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PEOPLEâ\200\231S power triumphed in the Philippines this week in a most spectacular way.

The United States Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, said Mrs Cory Aquinoâ\200\231s new government had been produced by  $a\200\234$ one of the most stirring and courageous examples of the democratic process in modern historyâ\200\235.

The transition from the corrupt and tyrannical regime of President Ferdinand Marcos to the popular government of the unassuming Mrs Aquino certainly made the most riveting television viewing in recent times.

One really had a sense of history in the making as the forces of justice, non-violence and decency enveloped and smothered the powerful Marcos regime.

It was a poignant reminder that he who has the guns does not necessarily have the Power  $a\200\224$  not when people are prepared to lie down in the street to stop a column of troops and tanks. .

But, of course, we must not be naive.

It was the US, with its massive military and economic leverage, that was able to prop up the Marcos regime for all those years.

And it was the US that was able to force its collapse when the corruption and repression became too visible and the popular clamour for it to go became too loud.

Massive leverage

 $\hat{a}\200\234\mbox{Reagan}$  tells Marcos to go,  $\hat{a}\200\235$  screamed the world headlines. '

And 24 hours later the pathetic figure of Marcos and his Machiavellian, but beautiful, wife Imelda were bound for exile in the US, where they have amassed a stag-

gering personal fortune at the expense of -

their people.

It is easy to dismiss this extraordinary triumph of democracy over tyranny with cynical theories about the role of the CIA and US self-interest in protecting its vital naval bases in the Philippines.

All that may be quite true.

But what has happened is the might of a  $\mid$  superpower has been used  $a\200\224$  and been seen to be used by hundreds of millions of TV viewers  $a\200\224$  to the advantage of the will of the people of a client country.

This is a rare occurrence in these times

and  $\hat{a}200\224$  however pragmatic the motives  $\hat{a}200\224$   $\hat{a}200\230$ must be perceived as a foreign-policy triumph for President Reagan. — It remains to be seen whether the plucky Mrs Aquino will be able to rescue the bankrupt and fragmented Filipino state and resist becoming another American awn to service its vital military bases ere.

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Mr Marcos Mrs Aquino the extraordinary happenings in the Philippines?

In a BBC television interview this week Dr Van Zyl Slabbert drew a comparison between Mrs Aquinoâ\200\231s formidable tagk of uniting the coalition of forces opposed to the Marcos dictatorship and the task of uniting anti-apartheid groupingsin South Africa.;

But could elements of the South African military ever side with a non-violent, non-communist and popular coalition of reformist forces if the politicians failed to deliver the 80 percent political solution?

Could the scenes of rebel forces surrounding, and taking over, a sycophantic

television centre ever take place in South;

## Africa?

Could Britain and the United States ever bring the kind of pressure to bear on South Africa that could force the abdication of a minority leader in favour of a popular leader with a firm support base among all races?

The Reagan administration  $200\231$ s collaboration in Mr Marcos  $200\231$ s swift demise  $200\224$  once they realized the game was up  $200\224$  has highlighted a fundamental difference in the foreign policies of Britain and the US.

Whereas Britain recognizes states and deals with governments of the day, the US recognizes governments.

This means Britain could choose to deal with an alternative administration  $\hat{a}\200\224$  even if it was not deemed the official one  $\hat{a}\200\224$  without compromising its policy.

On the other hand, the more direct policy of the US gives it much greater leverage

in client states and enables it to eliminate unnecessary bloodshed and ease difficult political transitions.

Mr Marcos had long since lost the sup-

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#### pInes

port of the churches and tlie iniddle class, but it was the defection of two top military

men â\200\224 apparently with the connivance of

the US  $\hat{a}$ \200\224 which sealed his fate.

What gave Mrs Aquino $\hat{a}200\231s$  campaign its strength was firstly that it was non-violent and secondly that it was avowedly anticommunist.

One of Mrs Aquinoâ\200\231s first challenges will be to successfully incorporate senior &embers of the Marcos regime to ensure a

ccessful transition to a new government.

But her next challenge will be to accommodate politically the left wing of her party and the Communist Party in a bid to isolate the armed struggle of the communist guerillas of the New Peopleâ\200\231s Army.

Both these principles will be highly relevant if there is to be a peaceful transition in South Africa.

Neither the US nor Britain  $\hat{a}$ 200\224 nor the two combined for that matter  $\hat{a}$ \200\224 have anything like the leverage the US has in the Philippines.

Remarkably, it is the banks and multinationals in the US  $\hat{a}$ 200\224 rather than the administration  $\hat{a}$ 200\224 which are beginning to force change in South Africa.

Civil disobedience

The decision by the giant General

. Motors last week to give  $\hat{a}\200\234$ legal and finan-

cialâ $\200\235$  help to any of its 30 000 black employees who chose to defy Port Elizabethâ $\200\231s$  beach apartheid laws could have enormous implications if it is followed through

by other companies and made to apply to other apartheid laws such as influx control, the Group Areas Act and schools.

If multi-nationals like GM can show they really mean business in forcing the dismantling of apartheid  $a\200\224$  by selectively supporting civil disobedience  $a\200\224$  then free enterprise and continued foreign engagement could assume a new meaning among blacks. AT

But I understand they will have to go much further in disÃ@ngaging themselves from the whole gamut of repressive economic machinery  $a\200\224$  such as the Key Points Act and the financial support of national servicemen  $a\200\224$  before the ANC would regard them as having  $a\200\234$ sided with the people $a\200\235$ .

On the other hand, disinvestment by a

. Are there any lessons for South Africa in,

multi-national like GM could deal a catastrophic blow to flagging confidence in the economy in the present climate.

So Pretoria would appear to have little option but to swallow this tentative support for civil disobedience.

In another move the

 $\hat{a}$ 200\224 W  $\hat{a}$ \200\230major and committed

British government is- | sued its boldest and

smost specific statement of condemnation
of human-rights violations this week.
 Police repression,
forced removals, grand
 | apartheid, detention

There are growing pressures on Pretoria from all sides to sit down with representa-

tive black leaders  $\hat{a}\200\224$  including the ANC  $\hat{a}\200\224$  and hammer out the foun-

dation of a new non-ra-

cial and democratic

South Africa.

All the indications are that Mr Mandela would command even more popular support among South Africans 'than Mrs Aquino achieved in the Philippines.

â\200\230But there are two essential â\200\230conditions. First the South African government must abandon the remaining apartheid laws, release all political prisoners and lift the ban on the ANC.

Secondly, the ANC must abandon its armed struggle and colx)x;e to the negotiating

е.

Then a new South Africa will no longer be a dream.

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FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 28, 1986

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOH

now,

Black youth on cause of S. Africa unrest

By Ned Temko Staff writer of The Chnistian Science Monitor Alexandra, South Africa

In Alexandra, mourners take cigarettes  $a\200\224$  not flowers  $a\200\224$  to funerals.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ When the police attack with sneezing powder, the only way to protect yourself is by smoking a cigarette, so you don't breathe in,  $\hat{a}\200\235$  explains a teen-age veteran of last week's street fighting in this teeming black township just outside Johannesburg.

 $a\200\234$ Splashing water  $r^{0}$ your eyes only helps when the police use tearsmoke." $a\200\235$ 

The violence, as in so many instances during the political bloodshed in South Africa over the past 18 months, erupted when police clashed with youths at a funeral.

Although the recent fighting has ended, few amid the pot-holed dirt streets, crowded shanties, and the communal water taps and sewage buckets that are Alexandra seem to feel the peace will last.

Concern now focuses on a communal burial for local victims of the recent unrest  $a\200\224$  set for March 5.

Four high-school students caught up in the Alexandra bloodshed spoke bitterly and defiantly in an intervieâ\204¢ with the Monitor yesterday. They talked fog f#o hours after requesting their n not be used â\200\224 fearing it might mean joining those arrested during and since last weekâ\200\231s unrest.

Typical of the youth who increasingly dominate black politics in the townships, they argued that white South Africaâ\200\231s government was im-

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY'28; 1986

mutably intent on economic and political dominance of the country  $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 31s$ 

#### black majority. :

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ Trouble always happens with funerals,  $\hat{a}\200\235$  began the oldest boy.  $\hat{a}\200\234$ The police insist on drawing close to the groups of people who come. Then we start singing our political songs. They follow us. There is a confrontation.  $\hat{a}\200\235$ 

Another youngster says he does not Lire in Alexandra. Along with a group of friends from the township of Tembisa slightly to the north, he came to attend the funeral two Saturdayâ\200\231s ago. He has been here since.

Increasingly, he says, youth from different towriships make similar voyages of solidarity.

 $a\200\234$ People from Alexandra and

Please see UNREST page 27

THE CHRISTIAN St

INTERNATIONAL

UNREST fom page s

makers.

Their parents, they

add, are uneasyi

Soweto come to our places when there is trouble.  $\hat{a}\200\235$  There is a saying in Zulu, he explains:  $\hat{a}\200\234$ lzandla ziya gezana.... One hand washes the other.  $\hat{a}\200\235\hat{a}\200\235$ 

More than hand-washing is at stake.

 $\hat{a}\200\234Sixty-six$  people died here last week! At least 60. Of that much we are sure,  $\hat{a}\200\235$  interrupts a friend angrily.  $\hat{a}\200\234The$  government keeps saying only 23 or so died. How can they do this! Why don $\hat{a}\200\231t$  they tell the truth?  $\hat{a}\200\235$ 

What started as a tear-smoke clash between police and a crowd of black youths, escalated. From tear-smoke, police and troops moved to rubber bullets. Then, Alexandrans charge, real bullets were used.

Black protestors burned nearby shops. They attacked black policemen and other perceived symbols of white-government authority. They torched cars.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ Yes,  $\hat{a}\200\235$  says one of the youths,  $\hat{a}\200\234$ We used petrol bombs. $\hat{a}\200\235$  Also from Tembisa, thisyoungmansayshedoanotregmt this.  $\hat{a}\200\234$ They shot us, our people. How can weï¬\202ghtbackwiththemagaixrstthepo $\hat{a}\200\224$  lioeifwedonotusethingslikepetrol bombs? $\hat{a}\200\235$ 

All four of the youths say they haven't been to school since the trouble erupted. mysayt.heyarewaiï¬\201ngunï¬\201ltemion subsides, for fear police will show up in classrooms and arrest suspected trouble-

with their militancy.  $\hat{a}\200\234But$ ,  $\hat{a}\200\235$  says one.]  $\hat{a}\200\234they$  understand the reasons... Espe-| cially when children are killed, they know | we must do something. $\hat{a}\200\235$ 

Do they respect older blacks, as parents or leaders?

How, for instance, do they feel about  $200\230$  Anglican Bishop Desmond Tutu, who me- diated an end to last week  $200\231$  violence.

One boy answers; the others nod approval:  $\hat{a}\200\234Bishop$  Tutu is a good man. But he came here and told us to go back to school, and that he would go and try to get the release of people who had been detained.  $\hat{a}\200\235$ 

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ He didn $\hat{a}\200\231$ t get this. $\hat{a}\200\235$ 

The South African government told Bishop Tutu they would look into the issue, but as yet no action has been taken.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ We don't believe the South African government,  $\hat{a}\200\235$  snaps one youth.  $\hat{a}\200\234$ They must release Nelson Mandela. $\hat{a}\200\235$  Imprisoned since the early '60s on charges of plotting a revolution, Mr. Mandela is the leader of the outlawed African National Congress  $\hat{a}\200\224$  South Africa $\hat{a}\200\231$ 's most prominent black nationalist organization, fighting to overthrow the government.

Arching an arm across the dirt road to a crowded Alexandra shack, he adds: 5 must get houses for those without houses. Jobs for those without jobs.â\200\235

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ Ifmeydot.hat,t.henmeviolencemn end. $\hat{a}\200\235$ 

ApronmemSouthAfmn)omhsr cnucxMAmemlnfomanpohcyou'N

Percy Qoboza; editor of tf in Johannesburg, said Am opposing apartheid were inef! banhn!dnmpmnvem SR government., Qoboza cited a variety oï¬\201 injustices biacks have endured under the. apartheid system, mcludm; the pass law, imprisonment without trials; and prisanâ\200\231 beatings and murders. Irf recent years, he said, many blacks have also been commmedâ\200\224perlnpn illegitimatelyâ\200\224to psy-chiatric wards in South African hospitals. -

â\200\234To mlin' that in this time and age' such repression of the human spirit cant be supported by a policy of engagement must cry out of the soul of every American, â\200\235 Qoboza exclaimed. â\200\234If - I were an American, | could only repeat with trembling anxiety the observation of your founding father who said, â\200\230I fear for my country when I remember the justice of God." "

Addressing a crowd of nearly 300 people at the Science Center, Qoboza, a former Nieman Fellow, was one of six guest speakers who participated in a three-day lecture series on South Africa. The series, co-sponsored by the Center for International Affairs, Government â\200\230Department, and the Committee on Afri-

;- - Speaking om\*The Contempon:y Poli= tics-of Black South Africa,â\200\235 Qoboza cau-

can Studies, covered issues concerning the history, society, economy, polmcs, and mtemauoml context of Soum Affrice: -

Joe Wrinn

tioned against trusting the government: reforms of apartheid. Government officials, he said, falsely claim that reform have already occurred. The journalist, cited one instance six years ago, whenl a. South African cabinet minister, speaking to the National Press Club in Washington, D.C., said that aputhudwu.dâ\200\234d -

 ${\hat a} \ 200\ 234 \text{My}$  reaction was Mnf aparfhei ${\hat A} \ {\bf B}$  were dead, then it hadn ${\hat A} \ {\bf Y}$  Duiried yet

because it was making an smell,  $\hat{a}\200\235\hat{a}\204$  Qoboza recalled: More recamg the - government has pledged te sbelish the- - pass laws, which require all blscls sax - carry a document of identification Qoboza, doubts, however; that the law wil: be discarded by the proposed July tee mination date.  $\hat{a}\200\234$ The cynicism of black people comes from the fact that we are: the victims of many broken promises,  $\hat{a}\204$  che explained.

Tracing the history of the antiapartheid movement in South Africa, Qobeoza said that the African National Congress (ANC) has always been at the heart of the struggle. It was established in 1912, and its early work, including writing petitions to Englandâ\200\231s Queen

#### Percy Qobosz

Victoria and seriding delegations to . repeal the discrimination of nonwhitÃ@s, was relativety-ineffective: After an inacstive period:in the 1930s, the ANC re $^{\sim}$ . emerged, Qoboza said, in the 1940s,. calling for black representation in goyernment and promoting a new bteed of young black leadership:

In 1952, the ANC organized a noavio-

(Continued on page 7)

HARVAED Univeksity a/z</eb

South Africa

(Continued from page 1)

lent defiance campaign, led by Nelson Mandela, which staged demonstrations and sit-ins to protest race discrimination. Although the campaign did not achieve its goals, it was successful in attracting more ANC members, expanding the ranks of the organization from 7,000 to nearly 100,000 people. Another milestone occurred in 1961 after the South African government declared the organization unlawful. Forced underground, the ANC adopted a policy of armed struggie and formed a military wing in the organization.

The ANC's commitment to violent struggle is a main point of controversy between the South African government and the ANC, which has bombed var- { ious military targets over the last two  $\hat{A} Y$  decades.

 $\hat{a}\200\234Why$  should we not learn from history that the quest of the human spirit to be free can never be satisfied by political

jargon solutions which are imposed on pecple 2nd not negotiated with them?  $a \ge 00 \ge 5$  Qoboza said.  $a \ge 00 \ge 34$  While we talk about - grand schemes, we have to realize that time is against us. People are dying on a week-to-week basis.

 $\hat{a}\200\234I$  believe it is important  $\hat{a}\200\224$ more important than any other time  $\hat{a}\200\224$ that South Africans be helped to find themselves,  $\hat{a}\200\235$  he explained.  $\hat{a}\200\234$ You have a moral responsibility as a nation to say to vourseif,  $\hat{a}\200\234$ What role will history have delegated to us if South Africa really, finally, goes up in flames?

â\200\224

SOWETAN, Friday, February 28, 1986

â\200\224â\200\224 -

### ~ Outcry from Madlsha

SIR â\200\224 I want to hear from Dr Cedric Phatudi about his apartheid government and what is happening in our village of Madisha Ditoro in the district of Zebediela.

The first thing we are  $a \sim 200 \sim 231$ 

worried about is our government. Our government says we must pay Lebowa. taxes. We do all what it wants, but there is no difference in the way we live. Few people like those at Moletlane have water taps in front of their gates.

But some villagers of

Govt must recagnise"ANg

SIR  $\hat{a}\200\224$  I'd like to respond to  $\hat{a}\200\234$ African

~~Câ\202 $\neg$ itizenâ\200\231sâ\200\235 letter 09/01/86. You sound like a white person. I agree our future lies in our hands and the ANCâ\200\231s.

The ANC are South Africans too. But how do you think the ANC must contribute peacefully when they are banned and the leaders arrested. Remember the ANC pleaded with your leaders concerning our plight.

Concerning Bishop Tutuâ\200\231s speech about Russians let your English brothers help as you sound like somebody who does not understand the language. The ANC consists of Africans and not Russians. We donâ\200\231t call them  $a\200\234$ Russian National Congressâ\200\235.

<.« AND THERE'S No POINT IN SAVING YOUR TEARS FOR NEXT MONTH.. (TLL BE A LONG, LONG TIME BEFORE

1 CAN AFFORD

To Buy

you Meu cLoTHES!

#### Ditoro

Madisha Diroto, Rakg-watha, Makoeng, Mma-totsi and Makuswneng are unhappy because they pay taxes but have no water taps in front of their gates.

Mr Phatudi, you must do things correctly. All of us are under your control. We are your children, respect us then we will respect you. COOL MAN

Gompies :

be there. FED UP

Your Government does not allow

## CHIEF MINISTER: Dr

blacks, Indians and coloureds to vote.—;
Kids are shot with rubber bullets and L: We mustalways no-one is to blame. Bishop Tutu and
Dr Boesak were a; rested for peaceful protest. They are not entitled to vote in order to remove your Government.

How peaceful is Chief Buthelezi if he promises the ANC that there is no way to a settlement without Inkatha? How can you claim he is peaceful? How is he going to make sure that the ANC doesnâ\200\231t rule if he and Inkatha are not prepared for peace.

I agree reform 'must be brought by the Government but not by talking to

the homeland leaders, the ANC must.

Cedric Phatudi

b S

Mofolo Central

Madrid IVEY behave

SIR â\200\224 Allow me to air my views about Real Madrid Football Club of Vosloorus about the

bad behaviour they -

displayed on February

9, 1986 at Ground No .

**3**:

I was very shocked about the way officials acted. They entered the field disturbing two teams that had to play. They harassed the team using vilé words. It is very, dissapointing

as fan to watch football [~and only to find that it is worse than at a she-

een.

show respect for one another.

Officials must guide their players to do the right things. I want to appeal to Real Madrid officials and players that they must play football and stop boxing. They must get to know that if they donâ\200\231t want trouble they must leave teams who want to play football alone.

Where is Botha

leading SA to?

SIR  $\hat{a}\200\224$  Mr P W Botha in his speech during the opening of Parliament last month, said his government was committed to bringing about change in South Africa and to add spice to his speech, he said his government was committed to the creation of one undivided South Africa.

The question to be asked is whether this statement was made with sincerity. My answer is a bold NO. My answer is supported by the fact that it was recently and officially announced by the Chief Minister of KwaNdebele that his homeland will be indeperident by December.

This does not only support me, but makes me also believe in Dr Van Zyl Slabbertâ\200\231s statement that Mr Botha

\_ told him in his private

meeting with Mr Botha that the homeland system is here to stay.

If Mr Botha was sincere in his statement about the creation of one individual South Africa, he would not grant independence to KwaNdebele. Independence

e e

leaves much to be desired.

I would like to tell the world particularly, the US and Britain, that the Pretoria regime is playing a hide and seek game with the world.

I would like the world, particularly the two super powers mentioned above to try and reconcile Mr Bothaâ\200\231s statement and the question of KwaNdebele. As

to the political structure of this country, I see no prospects of any change through peaceful negotiations as long as the present attitude of the Pretoria regime continues to prevail.

Lastly, I would like to urge all those who are committed to bring about change in this country to unite and try tobring about the

changes needed without relying on these two super powers.

The discretion now lies with us, whether we want to bring about these changes or we want to rely on these super powers to bring about the changes.

SHANGA MABANDA

Ga-Rankuwa

a ruthless lot

SIR â\200\224 Will the honourable Minister of Justice and his President answer this question for me!

It is the general complaint and feeling that Bophuthatswana cops have turned to be destroyers instead of keeping the peace. I'm sure the Bophuthatswana cops are doing this without the interests of the society at large, but for their own personal interests.

## 2 A I A R N S B B N B o e T R T T T R e TR T SRR

You can  $200\231$ t get the most out of your taxi unless you  $200\231$ re getting the most out of your petrol!

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#### \$ 12405

Policemen irrespective of colour-or place of abode are to restore peace, security and to keep law and order.

They are very good at sjambokking people.
Right now several people are lying in hospitals, suffering from injuries. I am very worried about the recent death of a small boy Ronnie Sekhaulelo of Cyferkuil (Radium) who was beaten. Reasons for his death are lousy.

They suspected he was a member of the â\200\234comradesâ\200\235 or Cosas. I donâ\200\231t know what is wrong with being a member of one of these groups. I donâ\200\231t really know. We canâ\200\231t go on in this fashion. We have lost so many brothers and sisters in most cases because of your careless action. You must think before you leap. WORRIED

Mabopane

Bop cops are

AN PRESIDENT: P W Botha.

BUCS IN THE RUT

SIR â\200\224 As an ardent supporter of the Mighty Bucs (NSL) I would like to express my feelings about the poor performance of our club, Orlando Pirates.

There can be as many directors as possible, but if talented or inexperienced players are not bought it is as good as having no director at all.:

Their first choice of keeper John Banda is bad. John Banda is supposed to be keeping goals in the NSL fifth division if that division exists.

Mark Anderson, formerly of Pretoria Callies
was recnetly on sale.
What did-our directors
do about that? Our
strikers are relying on
Mandla â\200\234Metroblitzâ\200\235 Sithole. Chiefs, Sundowns
Swallows, Bush Bucks
and other clubs are recruiting while â\200\234The
Companyâ\200\231sâ\200\235 club is
playing a wait-and-see
game.

My advise to the board of directors is to forget recruiting  $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 34$  free or cheap players  $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 35$  like Tukula Mogagabe, John Nkosi and other useless players. Leave these guys to enjoy their amateurish play at their amateur teams.

HEART BROKEN SUP-PORTER Mabopane

A\ % ORD of GOD

Thank the Lord!

Now therefore, our God, we thank thee, and praise thy glonous name.

I Chronicles 29:13

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