Grant		15 095.00
9590	Queenstown D.C. Emergency Fund Grant		3 000.00
T/T	West Coast Council of Churches Emergency Fund - Grant		10 000.00
T/T	Border Council of Churches Emergency Fund - Grant		10 000.00
T/T	Eastern Cape Council of Churches Emergency Fund - Grant		10 000.00
T/T	Midlands Council of Churches Emergency Fund - Grant		10 000.00
6432	United Democratic Front - Grant Funeral Costs		6 000.00
	(Less Refunds of Grants made)		(755.00)
			<hr/>
	TOTAL		R164 900.00
			=====

The Secretary of the South African Council of Churches wrote the following circular letter with the schedules of expenditure of this so-called National Emergency Fund (NEF):

" THE SOUTH AFRICAN COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

13 December 1985

To All Ecumenical Partners and Donor Agencies
contributing to SACC's National Emergency Fund

Dear Friends,

As promised earlier in the year we are now sending you the first comprehensive report of the National Emergency Fund (NEF) since its establishment in April this year. A report on the Asingeni Relief Fund (ARF) will be mailed to contributing agencies shortly. We were given to understand that there was a measure of confusion about the existence of two separate funds like Asingeni and NEF and there is a need to explain the difference between them as well as to answer the question whether in fact, there is a need for the continuation of two separate funds. Could I clarify the situation by explaining as follows:

ASINGENI RELIEF FUND (ARF):

The Asingeni Fund was established in 1976 as a fund created to assist individuals and communities who had become victims of the apartheid system and had suffered or continued to suffer serious material loss. It included those individuals and communities who in some way or another actively resisted the injustice of apartheid and had suffered as a result in a way which required some form of material assistance. Because of the sensitive nature of many if such acts of victimisation and of the urgency of meeting such crisis needs, the SACC approved that the General Secretary administer the Asingeni Fund as a discretionary fund. Thus the fund catered amongst other things for covering the legal costs of political trials, the support of families of political prisoners, and a wide spectrum of needs created by the injustice of apartheid. In the course of 1985 the Finance Committee decided (for the sake of protecting both the General Secretary and the SACC against unwarranted and unjustified propaganda) to limit the discretionary powers of the General Secretary to R10 000 per application with a Committee of three dealing with all allocations exceeding this amount.

Could I emphasize that there is a desperate need for this fund to continue even after the State of Emergency has been lifted, in view of the fact that the victims of apartheid will still

suffer the injustice of this system many years after liberation has come to this country.

NATIONAL EMERGENCY FUND (NEF):

This fund was initiated by the Executive on 16-17 April 1985 following the 21 March tragedy of Langa, Uitenhage and the situation of national crisis which emerged in our country, and which has continued unabated since then. The purpose of the fund as approved by the Executive is as follows:

"to provide relief in the following specific categories:

- Emergency family report
- Legal defence of accused in unrest situations
- Medical expenses
- Funeral expenses
- Costs of inquests
- Costs of emergency meetings related to situation
- Travel Costs for parents to trials
- Bail costs, only in special circumstances
- Food relief in unrest situations

From the above it can be clearly seen that the emphasis of this fund is totally related to the State of Emergency and emergency needs resulting from the crisis in our country. Even if the State of Emergency is formally terminated we expect the situation of crisis to continue despite all claims to the contrary. We are deeply perturbed about the unresolved situation of Black education leading to ongoing boycotts of schools and higher educational institutions; we are equally aware that the consumer boycott of White businesses is only now beginning to take shape, and that we can in all probability expect more strike action by trade unions in the course of 1986.

May we emphasize that reports coming from the regional councils of the SACC take some time to draw together into one

comprehensive report. All funding of the SACC, including that of Asingeni, and of the National Emergency Fund is properly audited once a year and, as promised, such audited statements will be made available to donor agencies as soon as these are completed.

May I use this opportunity once more to thank you most sincerely for all your gifts and grants, large and small. The Asingeni and National Emergency Fund reports when combined, clearly show at least two things:

1. That it is impossible for us to meet the many and ever-increasing needs resulting from the crisis in our country and the suffering which this has caused.
2. It is equally clear that we are at least able to express in a concrete and tangible way some form of Christian solidarity with many of the victims of the evil of apartheid.

We join you in the prayer that the advent of Christians may constantly remind us that the Prince of Peace has come to restore peace with justice on God's earth. We live in the faith and hope that this peace with justice will also come to our land.

Yours sincerely,

(signed pp. Sally Misdrin)
C.F. B NAUDE
General Secretary

(Dictated but not signed due
to absence on leave)

/sm"

Mr Speaker, Sir, and Honourable Members, I thought that it would be a good thing for you to know what happens when it comes to the expenditure of the largesse which the SACC administers from the Churches abroad, and other donors both here and abroad. I do not doubt from what you have seen that the SACC does a lot of humanitarian work and demonstrates a lot of Christian caring in administering those funds. I am, however, quite fascinated by the pattern of who receives it and where it is sent in view of the approach with which donor agencies approaches the SACC as the

equivalent of the National Churches in their own countries and the designation of the fund as a National Emergency Fund. I do not intend to say more than this on this particular aspect.

I think you may also be interested in looking at SACC's own analysis and notes on National Emergency Fund (NEF).

SOUTH AFRICAN COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

SUMMARY ANALYSIS AND NOTES ON NATIONAL
EMERGENCY (NEF) EXPENDITURE

JUNE TO SEPTEMBER 1985

A. Rate of Expenditure:

NEF expenditure has increased since the Fund was launched in June 1985, both in terms of the number of grants, and the total allocation figure per month:

<u>Month</u>	<u>Number of Grants</u>	<u>R</u>
June	4	35, 000
July	5	17, 000
August	9	43, 000
September	9	84, 095
	<u>27</u>	<u>R179, 095</u>

B. Summary of Grants by Recipient:

(a) Regional Council of Churches

- i) Most NEF grants approved during this period went to Regional Councils of Churches for allocation via their own crisis funds. The summary table below indicates the spread of funding across the country, with particularly high levels of expenditure in the West and Eastern Cape:

<u>Regional Council</u>	<u>No of Grants</u>	<u>Total Amount</u>
Western Province	4	45 000

Eastern Cape	3	35 000
Witwatersrand	3	20 000
Border/Queenstown	3	18 000
Midland	2	15 000
Northern Transvaal	1	10 000
West Coast	1	10 000
Pietermaritzburg	1	5 000
Pretoria	1	5 000

R163 000

ii) Regional Councils had responsibility for how NEF funds were allocated, but were asked to account for NEF monies separately and to adhere to the following general guidelines when making grants:

1. Emergency Family Support (repairs to damaged homes, subsistence for those with no other means of support): Maximum R750 per family.
2. Medical Expenses: Maximum of R300
3. Funeral Grants: Maximum R200
4. Costs of emergency meetings related to unrest situation: Maximum of R200.
5. Food Relief in unrest situations: Maximum R50 per family
6. Bail Costs (i.e. loans): to be paid in special circumstances only if the Regional Council concerned already has a policy of making bail monies available.
7. Travel costs for parents attending trials: to be paid in accordance with existing guidelines used in a given region.

iii) A report received from the Eastern Cape Council of Churches on allocations from NEF funds for June to August 1985 is summarised below, as an example of the

kinds of needs to which Regional Councils have had to respond:

<u>June</u>	R
Repair of bombed house, Cradock	750.00
Medical costs -victim of political feud	24.00
Funeral of Police victim - Headbush	253.12
Funeral, New Brighton	148.96
Funeral Swide - feud victim	93.00
Funerals, KwaZakhele - feud victims	206.08
Medical Costs - police/army victim	41.83
	<hr/>
	R1 516.99

<u>July</u>	
Travel Costs for families of treason trialists (Burgersdorp)	250.00
Repair of bombed house (PEBCO official)	750.00
Funeral Costs - feud victim	200.00
	<hr/>
	1 200.00

<u>August</u>	
Funeral Costs - Police victim	100.00
Bail for 12 at R500 per person	6 000.00
Bail for 2 at R150 per person	300.00
Repair of bombed house	750.00
	<hr/>
	7 150.00

TOTAL	<hr/>	R 9,866.99
-------	-------	------------

In the Western Cape, the Western Province Council of Churches spent R10,000 in grants for funeral costs and R25,000 was used in bail money for victims of unrest.

(b) Church/Community/Professional Organisations

Four grants were made in this category, as follows:

Diakonia, Durban	R 5 000.00
UDF - funeral costs - Cradock	6 000.00
Masangwama and relief service P.E.	2 000.00
Namda, Sharpeville	2 760.00

R 15 760.00

Masangwama aid in Port Elizabeth requested funds to provide food and accommodation for people either afraid to live at home or whose homes had been burned down. NAMDA, a National Medical Dental Association received funds towards costs of an emergency care training workshop, held over two days at a college near Sharpeville. Twenty four people received basic first aid training enabling them to provide some emergency medical care in situations where injured members of the community were unwilling or unable to be treated in hospitals or clinics. SACC's grant helped cover costs, catering, transportation, stationery and medical equipment for trainers and trainees.

(c) Assistance to Groups and Individuals

This was the smallest category of grants, with three grants being made during the period June - September.

	R
	-
Maintenance costs for four young people	500
Repair to damaged house	300
Food for Soweto children in prison	1 000
	<hr/>
	1 800

The Asingeni Fund continued to be used for most allocations of this nature.

- (d) Please note that detailed reports on National Emergency Fund grants to Regional Councils have been requested, and normally take up to three months before being available to SACC in Johannesburg. We will forward to you information received from Regional Councils relating to the period June to September 1985 as an Appendix to this report in due course.

21.11.85.

Mr Speaker Sir, and Honorable Members, I have taken the trouble to make this information available because I do not want to see members of this house talk about what the SACC does or does not do from a weak position of ignorance as to what they really do or do not do. I have already made my comments about all this. My only curiosity is concerning Christians who belong to Inkatha whose houses have also been petrol bombed, or also have been burned, maimed or killed. Are they entitled to the kind of funding which the SACC administers or dispenses? It is clear that most of the aid from the Churches abroad is administered by a Church body the SACC which in terms of a joint declaration by the Dutch Council of Churches and the SACC entitled "The Hour of Truth", which I have already read out to you in the course of my delivering this policy, has pledged its support for the External Mission and its surrogate organisation the UDF inside South Africa. In the Declaration it will be recalled that Inkatha is rejected. It is therefore not so remarkable that in the distribution of what it calls the National Emergency Fund between June and September 1985, only the UDF of all political organisations is mentioned by name as a recipient of some of this funding.

The statement issued by the external Mission after the Harare Declaration is interesting also for other reasons. It states for example that:

"We respectfully submit that in the absence of a willingness on the part of the apartheid regime to abandon minority rule and its escalating violence against our people, the majority of the people of south Africa are engaged in a just war to conforming to all the tenets of a just war."

This is an interesting pronouncement in the light of the fact that the question of when a situation justifies a just war, is an issue

which has occupied the minds of theologians for centuries now. The question is whether the Churches and Church related organisations such as the SACC agree with our brothers in the external Mission of ANC that we have arrived at a time for a just war in South Africa. Is that the reason why they do now openly support the external Mission of ANC. This is a question which I believe South African Church leaders should pronounce on openly, since there are many of them who have given oblique and overt support for the external Mission of ANC. The necklacing of Black victims, which the UDF uses as a strategy to eliminate their opponents has now been approved of by Mrs Mandela and by the external Mission of ANC in some of their broadcasts through Radio Freedom. Do the Churches support this method of execution of Blacks who do not support the strategy of UDF and of the external Mission of ANC. The Church leaders who have commented on this kind of black-on-black violence have only lamely spoken about it in terms of it being understandable that those who are designated as 'collaborators' should be at the receiving end of this cruel and barbaric execution by the UDF. This reminds me of how those who attempted to murder me at Robert Sobukwe's funeral in 1978 were described by a leading Church leader (for what they had tried to do to me) to be what he called "a new breed of young people with iron in their souls." A prominent Church leader in Durban was recently heard to refer to the alleged shooting of alleged members of Inkatha very gleefully as something Inkatha members deserve and he spoke with great admiration about those members of the Natal Education Crisis Committee who shot people fatally on the day of the NECC Conference in Durban.

This is going to place us in an extremely difficult situation as Christians. When Church leaders so openly take sides in the political differences of various political factions, should we continue to give them support or to regard them as our spiritual leaders? How can a member of Inkatha easily receive Communion from someone who is gleeful about the shooting of people? These are the dilemmas in which we, as Christians, find ourselves in as a result of our Church leaders political conduct in taking sides in the political differences that exist between various Black political organisations and leaders. They have not tried to play a reconciliatory role. They have decided who are the so-called authentic leaders in their views, and who are not. Those who do not conform to their criteria of what constitutes true leadership and what constitutes an authentic Black organisation are beyond the pale. They have been judged and condemned in absentia. They have never tried to find out what is the truth and what is not the truth about Inkatha for example. No. We are just beyond the pale.

You saw the memorandum which I used as a basis for discussion when

the Bishops and Clergy of our Church brought me and Bishop Tutu together with the aim of bringing about a reconciliation. As discussions were confidential, I cannot give details here of how the discussions went. The discussions went off as well as could be expected. It was, however, felt that we needed one or more meetings. This has not yet happened because both the Bishop and I are very busy people. But I am afraid since then, there have been utterances of the Bishop abroad which have not contributed anything towards bridging the chasms that have developed over the years between us because of utterances of each one of us about the other.

I was, for example, quite disappointed when I went to London last year and was given a copy of an interview which the Bishop gave to African Concord Magazine of the 24th October, 1985 - particularly when he was specifically asked about me.

This was the question put to Bishop Tutu by the interviewer:

Question: One of the elements of the Black community which he (Mr Botha) said to be speaking to, and which are perceived here I think as constituting a force of moderation is Chief Buthelezi and the Inkatha Movement. There are very divided opinions about that but here Buthelezi is seen by those who would love South Africa to survive not too much changed. Buthelezi is seen as the man of the future.

Tutu: My! He could very well be that, but most surveys indicate quite firmly that the ANC and Nelson Mandela in the Black community are head and shoulders above everyone else, and what we are getting is people trying to play off one group against another, and that is a very great sadness, almost tragic. But there is no doubt at all that if we're going to have free elections in the Black community at the start of the game, the ANC is way ahead of anybody else. And I think that people shouldn't get us into the situation where Zimbabwe was with Bishop Muzorewa; they must not want to choose the ones they think are congenial as partners, and then be shocked when the day of reckoning comes.

Question: Or even Savimbi in Angola - that is another parallel.

Tutu: Absolutely, yes - I think that we've got to be very careful, but we want to deal with those people say are their leaders.

Question: Don't you nevertheless think that Buthelezi has some role, after all, he is the head of a very large party? And

although we may accept that Nelson Mandela is the most popular leader, surely the importance is to try to get as many Black people who are recognised as leaders together?

Tutu: I agree entirely with you, I couldn't agree more, that we ought to have a broad front. But it must not be a broad front of Blacks - I mean open abhorrence of ethnicity is a really genuine one, and we, we are really looking forward to a South Africa that will be united, democratic and non-racial

Question: But you talk about bringing people together and yet anybody who watches the TV news here sees black killing black - and this is obviously a very disturbing thing - how do you explain that?

Tutu: Yes, well any death would be something that ought to fill us with revulsion and, we'd want to stop it, but as a student of human history, you should know surely that when people are opposing a system, they deal summarily with those they believe are collaborators. I mean, what happened in World War II in the resistance movement? If you were a quising, you were given very short shrift, and we don't have to think only of that - what happens in Northern Ireland? If they believe that in the IRA you are a traitor to their cause, you have your kneecaps shot off and, very recently, you remember that young couple who were taken out of their bed and killed because they were believed to be police informers. Now I, and others have sought to say to black people, "Please, we have a noble cause, let us not discredit it by using methods of which we will be ashamed," but it's not a phenomenon peculiar to South African blacks.

That this is what Bishop Tutu said after talks to reconcile us to each other as fellow Christians and as fellow Anglicans was most discouraging to me concerning any reconciliation ever taking place at all between us. There are also various private conversations and utterances which the Bishop has made abroad since then which do not augur well for normalised relationships between a Bishop who is now my Archbishop and me. Certainly, if our Bishops had the keys to heaven, I would not have a snowball's hope in hell to be admitted. But fortunately, while they are our shepherds they do not hold such keys! I say these things with sadness in my heart and not with flippancy. The response I have just given to you with references to Bishop Muzorewa of Zimbabwe is no more than a regurgitation of the external Mission of ANC's propoganda, which they are spreading right across the face of the globe about me. So the Bishop spoke here as their propagandist.

While our Church leaders are not part of the Deity, we do have certain expectations from them. I have shared the view with Bishop Tutu and many Church spokesmen that if there was no apartheid there would not have been the so-called armed struggle of the external Mission of ANC. But having said so I have stated that our brothers in the external Mission of ANC are wrong in thinking that this method is the one that will resolve problems in our country. I have equally condemned the violence of the State which has resulted in the death of so many of our young people in the past year. I have equally condemned the deaths of Blacks at the hand of Blacks. It is not insignificant that of the people that have died in the unrest, a third have been Blacks who have died at the hands of other Blacks. I have not heard the voice of the Church condemning this loudly and clearly. There may well have been a condemnation of this black on black violence by Church leaders and that I am merely unaware of it. I recall, for example, that Bishop Tutu threatened to leave South Africa with his family after the death of Miss Skosana in the East Rand. He felt outraged by it to the extent that he threatened that if any similar deaths occurred he would seriously consider leaving the country. There have, of course, been more such deaths since then, and both the external Mission of ANC and Mrs Mandela have sanctified this barbaric method of killing by giving it their approval. What are our Church leaders saying about this now? As Christians we would be grateful to know what our Church leaders' feelings are about the necklacing of Blacks by Blacks.

I recall that when Councillor Kinikini of Nobuhla in Uitenhage was killed brutally, and burnt alive I saw Dr Boesak appear on SABC-TV explaining this incident as being justified by 'collaboration' of which Mr Kinikini was guilty, in his view. We need to learn what the views of our Churches are on these methods of executing Black people by other Black people. The killing of Blacks by other Blacks in opposite political camps is a ghastly development. Because Church leaders are aligned to certain political organisations their voice will be muted even where they dare condemn this fratricidal strife.

The media says very little about this kind of Black on Black violence that has cost so many lives between UDF and AZAPO particularly in the Eastern Cape and the Transvaal. Just in the Sunday Times (Extra) of the 23rd March 1986, was the following report:

"A power struggle between the UDF and AZAPO is believed to be behind the gang warfare which erupted in Soweto this week - leaving at least eight dead in a spate of horrific killings.

Now peace talks are going on between the Soweto-based KABASA gang and students from neighbouring Diepkloof. Five youths were stoned or burnt to death and in a grisly banana-republic style execution, three people were allegedly abducted by gang members and summarily shot. Two of the eight victims were doused with petrol and burnt alive after a gang of pupils - said by some witnesses to number 3 000 - attacked a Soweto home with petrol bombs. According to sources in Soweto yesterday, the battle for political supremacy among rival contenders has played a big role in the violence.

Azapo is said to be making a determined bid to boost its credibility among the Black community in preparation for a series of planned protests leading up to the 10th Anniversary of the 1976 Soweto riots. The UDF - allegedly with ANC prompting - and Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha movement are the other main groupings vying for Black allegiance in the townships.

UDF sources said yesterday they suspected that the Kabasa Gang had teamed up with some Orlando East students, mostly members of the Azanian Student movement (an offshoot of Azapo against those in Diepkloof).

In this weeks bloody fighting, two members of SOSCO (the UDF-link of Soweto Students' Congress) were burned to death.

A UDF spokesman, Mr Mandla Dlamini, said they had received a phone call from a man claiming to be a Kabasa member who said they would not stop "until we have killed 50 SOSCO students". "It was at this stage that we suspected that this gangster faction fight had become a revenge war by AZASM students on UDF students" said Mr Dlamini. AZAPO denied the allegations. But Mr Dlamini said some KABASA members had admitted that they had been "used" in the fighting by AZASM students.

KABASA also denied that they had threatened to kill 50 SOSCO members. "We feel there were other elements who moved in when the fighting turned ugly" said Mr Dlamini.

In an AZAPO organised protest, 200 people marched through central Johannesburg on Friday chanting slogans and singing freedom songs to commemorate the Sharpeville and Langa shootings. AZAPO speakers at the meeting vowed "to take the

struggle for liberation into the white areas". Three people were arrested by Police and released after questioning.

At WITS University about 2 000 students attended a Commemoration meeting called by the Black Students Society - which earlier in the week succeeded in disrupting a meeting at which a visiting UNITA delegation was to have addressed students. The Students stoned a police patrol outside the campus and boycotted classes. A crowd of students later marched through the streets of nearby Braamfontein, chanting freedom songs.

A UDF spokesman, Mr Mandla Dlamini, denied a reported allegation by police that there was a plan to petrol bomb police houses in Soweto on Wednesday night. "There was heavy tension and fighting on Wednesday, especially in the evening and I cannot see how it was possible for anyone in the two townships to have been diverted to do something else" said Mr Dlamini. "After we saw the statements we made inquiries and the students were equally surprised at the allegations."

In Dobsonville some students waited to join the warring Diepkloof and Orlando factions but were discouraged by their leaders. "What we know is that most of those arrested were taken from their homes during the house to house raid" said Mr Dlamini. "On Wednesday evening I saw many youths roaming the streets in Orlando and Diepkloof because of a faction fight between the students and the MAKABASA gangsters based in Orlando East."

There you have it. I have decided to read this report to you in its entirety because it gives a very clear picture of what is going on as far as black-on-black violence between Black organisations are concerned. The question is - what role does the Church play to bring about reconciliation not only just between Black and White, but also between Black and Black. This is quite a serious development which will further compound the problems of resolving South Africa's problems.

It is remarkable that in the same issue of "The Sunday Times" - Extra of the 23rd March 1986, on the same page, there is the following news item:

"BURNED GIRL INNOCENT"
Sunday Times Reporter

Miss Julia Sefafe, 20, a hairdresser was murdered during the student violence in Soweto. Everyone in the Diepkloof area was scared to talk about the incident except to say "she was innocent" of gang involvement and was taken victim of "mistaken identity". She just visited a friend who lived at a railway policeman's home nearby.

Another friend said: "Someone identified her as a sell-out and that was it. Though she had pleaded for mercy she was stabbed while others doused her with petrol and set her alight.

As usual, when you see such a sight, the public is scared and nothing can be done to prevent it. But it was terrible."

This is a very serious matter and deserves the attention of our entire Nation. One does not need to do anything wrong, it needs just one man or one woman to say that one is "a sell-out" and all Hell is let loose on you. You must think about the fact that all the organisations that are committed to these methods quite often designate us in Inkatha as "sell-outs". This means each member of Inkatha must know that he or she is already sentenced to a necklace death in terms of these methods, and strategies of these organisations which are opposed to us.

There is now a division between black South Africans which has the approval of the Church as we have seen from the Netherlands Church Council/SACC declaration and the KAIROS document. Just the other day Archbishop Dennis Hurely, the Catholic Archbishop of Durban, was asked the question if Blacks would welcome international sanctions, by the former Chancellor of West Germany Mr Willy Brandt during his recent visit. The Archbishop told him that "Progressive movements clamour for it. They see it as part of a multi-faceted strategy of weakening the White regime in South Africa."

I find His Grace's response most interesting, particularly as the Southern African Catholic Bishop's Conference (SACBC) is meeting on the 29th of April to consider what attitude to adopt on the question of economic pressure including disinvestment and sanctions against South Africa.

SOUTHERN AFRICAN CATHOLIC BISHOPS' CONFERENCE

THE SOUTH AFRICAN SITUATION AND THE
QUESTION OF ECONOMIC PRESSURE

An Explanatory Paper

24 February 1986

The Church in continuing the work entrusted to her by Jesus endeavours to give witness to her Lord, present within her, and to his Spirit of love. This love leads her to be concerned about people's needs and sufferings for it was by his care for the needy and the suffering that Jesus illustrated his commandment of love, the fulfilment of which should be the distinguishing mark of his followers.

For this reason the Church cannot stand aloof from the great suffering that South Africa has been experiencing. This suffering has been particularly intense since September 1984. It has resulted from protests, demonstrations, police reaction, boycotts and acts of intimidation and vengeance. People have been killed and injured, some in extremely cruel fashion; houses, shops and vehicles have been destroyed. It is calculated that in the seventeen months from September 1984 to the end of January 1986, 1 197 people died in the unrest, the great majority at the hands of the police.

The immediate cause of the unrest may have been a raise in rents or busfares, or dissatisfaction with an inferior educational system, or the frustration of unemployment, but it is obvious that when unrest and violence reach such proportions the most profound human attitudes and feelings are involved. There is scarcely anything more fundamental than the feeling for justice and the resentment against injustice, affecting basic human rights and dignity. When this resentment mounts high there are bound to be reactions, sometimes very fierce reactions. We know how vigorously people act in self-defence. Action for the recognition of dignity and rights is an almost compulsive form of self-defence.

Apartheid and injustice go hand in hand. Discrimination against people on grounds of race and colour is as grievous offence against their dignity. The embodiment of discrimination in the constitution of the country and nearly every important enactment of law ensures that people against whom the discrimination is practised are continually injured by the humiliations and injustices under which they live. They are injured in every dimension of life; personal being and social standing, domicile, ownership of land, employment, economic opportunity, education, cultural contact and political representation. No people will go on accepting this for ever. Sooner or later the limit of endurance

is reached and then comes the explosion - revolution, civil war or festering unrest. The long and painful history of the human race bears undeniable witness to this. Yet all too often people who are proud of the liberation struggles in which they themselves or their ancestors were involved become the oppressors of others and treat the reactions of the oppressed as high treason. Traitors in the eyes of the oppressors are the heroes and martyrs of the oppressed - a constant lesson of history.

The hurts and injustices of discrimination cause immense suffering. Further suffering results when people campaign against the hurts and injustices and are met with police repression and, all too often, police violence.

Can the Church stand aloof from such suffering? Obviously not. It is for this reason that the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference, with the leadership of other churches, has consistently called attention to the evils of apartheid. Now that people are manifesting more and more clearly their pain and resentment at the hurt inflicted, those who exercise leadership in the Church must respond by paying greater attention to their suffering and by supporting their endeavours to vindicate their rights in morally acceptable ways.

It was for this reason the Bishops' Conference devoted time at its recent plenary session to considering the present situation and what attitude the Conference should adopt. We came to a firm conclusion, namely, that violence is becoming so characteristic of our country that unless an alternative way of bringing about change is found the country will be devoured by violence.

The question we have to face is: what is the alternative to violence? Is it moral persuasion? This has been tried for a very long time by quite a few churches and other bodies. It has not succeeded. It seems that something with greater impact is necessary and that could include such non-violent measures as boycotts, passive resistance and economic pressure - the pressure of divestment, disinvestment, sanctions. If we have to choose between these measures and the kind of violence we have been witnessing since September 1984 the answer is clear.

We have to admit, of course, that non-violent measures cannot be pursued without suffering - the suffering perhaps of increased unemployment and economic distress or the suffering resulting from forceful State reaction. Suffering can hardly be avoided. We dread what this may mean for many people.

We have to admit too that some minor changes have been introduced but we consider them wholly insufficient to convince people that there is strong enough resolve for the substantial change that is necessary.

We have to concede that we cannot foresee how economic pressure will function, whether it can be made effective and achieve the object for which it is imposed.

Finally, we have to admit that supporting a policy of non-violent but nonetheless tangible pressures does not at first sight appear to conform to the spirit of the Gospel. We beg people to consider that this may be the only alternative to uncontrolled violence. When one is confronted with the choice between two evils, love dictates the choice of the lesser.

It is not easy to make decisions and recommendations about the measures that have been mentioned but in the face of the horror of violence that confronts us we are forced to consider them. That is why at our plenary session we passed this resolution.

"The Conference adopts the following statement:

We are deeply conscious of our responsibility as leaders of the Church to give moral guidance and to play our part in attempting to arrest the rapidly escalating violence in our country.

Since it is a matter of utmost urgency we find ourselves obliged to consider alternatives to such violence as a means of bringing about radical social change.

While still open to dialogue, we see no choice but to envisage forms of non-violent action such as passive resistance, boycott and economic pressure to move our country away from its present state of racial conflict and set it firmly on the road to justice and full participation of all its inhabitants in the structure of the government. We reaffirm our total abhorrence of the system of apartheid which is directly opposed to the teaching of Christ and the God-given dignity of every human being and is the greatest single obstacle to peace in our land.

We make our own the words of our Holy Father, Pope John Paul II:

Our repudiation of every form of racial discrimination is convinced and total; it is based on the awareness of the dignity common to every man made in the image and likeness of the Creator and called to the status of Son of God."

In the light of this conviction:

1. The Conference instructs the Administrative Board to see that a statement is drawn up and published as soon as possible indicating that the Conference has given careful consideration to supporting economic pressures against apartheid in South Africa. That to the published

statement be attached the text of the paper drawn up by the Justice and Reconciliation Commission entitled 'Economic Measures against Apartheid and the Challenge of the Church', and further instruct the Administrative Board to make the necessary preparation for an extraordinary plenary session for May 1986 at which this subject is to be further discussed and decisions taken.

2. The Conference resolves that a committee be formed to draw up a further response to the Kairos Document for presentation to the extraordinary plenary session of May 1986.
3. The Conference resolves that a committee be formed to supervise the drawing up of a document setting out the Conference's reflections on the present South African crisis using the text compiled by Fr Kevin Rai and that the document be submitted to the extraordinary plenary session in May 1986."

We are publishing this paper to inform members of the Catholic Church and of other churches too and all concerned persons of the stage we have reached in our heart-searching about the use of non-violent methods of pressure against the policy of apartheid.

We know that many people have committed themselves to supporting such measures.

We ourselves are constantly being asked, especially by our confreres in other countries, what our attitude is. We cannot postpone much longer coming to a decision. That is why we have called a special plenary session at the end of April to endeavour to formulate our policy.

With this explanatory paper we supply the text of a paper prepared for our January plenary session by the Commission for Justice and Reconciliation of the Bishops' Conference entitled "Economic Measures against Apartheid and the Challenge to the Church".

We recommend this matter with all the anxiety and pain it involves to the kind prayers of all who are concerned that we may reach decisions inspired by the Father whose will we wish to do, the Son whose Church we wish to serve, the Holy Spirit by whose light and love we wish to be guided.

People who wish to make known their opinions to us are cordially and fraternally invited to submit them in writing to:

The General Secretary,
Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference,
P.O. Box 941,
PRETORIA
0001

COMMISSION FOR JUSTICE AND RECONCILIATION

ECONOMIC MEASURES AGAINST APARTHEID AND THE
CHALLENGE TO THE CHURCH

1. INTRODUCTION

(A) Definition of Terms

A number of terms are used in discussing the issue of economic measures against South Africa, divestment, disinvestment embargoes and sanctions. Before defining these we need to understand some aspects of investment. Foreign investment involves:

(i) Investment in physical assets

- to expand the current capacity to produce (this could create jobs).
- to build new industry (this could create jobs).
- to replace old technology with more sophisticated capital intensive technology. This is the predominant form of investment and generally results in loss of jobs.

(ii) Investment in financial assets

- the first form is an investment in stocks and shares. (No necessary job creation).
- the second form comprises loans by foreign banks to either the South African Government or business (this may result in jobs depending on how it is used).

In the area of investment a large scale 'disinvestment' campaign has been waged and involves the following terms:

(i) Divestment

This is the most prevalent action in the USA. It is a process whereby pressure is put on bodies to withdraw funds from companies which are investing in South Africa, i.e. to sell their shares in companies operating in South Africa. The aim is to get the companies involved in South Africa to put pressure on big business and government to change. It helps to isolate the government and big businesses creating an

international lack of confidence in the apartheid political system and economy and has much publicity value in exposing the horrors of apartheid. (No necessary job loss is involved).

(ii) Disinvestment

This has a number of aspects.

Firstly it involves the refusal or legislation against any new capital investment in South Africa and would include no new loans to South Africa. (No necessary job loss).

Secondly, it involves the sale of existing plants to local business. (No necessary job loss).

Thirdly it involves the actual removal of physical capital. (This will result in job loss, but is the least likely to happen).

(iii) Embargoes and trade sanctions

There is a wide range of other economic measures which revolve around embargoes on and sanctions against trade with South Africa. These include:

- a ban on sales to South Africa e.g. embargoes on various items like arms, oil, machinery, etc. (No necessary job loss. In fact the arms oil embargoes created thousands of jobs in South Africa (Armcor & Sasol) as local alternatives were forced to be developed).
- measures against South African exports e.g. a ban on consumer goods being sold in foreign countries. (May result in job loss).

Within all of the above mentioned types there is a plethora of combinations and methods. The range and complexity makes it difficult to pinpoint exactly what effect any particular form of economic measure against South Africa will have. Nevertheless a few clear principles do stand out.

Major all encompassing measures will obviously have the greatest impact. Minor measures (e.g. the most recent move in the USA) are important as symbols and ideological pressure, however they do have a danger. The South African government can see minor measures as a sign of weakness i.e. as mere attempts to placate public opinion abroad. Any minor measure must be followed up with ongoing pressure and campaigns. The ultimate effectiveness of economic measures depends on

factions and parties, and he went out of his way to say that the Freedom Charter permitted a 'mixed economy', that South Africa after 'liberation' would be multiracial and that it would be a democracy in which he expected a variety of parties to emerge.

Neither labour nor big business, white conscripts, nor liberal opponents of apartheid, nor indeed students of Stellenbosch, were excluded from his appeal for support to overthrow apartheid. In pursuing its aims of making 'apartheid unworkable and the country ungovernable' the ANC is broadcasting specific instructions for a new campaign against the pass laws, and is asking the unions - especially the mineworkers - to live up to their revolutionary tradition. However, Mr Tambo left no doubt that in this year of Unkhonto, the keynote was violence and the slogan was 'attack'.

In Pretoria, a police spokesman said last night that Mr Tambo was trying to throw up a smokescreen to cover ruthless ANC attacks on innocent people. The ANC had, in the past, admitted responsibility for most of the attacks on civilians but blaming such attacks on undisciplined terrorists could only be described as trying to avoid the question, SAPA reported.

I know all of the Honourable members saw these reports when they were published, but I have decided to read them out by way of reminding you that it is not as if people in South Africa do not know where Mr Tambo and the External Mission of ANC stand. While dialogue between the forces for change in South Africa is desirable, it is not true that there is any doubt as to what the policy of the External Mission of ANC is, and what kind of future they want to see in South Africa after liberation.

There cannot be any confusion as to what options we face. I think they are more stark today than they have ever been before. The risks for all of us and for me in particular are highest now than at anytime in the past. I accept whatever the future in store has for me, but I am determined more than ever, to defend my right to do what I have chosen as my strategy, even if it means paying for it with my own life.

---0---