

Tuesday 1 March 1988

THE CITIZEN

Huge Black project gets green light

By Brian Stuart

CAPE TOWN. — The upgrading of 18 Black townships in Natal, the creation of 17 new townships and the provision of more than 83 000 new housing sites are part of a five-year plan to "improve the quality of life" of Blacks in KwaZulu and Natal.

The R1 124 million, to which KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Development Aid, have agreed will also provide new schools, ready access to fresh water, sewerage, streets and stormwater drains, electricity in some areas, and a range of communities facilities.

Dr Viljoen said yesterday this was the largest development project of its kind ever undertaken in Southern Africa. It would effectively eliminate backlogs and create new facilities for growing population needs.

In the early 1980s the government launched a programme to upgrade the quality of life in Soweto, and the project was headed by Dr Louis Rive. This was followed by a second project, also under Dr Rive, to develop the Port Elizabeth area.

The KwaZulu/Natal Planning Committee was set up in 1984, also under Dr Rive, and on his re-

tirement Bishop Alpheus Zulu took over as chairman.

Final stages

An interim report in July 1985 identified 70 urgent projects costing R107,8 million and these projects were now in the final stages of completion.

In the final report, projects agreed to by the two governments totalled R660 million within the area of jurisdiction of KwaZulu and a further R427 million on South African Development Trust land still in South Africa's hands but being developed towards inclusion in KwaZulu.

The green light has now been given for the projects in KwaZulu, which will be financed by way of development bank loans. The South African Government will use budgetary measures to provide KwaZulu with the funds to service and repay these loans.

The Natal Provincial Government will also go ahead with plans costing R37 million, to be financed from its own budget, in areas which are not under the control of KwaZulu or the SA Development Trust.

Not available

Dr Viljoen said yesterday that money was not available at the moment for the green light to be given to the SADT. However, the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du

Plessis, had given an assurance that the SADT projects would have a "priority claim" as funds became available.

Since these are capital projects, the state may use funds that it obtains from the privatisation of existing state assets, in terms of the economic policy outlined by President PW Botha in his opening speech to Parliament.

The towns and areas involved in upgrading and new developments (marked nd) in the various areas are as follows:

Durban northern region: KwaMashu (ND), Ntuzuma (ND), Inanda/Newton, Richmond Farm, Lindelani, Inanda Released Areas 33 (ND), Inanda Mission Station, Inanda Mission Reserve (ND);

Durban Western Region: Claremont (ND), KwaNdengezi (ND), KwaDabeka (ND), Dassenhoek (ND);

Durban Southern Region: Umlazi, Malukazi, Embokodweni, Umbumbulu (ND), KwaMakhuta (ND), Umgaga, Emfolweni, Inwabi (ND);

Pietermaritzburg Region: Plessislaer, Edendale (ND), Mphophomeini (ND), Willowfontain, Ashdown, Imbali, Slangspuit, Vulindlela (ND);

Durban Western Region (to be developed by Natal Provincial Administration): Chesterville, Klaarwater (ND), Marionhill (ND), Lamontville, St Windolins (ND), Thornwood.

In addition, the NPA will develop the Sobantu township at Pietermaritzburg.

Dr Viljoen said the purpose of upgrading existing formal and informal towns was not to create "a radically new environment", but to im-

prove the quality of life where deterioration of services had taken place or where funds had been lacking in the past.

"The provision of formal water and sewerage reticulation systems within a previously informal settlement is tantamount to the development of a new area."

Some of the total "engineering service" costs are: water provision

R52,6 million, sewerage R34,1 million, electricity R46,8 million and roads R222 million — the total is R355 540 000.

The cost of upgrading community facilities are: education R92,3 million, Health R4,2 million, administration R3,2 million and recreation facilities R14,8 million — a total of R114 554 million.

Enterprise

In all 83 542 housing sites will be developed, of which 52 882 are proposed for lower income groups and 30 660 for people in higher income brackets. These higher income developments will be undertaken by private enterprise, and Dr Viljoen said private enterprise was "standing in line" awaiting the green light.

In new towns, expenditure is estimated as follows: education R210,4 million, health R8,7 million, administration R30,5 million and recreation R15,3 million, or a total of R264 810 000.

TUESDAY, MARCH 1, 1988

The 'Cry' that has echoed for 40 years

Writer Alan Paton still sees hope for his beloved country

By Humphrey Tyler
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

A heartbroken old black priest prays on a mountaintop, hands clasped and head uncovered. "It is the dawn that has come, as it has come for a thousand centuries, never failing. But when that dawn will come, of our emancipation, from the fear of bond-

age and the bondage of fear, why, that is a secret."

These are the closing lines from South African novelist Alan Paton's first book, "Cry, the Beloved Country." The book is now 40 years old, but the fictional priest's musings are more relevant than ever to blacks - and whites - here in Dr. Paton's troubled homeland and beyond. Witness the fact

that "Cry, the Beloved Country" still sells some 100,000 copies a year.

Chatting with a reporter about the years since he penned those lines, Dr. Paton describes himself as neither pessimist nor optimist about the future of his country, but as "a man of hope." He sees no quick solution for South Africa; please see PATON page 25

Compliments of

Cliff Gosney

"The problems are too complicated."

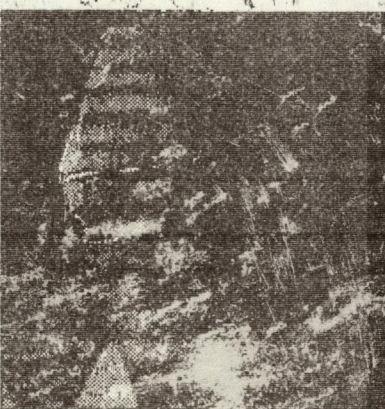
The 85-year-old Paton, who has had three different careers - teacher, writer, and leader of his country's multiracial Liberal Party until it was outlawed in 1968 - considers the dream of a unitary South African state with universal suffrage "pretty well unrealizable."

He sees more hope in some form of federal arrangement, though he notes there could hardly be a single unit of a federation in South Africa that would not have a majority of blacks. But he believes that, though some whites "would kick up a fuss," most whites would finally accept rule by blacks.

Paton vehemently opposes sanctions against South Africa. "I just don't see the point of destroying a country's economy to achieve some great moral purpose. It seems just absolute rubbish to me."

The walls in his comfortable study at home are plastered with mementoes of his life: awards and plaques, the originals of several newspaper cartoons, many books, and an inscription that begins, "Go placidly."

He jumps up to pour tea. He scrambles to find a quote from Shakespeare that underscores his attitude toward one of his three professions - politics. He finds it in Hamlet, Act I: "The time is out of joint. / O cursed spite, / That ever I was born to set it right."



He mutters about the "element of duty in politics" and the fact that there's "no guarantee you'll achieve anything."

Paton considers himself a "liberal" in a country where it is often invidious to be so tagged. He defines liberalism this way: "It's a devotion to the rule of law; it's a belief in the rights of man against the state; a distaste for authoritarianism."

'I just don't see the point of destroying a country's economy to achieve some great moral purpose.'

He reconsiders this. "You could say a hatred of totalitarianism," he says finally, adding, "It's also a tolerance of

otherness and other people. A true liberal doesn't think everybody should be the same or think the same; whereas if you're an ideologist, you do."

Liberals also "do not believe the end justifies the means"; nor do they believe in the sort of centralized government or economy that "kills individual initiative, as it certainly did in Russia."

In contrast to his political life, Paton says his writing and teaching provided "definite creative pleasure." Writing, he adds, gave him "an entry into the world." Paton plans no major works in the future, but autobiography, "Journey Continued," is coming out soon.

A lifelong Christian, Paton believes that Christianity is a powerful force for good in the country. Whites, particularly, can "go down on their knees and give thanks that so many blacks are Christians," he says. He laments that "the awakening of Afrikaner Christianity has been so long delayed," but sees hope in the fact that the biggest Afrikaans church, the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk (Dutch Reformed), has "come out and said it was a mistake for it to support apartheid and to think that apartheid was the will of God for this country."

Paton is a member of the Anglican Church in South Africa, which is headed by the controversial black archbishop, the Rev. Desmond Tutu. While "not a whole-hearted admirer" of Reverend Tutu, Paton considers him "very charismatic. I think he once said whites regarded him as the devil incarnate. Well, he's much more like an imp than a devil. And I wish him luck."

South Africa, with all its problems and conflicts, can be an awkward place to live, Paton notes, and many people, including intellectuals, have emigrated, fearing the future. But would he prefer to have lived his life elsewhere, in a country with fewer problems? His father came to South Africa in 1900, he said, "and I often thought: Why didn't he go to Canada instead?"

In the end, Paton says, "I'm quite glad he came here."

Pro-sanctions lobby wants to destroy economy

ULUNDI. — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday called on the world's pro-disinvestment lobby to question why "bloody-minded revolutionaries" opposed to peaceful change cried out loudest for sanctions against South Africa.

The KwaZulu Chief

Minister and Inkatha president was speaking to Mr Sol G Marinillo, General Manager of International Government relations of the Mobil Oil Corporation, USA, and local Mobil MD Mr Bob Angel.

He said a peacefully es-

tablished multi-party democracy here would lead to immense economic development not only for South Africa but for Central and East Africa.

"I can envisage a massive economic backbone running down from Braxtonville through Lusaka and then down through Harare and Gaborone to Cape Town," he told the industrialists.

And he commended Mobil for its commitment to remaining in his country in the face of opposition in the United States.

Campaigners for disinvestment were often unaware that sanctions, which they saw as a last resort for peaceful change, were in fact a first step towards abandoning such peaceful means.

"They should stop and ask themselves why it is that bloody-minded revolutionaries, who see the prospects of peaceful change as threatening their revolutionary intentions and their intentions to set up a one-party, socialist/Communist State, cry out the loudest for sanctions against South Africa."

In fact they supported sanctions because they wanted the economy destroyed and the desperation of Blacks thereby increased to the point where they had nothing to lose.

"They want anarchy to prevail after the economy has collapsed because it is

in anarchy that they can establish themselves as states unopposed in their ability to wield brute force," Dr Buthelezi said. — Sapa.

*Has Chief Ministers
attention*

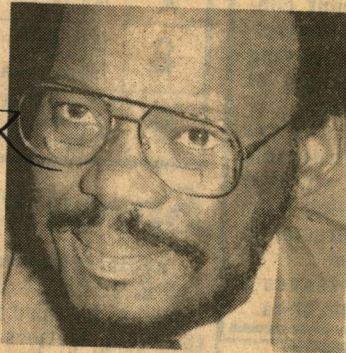
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Buthelezi fights back after stinging report

Henry Katzew
reports from
New York . . .



Chief Buthelezi . . . hideous allegation.

The anger in the letter to the *New York Times* of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, KwaZulu's Chief Minister, was evident. The subject was the violence in the Maritzburg area and its implications.

Chief Buthelezi strongly objected to several observations in a front page report of January 21.

He objected first to the observation that "in a transition to black rule" there were prospects that Inkatha would "provide special protection for whites".

"What does this imply?" Chief Buthelezi wanted to know. "That we believe all South Africans — black and white — should share power? Or that we are prepared to deal with our political oppressors behind black South Africa's back?"

Chief Buthelezi reiterated Inkatha policy, stating that Inkatha was adamant that the future of South Africa should be determined by all its citizens. This rejected the ANC claim as sole representative of the majority of South Africans.

Chief Buthelezi called "rubbish" the observation that his proposals for reshaping the country would "build upon" his "tribal base" and that a blueprint for Natal's future, drawn up by Inkatha, would allow for a powerful white role.

He explained: "The proposals to which you refer (accepted

only in principle by Inkatha) are the result of a regional initiative, of months of deliberation and negotiation by white and black organisations, of which Inkatha was one. These proposals sought ways blacks and whites could democratically share power in Natal-kwaZulu."

Chief Buthelezi's third objection concerned Mr Phillip Thabethe, an Inkatha member, who lost his wife, two sons and his mother, and who still cannot work after he was struck by eight bullets from a Tokarev automatic pistol.

"With no proof," Chief Buthelezi wrote, "an unnamed welfare worker is quoted as saying Mr Thabethe is 'one of the top Inkatha killers'. This is defamation of the first order, no matter that the hideous and untruthful allegation was denied.

"Do you think nothing of damning a man as a 'killer'. Or is it all right if that person is a black bus driver in kwaZulu who has little chance of legally defending himself against being presented to the world as a butcher?"

THE STAR

1 MARCH, 1988

Archbishop Stephen Naidoo, arrested with Archbishop Tutu, said last night that Roman Catholics, with people of other Churches, had to be prepared to participate in symbolic, non-violent actions to demonstrate their stance on apartheid.

Preaching in Lansdowne, he said Christians had to question the political morality of the South African Government, which enforced "some of the most ferocious laws in the whole world".

A spokesman for Archbishop Tutu's office said today that the elimination of extra-parliamentary political organisations had prompted the Church to take on social campaigns and had led it into direct confrontation with the State.

The peaceful demonstration yesterday was fired by the belief of church leaders that the recent restrictions were a "blow directed at the heart of the Church's mission" in South Africa.

Moves to challenge clamps

At least four of the 18 organisations which have had their activities curtailed by wide-ranging Government bans are planning to challenge the clamps in court.

The organisations are the United Democratic Front, the Congress of South African Trade Unions, the Detainees' Parents Support Committee and the Release Mandela Committee.

Cosatu has been prevented from performing a range of political activities while the other organisations have been rendered totally inactive.

Laywers will also challenge the restrictions placed on individuals.



Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Dr Allan Boesak and other church leaders confront policemen outside St George's Cathedral in Cape Town shortly before their arrest yesterday.

International outcry follows Tutu's arrest and clampdowns

THE STAR

1 MARCH 1988

International condemnation and calls for tougher sanctions have followed the arrests in Cape Town yesterday of prominent South African clerics protesting against restrictions on Cosatu and 17 extra-parliamentary groups.

Riot police arrested Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the Rev Allan Boesak and dozens of other churchmen and journalists. They were later released but charges against them are being investigated.

A statement from the US State Department said: "The United States strongly condemns the South African Government's forceful repression of peaceful demonstrators.

"By criminalising and suppressing the exercise of basic political human rights, the South African Government is shutting off avenues for non-violent change in South Africa."

Britain's Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, told the House of Commons he had yet to receive the full facts, but "it seems that it was a peaceful protest that was broken up by the police".

"We are utterly opposed to the breaking up of a peaceful expression of protest of that kind."

Shadow Foreign Secretary Mr Gerald Kaufman commented that "not even senior churchmen are safe from apartheid".

He contrasted the swift action against the church leaders with television footage at the weekend showing police "standing by helpfully" at the AWB rally, the "Nazi anti-black resistance".

Sir Geoffrey condemned the restrictions on organisations but repeated Britain's refusal to adopt tough economic sanctions against Pretoria.

● The Commonwealth's secretary-general yesterday called for tougher sanctions against South Africa.

In Malaysia's capital, Kuala Lumpur, Sir Shridath Ramphal said the crackdown showed the South African Government was not prepared to negotiate peaceful change with the black majority.

● Zimbabwe's Roman Catholic bishops condemned the arrests of the churchmen, saying the action was an affront to justice.

● West German Chancellor Dr Helmut Kohl called on South Africa yesterday to lift restrictions imposed on the organisations, his spokesman said.

● The UN Human Rights Commission condemned yesterday an "escalation of acts of terrorism" against blacks by South Africa and renewed its call for mandatory sanctions.

TUTU, BOESAK ARREST DRAMA

Police
stop
protest
march:
AG to
get
docket

CAPE TOWN. — Church leaders, including Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Dr Allan Boesak and Catholic Archbishop Stephen Naidoo, were arrested in Cape Town yesterday when they tried to march to Parliament with a petition against restrictions on 17 organisations.

About 25 church leaders and scores of other people were taken away in police vans and cars to Caledon Square and released after their particulars were taken.

After the clergymen leading the procession

were arrested, a group of about 70, including clerics, were sprayed with the police water cannon as they sat in the street singing a hymn.

Dr Boesak said after he was released that they were told they had broken the law relating to demonstrating in the precincts of Parliament and would be arrested again if they attempted to repeat the march.

Dr Boesak said they were told summonses might be issued and they might be called to court.

The Public Relations Division of the Police in Pretoria said a docket on yesterday's march would

be sent to the Attorney General of the Cape to consider whether or not charges should be brought against those involved.

Police lining Wale Street from St George's Cathedral to the entrance of Parliament Street waited for the clergymen to emerge from a service in the cathedral.

As the group neared the entrance to Parliament Street policemen linked arms and barred their progress.

A policeman warned the group that it was an illegal gathering and ordered them to disperse immediately.

The clergymen sat down on the pavement and a policeman took hold of Dr Boesak's arm and led him away.

Church leaders at the front of the procession, including Archbishop Tutu, Archbishop Naidoo, Dr Khoza Mgoja, President of the Methodist Church and the Rev Frank Chikane, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, were arrested and taken to cars.

Others were arrested as they sat on the pavement in rows of four.

They included the Rev

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THE CITIZEN -
1 MARCH, 1988

Tutu, Boesak arrest drama

FROM PAGE 1

Ron Steel, chairman of the United Congregational Church, the Rev Peter Storey, a former president of the Methodist Church, Moulana Fraid Esack of the Call of Islam, the Rev Samson Khamalo, General Secretary of the Presbyterian Church and several members of the Council of African Independent Churches.

About 12.05 pm the rest of the procession, led by Rev Syd Luckett, director of the Anglican Board of Social Responsibility, stood up and walked towards police vehicles parked on the corner of Wale and St George's Streets.

"We are going to the leaders," Mr Luckett said.

The group of about 70 sat down in rows of four in Wale Street as a police water cannon which had been parked near Government Avenue drove slowly towards them.

The vehicle stopped when it was abreast of the first few rows and sprayed them with jets of water.

The group did not move.

A misdirected blast caught policemen standing on the corner of Wale and St George's streets.

The group moved to the pavement as the water cannon continued spraying them.

At 12.10 pm Major Dolf Odendal called police vehicles "to load the people" (om die mense op te laai).

He instructed a police video unit to film individuals being put into vans.

Each member of the group said the Lord's Prayer as he climbed in.

Several journalists, including photographers Guy Tillim, John Rubythorn and Geraldine Farley, were also detained.

Before the march Archbishop Tutu told several hundred people in St George's Cathedral: "We have gathered here as an act of witness and an act of protest against what the South African Government did last week. We intend after this very short service to walk to Parliament to present a petition."

During the service Mr Chikane read out the petition in which the churchmen vowed to continue opposing the government.

"By imposing such drastic restrictions on organisations which have campaigned peacefully for the end of apartheid, you have removed nearly all effective means open to our people to work for true change by non-violent means," the petition said.

"We regard your restrictions not only as an attack on democratic activity in South Africa but as a blow directed at the

heart of the church's mission. . . we must make it clear that, no matter what the consequences, we will explore every possible avenue for continuing the activities which you have prohibited other bodies from undertaking.

"We will not be stopped from campaigning for the release of prisoners, from calling for clemency for those under sentence of death, from calling for the unbanning of political organisations, from calling for the release of political leaders to negotiate the transfer of power to all the people of our country, from commemorating significant events in the life of our nation, from commemorating those who have died in what you call 'riots' or from calling on the international community to apply pressure to force you to the negotiating table."

The police statement said that the police had taken all reasonable steps — including warning those taking part that their actions were illegal and requesting them to disperse — before taking action.

The statement said that the Rev Edward King (Anglican dean of Cape Town) had been warned beforehand that the intended march would be illegal and that if it should proceed, the SAP would have no alternative but to act.

Despite this warning, the march had taken place.

After a request to disperse, which was ignored, the group had staged a sit-down in the road and the police had been forced to remove them.

In confirming that water cannon had been used against marchers who staged a sit down in the road after being warned to disperse, police said that the water cannon had been used three times.

After a warning to disperse, the canon had been fired at the feet of the marchers.

This exercise had been repeated a second time, before police fired directly at those who participated in the march after a third warning had been issued to disperse.

After his release Archbishop Tutu told journalists that the historic gathering of clerics yesterday represented 12 million South African Christians. He and his colleagues could not be "written off as a bunch of rabble rousers", he said.

● A snap debate, is to be requested by Mrs Helen Suzman (PFP Houghton) action.

A spokesman for the Ministry of Law and Order in Cape Town said that until the debate had taken place, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, would refrain from comment.

ANDRE BRINK, writing in the current issue of *Leadership*, makes the "sobering discovery" that Africa is not very high on the Kremlin's list of priorities. With respect, one can only wonder what he had been drinking that it took a trip to Moscow to sober him.

His insight is important, notwithstanding, because it suggests that what is perhaps the most significant point of agreement between the US and the Soviet Union in their thinking about the continent. Namely, that the place does not matter very much, not even the controversial southern bit.

Washington's utter lack of serious concern should at this stage be rather obvious. Aside from a few jaded professionals at the State Department, nobody seems to mind that US policy is now largely made by a second-rate academic from Kalamazoo — House Africa Sub-committee chairman Howard Wolpe — and a handful of congressional black caucus members. I mean, someone's got to do it.

So indifferent is the administration that the President's advisers no longer bother even to brief him on the subject. Hence his blitherings on Pretoria's latest crack-down at last week's Press conference.

You can't really believe that he was advised to mitigate the new round of restrictions on the grounds that apartheid was an "ethnic policy," not a "racial" one.

This phenomenon, though exacerbated by end-of-administration inertia, is not new. Were Africa important, the State Department official responsible for it would have changed several times since 1981.

US and Russia *BUSINESS DAY 1 MARCH 1988* believe Africa is just not worth fighting over

SIMON BARBER in Washington

Yet, alone of his fellow regional assistant secretaries, Dr Chester Crocker has survived Reagan's full seven years, even as Congress and SA have conspired to make a mockery of his policy.

The bottom line, of course, is that the US has no genuinely compelling interests in sub-Saharan Africa — SA included.

No major military bases, no important alliances, no commercial or political relationships without which the free world would crumble or deterrence against Soviet aggression be diminished. It truly is a part of the planet upon which the Rev Jesse Jackson could be unleashed without domestic peril.

Distasteful as it is to have to agree with the deputy director of the Institute of African Studies of



□ BRINK . . . "sobering discovery"

the Soviet Academy of Sciences, Dr Viktor Goncharov was right when he told a symposium in Harare last year:

"Even people not possessing profound military knowledge realise, in the nuclear missile age, if the third world war breaks out it will have a transient character. Its outcome will not be so much dependent on regular supplies of the needed mineral resources as it was during previous world wars.

"In these conditions, the idea of interrupting goods traffic around the southern tip of the African continent, including oil supplies from the Middle East, has become out of date from the military point of view."

Since any government, however hostile or irrational, will always need trade and unfunny money to survive, it is almost entirely immaterial from the American standpoint who that government is.

The ANC could take power tomorrow and turn out to be every bit as vicious as Pretoria paints it, and it would make not one whit of difference to the continued pursuit of happiness over here.

As for the idea that the Soviet Union wants somehow to take control of the region's fabled mineral storehouse and sit on it so that the West can't have any . . . well, you have to concede that Vasili Solodovnikov had a point when he told Brink in Moscow: "We do not need the wealth of SA — we have enough of our own."

Not that having enough, or even a surplus, is any answer to the Soviet Union's problems.

In a speech to the Central Committee last month, Mikhail Gorbachev made a startling admission about the state of his country's economy: discounting the sale of oil at the inflated prices of the Seventies and vodka (until the anti-drinking campaign, Soviet expenditure on alcohol may have accounted for 10% of total domestic output) "it turns out, basically, that for four five-year periods there was no absolute growth of the national income, and, at the beginning of the Eighties, it had even begun to fall." It is difficult to understand how turning southern Africa into a

series of new colonies, an expensive proposition by itself, and hoarding their minerals would help brighten this picture.

Besides, what would be the purpose? Stifling Western industry would seem an odd way to go about raising desperately-needed capital investment and expanding hard currency trade.

In fact, the general Soviet tendency seems to be quite the contrary — to reduce, or at least freeze, its African and other Third World obligations, not expand them, while encouraging clients to stand on their own two feet — a posture, the Kremlin now admits, socialism has not helped.

CIA analysts Carol Fogarty and Kevin Tritle reported in a recent congressional study of Gorbachev's economic plans that "among client states, which represent a potentially significant drain on the Soviet economy through the end of the century, Moscow is cautioning slower movement toward socialisation.

"In Ethiopia, for example, Soviet planning experts have recommended such policy reforms as strengthening the private sector, materially assisting private farmers and adopting a market-orientated approach to selling, pricing and distribution to stimulate growth in Ethiopia's stagnant economy.

"These recommendations contrast sharply with earlier doctrine that did not allow transitional

stages to convert institutions to socialism in Marxist states.

"The planners also prescribed substantial investments in infrastructure, agricultural industry and energy without commenting on potential Soviet contributions."

Cost may not be the only reason for the Soviet reassessment. For the first time, articles are beginning to appear in the Moscow Press suggesting that many Third World — and especially African — leaders are not quite the progressive saints heretofore depicted in the propaganda.

These leaders, veteran Africa correspondent Boris Asoyan wrote in Literaturnaya Gazeta last October, "have rather quickly digested the idea that if their speeches and talks were abundantly interspersed with left phraseology and 'progressive' slogans... they could count on the authority, international prestige and assistance both from the East and the West".

Turning to socialist countries, they were rather convincingly persuasive in their determination "to lead the struggle for peace and disarmament in the interests of their people and entire mankind".

While talking with the capitalists they were firm in their commitment to the ideals of Western democracy.

"And upon returning home, they were issuing orders about tortures and murder of still another group of opponents.

"The idealism of the leaders of the first states of independence, who dreamt about creating in the shortest possible timespan a politically-united and economically strong Africa, has rapidly broken apart running into the cliffs of

backwardness and fratricidal conflict... the distinguishing feature of the new period would become naked opportunism.

"Gradually, a stratum of elites would be created and would get stronger and would monopolise all those benefits which had been promised to the people.

"The lower classes would be fed by an ever-increasing number of high-sounding slogans, big portraits of leaders, the citations containing high-sounding epithets, which would become the permanent and sometimes only embellishment of the towns and villages."

This sounds extraordinarily like contempt. If it is — and the feeling is widespread within the Kremlin — Washington and Moscow may have a solid basis for an agreement on how to deal with the continent: there is nothing here worth fighting over. Let it rot.

BUSINESS DAY

1 MARCH 1988

Gordimer tells of her commitment

THE STAR 1 MARCH 1988

From Michael Morris of
The Star's London Bureau

Celebrated novelist Nadine Gordimer has told British television viewers that she has had to earn her deep attachment to South Africa through a revolutionary commitment. Revolution, in its broadest sense, was her hope.

"I'm very attached to my country," she said in a documentary televised as part of ITV's "Women Writers" series. "You have to earn that if you are white ... by showing that you support not only change, but a complete revolution. I use the word in its broadest sense, in the sense of a complete change in the social organisation in South Africa."

Miss Gordimer added: "It is not enough for whites to say they would be prepared to live under black majority rule. You have to help bring that about."

From her point of view, she said, "that kind of activity takes up time and brings distractions that make writing there difficult".



Nadine Gordimer.

Nevertheless, the country provided "wonderful subjects, wonderful mutations of human nature ... because people are living under pressure".

Miss Gordimer said she was preoccupied by the question of power, and that, uniquely in South Africa, political power, sensuality and sexuality — "the greatest drives in people's lives" in her age — were intertwined.

"After all, what is apartheid all about? It is about the body; the skin and hair."

Interviewed in France, at her daughter's home Miss Gordimer acknowledged that she always felt disturbed before leaving home in South Africa to travel abroad, partly because of a feeling of abandoning responsibility, partly because "there are always so many people in trouble ... in prison, or living underground".

Equally, she observed: "It is difficult to relax in South Africa. There's a war on. It's undeclared, but it's on, and it's been going on for a long time ... in moral terms and in many different ways."

"I know which side I'm on", she said, but — on the vexing issue of artistic integrity — added: "I must take my freedom as a writer to show human beings as they are. If you do not, you become a propagandist. They are necessary, but I'm not one. As a writer I am too selfish to put what talent I have (at the disposal of) any cause. I could not become one."

No work of art, she insisted, could be judged by its political content.

"Political content should be part of the essential truth. If an incident in a book is placed in a year, a time, where part of the essential truth of that situation is political, then it must be there."

On this issue, she said, she had an affinity with the writers of Eastern Europe whose work tended to suffer from being judged firstly in terms of their political pertinence.

"The function of the writer is to make sense of life. It's such a mystery, it changes all the time, like light ... and you are trying to make something coherent out of it. Is not all art doing that? Assembling amorphous things and putting them into an order."

Ramphal calls for tougher sanctions after crackdown

THE Commonwealth's secretary-general called yesterday for tougher sanctions against South Africa in protest against Pretoria's latest crackdown on political opposition.

Speaking in Malaysia's capital Kuala Lumpur, Shridath Ramphal rejected suggestions that a decision to ban the activities of 17 leading anti-apartheid organisations was taken to deter South African voters from backing rightwing extremist parties in white parliamentary by-elections this week.

"Apartheid in South Africa first of all rejects democracy... (extremists) are held in check, not by curtailing democracy, but by the democratic process itself," he told a dinner organised by Malaysia's Institute of Strategic and International Studies, a government-funded body.

Mr Ramphal said the crackdown, which also barred a black trade union group from politics, showed South Africa's minority government was not prepared to negotiate peaceful change with the country's black majority.

Concerted international ac-



Mr Ramphal

tion was needed to "avert what could be the worst bloodbath since the Second World War", he stated.

Mr Ramphal called on the United Nations Security Council to secure tighter economic and other sanctions against South Africa and urged nations opposed to sanctions to reconsider their position.

He said African countries should refuse transit and over-flying rights to airlines flying to South Africa and called on Western countries to boycott South African goods and further reduce trade and investment in South Africa.

He also repeated calls by the

48-nation Commonwealth for the release of such jailed activists as Nelson Mandela and the opening of negotiations between the Pretoria government and black leaders.

Under emergency regulations published last Wednesday, South Africa's Government virtually outlawed black opposition.

Western governments have condemned the move and guerrilla movements have pledged to intensify their armed struggle to end apartheid.

Political commentators have linked the ban with parliamentary by-elections in which President P.W. Botha's government faces a strong challenge from the extreme rightwing Conservative Party, which accuses him of being soft on blacks.

Mr Ramphal said the crackdown amounted to making peaceful protest a crime.

The Pretoria government has "added another round to the spiral of violence for it now threatens... to respond with violence to even non-violent action by the opponents of apartheid," he said.

Opposition groups challenge South African clampdown

1/5/88

THREE of the anti-apartheid groups affected by a South African Government clampdown filed legal challenges Thursday, calling the rules vague and unlawful.

He said a third application was filed for the United Democratic Front, the country's biggest opposition movement, which claims to represent about 2.5 million people.

Johannesburg lawyer Peter Harris told *Reuters* his firm filed applications in the Cape Town Supreme Court on behalf of the 650,000-member Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the Detainees' Parents Support Committee.

"We will argue that the new restrictions comprise so fundamental an inroad into the ordinary rights of citizens that they could never have been contemplated by Parliament," Mr Harris said.

Law and Order Minister Adrian Vlok published regulations on February 24 prohibiting any activity by 17 anti-apartheid organisations and banning political activities by COSATU, the country's biggest labour federation.

The Government, whose action has been condemned by much of the Western world, has also announced plans to halt foreign funding of opposition groups.

The United Democratic Front, backed by more than 600 affiliated groups, and the Detainees' Parents Support Committee, which advised the families of people imprisoned without trial, were two of the main targets of the crackdown.