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By NKOPANE MAKOBANE

THE Department of Education and
Training yesterday warned that thou-
sands of pupils who had not yet enrolled

would be considered expelled,

while

several organisations and members of
the cpmumty insisted that the depart-
ment meet the. National Education Cri-
sis â\200\230Committee urgently to resolve the

Erlsns.

LTI DL EULL LU LU L LT

â\200\234And DET deputy
director-general, Mr

â\200\230Jaap Strydom, yester-

day denied that the
NECC had requested
a meeting with the
Deputy Minister of
Education and Devel-
opment Aid, Mr Sam
de Beer.

Mr de Beer said in a
statement issued yester-
day: â\200\234NECC sent me a
telex in which they ex-
pressed disappointment
about the actions taken
by the Department of
Education and Training.
This telex did not, how-
ever, contain a request
for a meeting with me.â\200\235

Mr Strydom yesterday |

said his department re-
garded pupils who had
not registered by tomor-

â\200\234row as having excluded

themselves. They would
not be regarded as pu-
pils for the rest of the
year.

â\200\234This must be in -

T 44m_orro\w i

Several members of
the black community
have insisted that DET
meets the NECC. -

These include Mrs Al-
bertina Sisulu and presi-
dent of the South Afri-
can Council of
Churches, Dr Manas
Buthelezi.

Concerned

Mrs Sisulu said par-
ents would like to see

. . the school crisis resolved

capital letters,â\200\235 he said.
â\200\234We will not close

schools. But if pupils fail

to come to school what

must we do? Why must

.- schools where there are
no pupils be kept
open"â\200\235 he asked.

ments made to teachers
that pupils excluded
from school this year
would have to attend
adult education centres
next year, he said this
was not true. â\200\234These
children. can come back

. next year on condition
that they want to liam

- hesaid.

by people concerned

with education. â\200\234The
matter needs urgency
and what is disturbing is
the security forceâ\200\231s pres-
ence at schools,â\200\235 she
said. â\200\230
Bishop Buthelezi said

s the issue had been the
Â@ Asked about state- centre of unrest since
1976. â\200\234It is most natural

to expect that talks be-/
tween the educaton
authorities and leaders
in the community be
held,â\200\235 Blshop Buthelezx
said.

Meanwhxle schools in
Soweto have had num-

â\200\230To Page 6>

Separate Mandela's release from
ANC unbanning & Buthelezi

Report by Lucky Kaunda

THE Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has called for the release of Dr Nelson Mandela to be separated from the unbanning of the ANC.

In his written evidence to the British House of Commons select committee on foreign affairs, Chief Buthelezi said it was essential for Mandela to be released first, unconditionally. ;

He added that the South African Government would not be blackmailed into releasing Nelson Mandela by the threat of escalating economic sanctions.

Meantime, the ANC has not changed its policy regarding attacks on soft targets and its refusal to meet the Inkatha.

In Lusaka, ANC spokesman Tom Sebina said there had been no change in the policy laid down at last year's Kabwe congress. The fact that so-called civilian targets will be caught in the cross-fire of escalating violence is accepted by all in the organisation.

On whether the ANC will meet Chief Buthelezi, Sebina pointed out: Buthelezi has demonstrated that his role is counter-revolutionary. It is well known that he has given himself the task of assisting the apartheid regime.

Whether the ANC leadership in exile will meet Buthelezi cannot be decided by the ANC in exile alone, but by the entire democratic movement inside our coun-

try.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Last week Chief Buthelezi slammed a newspaper report alleging that the leader of the Labour Party in Britain, Mr Neil Kinnock, called Inkatha a fascist.

There is little one can say about this
~ mentary democracy.

kind of puerile behaviour, and I treat Mr. Kinnock's alleged utterances with the contempt they deserve. When one looks back at the great men of history who have led Britain and the Labour Party, I feel very sad that this is the extent to which the party's leadership has sunk, he said.

In another speech in Durban the chief challenged that Cosatu would not stand the test of time. Addressing an industrial labour relations seminar he said the vast majority of black workers favoured the free enterprise system and were not inherently inclined towards socialism or communism.

Black workers who rejected the free enterprise system now did so because they had not gained entry into it.

Chief Buthelezi alleged that while Cosatu opposed free enterprise, the United Workers Union of SA (Uwusa) was committed to the liberalisation of this system. ;

He said Cosatu was committed to the kind of role which the ANC mission-in-exile dictated to black South Africa.

However, Uwusa was committed to the politics of radical change in a continued multi-party Westminster-type parliament. The Self Help Initiative of the Buthelezi Principles Support Association will hold a meeting this Saturday. The meeting begins at 2pm in the Methodist Church Hall at the corner of Musgrave and St Thomas Roads in Durban.

Shultz Says C.L.A. Head Denies Passing D

Special to The New York Times
WASHINGTON, July 23 — Secretary of State George P. Shultz said today that the Director of Central Intelligence had assured him that the United States had not given South Africa any intelligence on the principal anti-apartheid guerrilla groups.
The New York Times reported today that according to current and former Government officials, the United

States — July
Atlantic Square

South Africa

States forwarded sensitive information on the African National Congress, including political intelligence and specific warnings of planned guerrilla attacks. The sources said the sharing of

information on the organization began in the 1950s. They

under the Reagan Administration and continued at least into the mid-1980s. It could not be learned whether the flow of information was continuing, The Times said.

Mr. Shultz, testifying before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, said that William J. Casey, Director of Central Intelligence, had told him this morning categorically that that was not true and had not been true during the course of this Administration and to his knowledge before that.
Mr. Casey has been the director since 1981.

In responding to a question by Senator Claiborne Pell, the Democrat from

activities in the region. No intelligence on the African National Congress was forwarded to South Africa before President Reagan took office, the sources quoted by The Times stressed. said that the agreement involved close cooperation with British intelligence.

At the hearing, Mr. Shultz said he would be willing to meet with Oliver Tambo, the acting head of the African National Congress.

Mr. Shultz said that we have serious concerns about the ultimate objec-

tivesâ\200\235 of the group, particularly its in-
creasing reliance on violence. But he
said it had emerged as â\200\230â\200\234â\200\230an important
part of the South African poltiical equa-
tionâ\200\235 and that it was important for the
United States to talk to their leaders. .

A senior Administration official, who
asked not to be identified, categori-ly

on the or-

' Rhode Island, Mr. Shultz said he had | &

been authorized by Mr. Casey to make
the denial public.
The sources quoted by The Times

Larry || _

said that the United States had had an | S

intelligence sharing relationship with
South Africa dating back to the 1960â\200\231s,
but that it involved Soviet and "Cuban

CBS News reported â\200\230that it
had learned from â\200\230knowledgeable

sourcesâ\200\235 that the National Security
Agency had spied on the African Na-
tional â\200\234for several yearsâ\200\231
and passed the information on to Brit-
ish intelligence. â\200\230â\200\234The British, in turn,
are said to have given the information
to the South African secret police,â\200\235 the
CBS report said. : â\200\230

In New York, the chief of the African
National Observer Mission to
the United Nations today called for an
â\200\234appropriate response at the African
levelâ\200\235 to the disclosures that the
United States had provided South Af-
rica with intelligence on the nationalist
movement.

â\200\234What is important about the revela-
tions in The New York Times is that

establish two related facts:

namely that the Reagan Administra-
tion regards the A.N.C. and the people
of South Africa as the enemy and apart-
heid as the friend,â\200\235 the African Na-
tionsalam Congress official, Neo Mnumza-
na, H :

BIDEN. Mr. i
amazed Bishop Tutu was as re-

strained as he was. People are

SHULTZ. I'd have to disagree with you. I think to say that President Reagan's statement yesterday was nauseating is nuts and not anything I could agree with under any circumstances.

BIDEN. I'm referring, not whether you agree with it or not, to the frustration he must feel; I'm surprised that he hasn't said

more.

SHULTZ. Of course he feels

IR L TR

Excerpts From E

WASHINGTON, July 23 (AP) Following are excerpts from an ex-

- 'change over American policies toward South Africa : "n&t &urredet (a\200\230)- day in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee between Senator Joseph R. Biden Jr., Democrat of Delaware, and Secretary of State George P. Shultz. Senator Biden began by referring to the criticism of President Reagan's speech on Tuesday by Bishop Desmond M. Tutu, who said the Reagan policy was a\200\230a\200\230nauseating. a\200\235

around, I'm a taxpayer.

THt-.- New

NORK Tim

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titxmtration. We all feel frustra-

on.

BIDEN. But these people are dying. His people are dying. You feel frustration, they're dying. e up children.

SHULTZ. It's a terrible situation and what we need to be thinking about is what to do about it.

BIDEN. What disturbs me, and 'l try not to be disturbed, is not merely a\200\224a\200\224

SHULTZ. Remember I'm a taxpayer. Just because I'm Secretary of State, you can't kick me

. | exchange with Senator Joseph R. Biden
.Jr., Democrat of Delaware, whose

Foiotes s

The New York Times/Jose R. Lopez

Senator Joseph R. Biden, above, assailing testimony of Secretary of State
George P. Shultz at hearing yesterday.
with Chester A. Crocker, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs.

At witness table, Mr. Shultz talked

Shultz, Seeking Sanctions Delay,
Says U.S. and Allies May Act Soon

By BERNARD GWERTZMAN |
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 23 â\200\224 Secretary
of State George P. Shultz held out the
possibility today that the Reagan Ad-
ministration might join its allies in im-
posing sanctions against South Africa
in two months if Pretoria does not
move by then to open negotiations on
ending apartheid.

Although he repeated President Rea-
ganâ\200\231s opposition to efforts in Congress
to imy economic sanctions, Mr.
Shultz, apparently in an effort to delay
such moves, introduced the possibility
for the first time of joint American-

European sanctions in
said the Administration wanted the

flexibility to increase pressure in coor- |
dination with its allies as the situation
evolved.

In South Africa, meanwhile, the Gov-
ernment offered a broad welcome to-
day to President Reaganâ\200\231s statement

Excerpts from testimony, page A4.

Tuesday on the nation's crisis and said
foreign intervention and threats
would only promote a siege mentality
in Pretoria. Opposition leaders, by con-
trast, scorned Mr. Reagan's speech.
[Page A4.]

In an atmosphere often charged by
emotional debate, Mr. Shultz testified te

for four hours before the Senate For-
eign Relations Committee. The debate
was dominated by the sanctions issue.
On Tuesday, President Reagan
strongly opposed any sanctions, lead-
ing many in the committee today to ex-
press sentiments ranging from disap-
pointment to outrage.

-) States on this issue.

' be imposed on South Africa.

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Continued From Page A1

voice, rising in anger, alternately
mocked and assailed Mr. Shultz's call
for negotiations in South Africa.

Hell, they've tried compromise for
20 years! Mr. Biden said of South Af-
rican blacks, shouting at Mr. Shultz,
who was sitting at the witness table
facing him. They've tried everything
in their power. They begged. They
crawled. They are being crushed.

You are totally misconstruing the
testimony I gave, Mr. Shultz respond-
ed. Furthermore, Senator, I hate to
hear a senator of the United States call-
ing for violence.

m Not Calling for Violence

I'm not calling for violence, Mr.
Biden said.

That's exactly what you're doing!
Mr. Shultz replied.

Senator Edward M. Kennedy, Demo-
crat of Massachusetts, who is not a

member of the committee, asked to speak to Mr. Shultz and said that Mr. Reagan â\200\230â\200\230doesnâ\200\231t speak for the United

â\200\230â\200\234He doesnâ\200\231t speak for the American people,â\200\235 he said.

He called on the Senate to take action to demonstrate that the Administra- tionâ\200\231s comments â\200\230â\200\230donâ\200\231t really repre- sent what this country stands for.â\200\235

â\200\230Something Moreâ\200\231 Needed

But although most senators echoed the view of the committee chairman, Senator Richard G. Lugar, Republican of Indiana, that â\200\230â\200\230something more is re- quiredâ\200\235 than diplomatic persuasion, there was no clear consensus after to- dayâ\200\231s hearing on what sanctions should

The House has passed a bill which would have the effect of imposing a

ember. He

trade ?mbargo on South Africa, but

there is little apparent support for such a sweeping measure in the Senate. Rather, it is more likely that more lim- ited measures would be approved, such as banning flights by South African Air- ways to this country, and a ban on new investment in South Africa country.

Mr. Shultz went beyond Mr. Rea- ganâ\200\231s comments by saying that the South African situation was â\200\230â\200\230evolv- ing.)1

â\200\230Straight-Jacketâ\200\231 Opposed

Urging the senators not to put the Ad- ministration in â\200\230â\200\234a straight-jacket of rigid legislation,â\200\235â\200\235 Mr. Shultz said, for the first time, â\200\230â\200\234We are prepared to take action, with our allies, to change

tbÃ©mlxofmrpreuumâ\200\224positlvemd
negative â\200\224 to meet the rapidly chang-

Mr. Shultz also stated flatly that as
fn.n of the tionâ\200\231s effort to

oster discussions between blacks and
whites in South Africa, he would be

willing to m

Mr. Shultz had & particularly heated | President of :I:et Aâ\200\230Iâ\200\230i-\202â\200
\230&.?i-\202â\200\230&i-\201mâ\200\231;?"â\200\230 ano:

G gress, which is banned in South Africa.

Continued on Page A4, Column 3 On the sanctions question, Mr. Shultz

L AR, more flexibility on the issue

than was apparent from Mr. Reaganâ\200\231s

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ABROAD AT HOME
Anthony Lewis

- Mr.
Bothaâ\200\231s
Poodle

WASHINGTON
: fter President Reagdhâ\200\231s
Aspeech, the hope for a negoti-
ated transition to democracy in
South Africa is at the vanishing point.
The prospect is for years of repres-
sion and violence, eroding a great
countryâ\200\231s future. 3
Here was a moment in history, a
chance to use Americaâ\200\231s influence to
advance Western values, American
values, in a highly important place.
Instead, the President gave South Af-
rica a tragic push4n the wrong direc-
tion

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speech focuses on economic sanctions
and whether Congress will override
Mr. Reaganâ\200\231s opposition to them. But
sanctions are only means to an end.
The larger question is: Which side
are we on?

Mr. Reagan is on the side of P.W.
Botha and the National Party rulers
of South Africa. That was the real
message of his speech. Indeed, the
speech could have been written by
Mr. Botha, so perfectly did it echo the
justifications he gives for governing
by force and refusing to negotiate
with the leaders of his countryâ\200\231s black
â\200\230majority.

â\200\230â\200\234â\200\234The South African Government is
under no obligation to negotiate the
future of the country,â\200\235 Mr. Reagan
said, â\200\234â\200\230with any organization that pro-
claims a goal of creatingâ\200\231'a Commu-
nist state. ...â\200\235

But no one is urging Pretoria to ne-
gotiate with such an organization.

side is
President
Reagan on
in South
Africa?

The issue is negotiation with the country's black leadership and especially with the preeminent anti-apartheid movement, the African National Congress. ;

The A.N.C. was born 74 years ago, -and its goal ever since has been a non-racist South Africa. In contrast to black power organizations, the

A.N.C. is open to people of all races.

Its basic policy document is the 1955 Freedom Charter, which calls for a multiracial democracy.

There are Communists on the A.N.C. executive. Anyone who cares

. for South Africa must be aware of that fact and concerned about it. But the question is how to deal with it.

Mr. Botha and his Government deliberately paint the A.N.C. as a

' mere instrument of the Soviet Union, using that as a reason for refusing to negotiate. President Reagan in his

-speech referred to the A.N.C. in simi-

larly hostile terms. For Mr. Botha, that was crucial support.

The devil theory of the A.N.C. cannot be reconciled with a sincere belief in negotiation. For the theory would exclude from the process the group that embodies the hopes of more South Africans than any other.

The leader of the A.N.C., Nelson Mandela, has been in prison for 24 years. Yet a poll of urban blacks in 1985 showed that 31 percent supported him and the A.N.C., and a further 14 percent said they were for groups with similar objectives. The next largest support was 8 percent for the Zulu leader, Gatsha Buthelezi, and his organization.

The Commonwealth mission that completed an intensive study of the South African situation last month said: "There can be no negotiated settlement in South Africa without the A.N.C. The breadth of its support is incontestable, and this support is growing."

Secretary of State Shultz tried to take the hard edge off the President's comments on the A.N.C., saying he was ready to meet its president in exile, Oliver Tambo. But it is becom-

ing ever clearer that, whatever Mr. Shultz thinks, the hard men of the Reagan Administration do not want white minority power to end in South Africa. Hence the flow of U.S. intelligence on the A.N.C. to Pretoria, as just detailed by Seymour Hersh in The New York Times.

Only Ronald Reagan can speak

; truth to P.W. Botha and make him lis-

ten. That is why the Presidentâ\200\231s fail- -

ure was so disastrous. That is why Bishop Desmond Tutu, who symbolizes the frail hope for a peaceful and denfdcratic solution, reacted to the speech with such despair. He sees the men of violence taking over in his country. :

Ronald Reagan knows nothing of realities on the ground in South Africa. He sees South Africa as he sees all the world, through the glass of ideology. The principal draftsman of his speech, appropriately, was his House ideologue, Patrick Buchanan. And so those who decry chaos and Communism help to bring them on.

South Africa is a test â\200\224 I think the .

most profound now â\200\224 of manâ\200\231s political rationality. What a wonderful country it would be without racism. As Secretary Shultz told the Senate : Foreign Relations Committee yesterday, we see there â\200\234a vision of what j canbe.â\200\235â\200\235 Could have been.

Ix{ Washington, reaction to the .

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THE NEW YORK TIMES,

THURSDAY, JULY 24, 1986

In the Achille Lauro Trial,

Amy Hill

Justice and Palestinians Lost

By Walter Reich

WASHINGTON — In West Side Story, Diesel, playing a judge in a street scene fantasy, says of the accused miscreant, Action: "In the opinion of this court, this child is deprived on account he ain't had a normal home." Action, elated and appreciating this sympathetic explanation for his criminality, exults: "Hey, I'm deprived on account I'm deprived!"

This scene was recently enacted in Italy. But there the accused were not fantasized juvenile delinquents but real Middle East terrorists. And the judges weren't kids making fun of a criminal justice system but real judges, representatives of such a system, who were, without intending it, accomplishing the same end.

The trial involved the hijacking of the Achille Lauro. Magid al-Molqi, the on-board leader, received a 30-year sentence, less than the life imprisonment the prosecution had demanded. He had confessed that he had selected Leon Klinghoffer for death, coldly shot him in the head and chest and ordered him thrown overboard.

After the trial, the presiding judge told reporters Mr. Molgi and two of

—his three co-defendants had been given reduced sentences because of attenuating circumstances. Those circumstances consisted of depriva-

Walter Reich is a senior research associate in the international security studies program at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.

tions they must have suffered because —they have grown up in the tragic conditions that the Palestinian people live through. He apparently accepted the defense argument that Mr. Molqi and his associates were soldiers fighting for their ideals, not terrorists.

What about Abul Abbas and his

upper-echelon co-defendants? They got life imprisonment â\200\224 a theoretical sentence, since they are on the loose â\200\224 because they were said to have been â\200\234not _ acting for patriotic motives.â\200\235 But didnâ\200\231t Mr. Abbas, too, have the same origins as the man who took over the cruise ship and killed Mr. Klinghoffer? Doesnâ\200\231t he have the same grievances? The main difference between them seems to be that in masterminding the operation Mr. Abbas may have tried to do two things: not only strike a blow for the Palestinian cause but strike it in a way that might be inconvenient to a rival in the Palestine Liberation Organization. That rival, Yasir Arafat, who has struck such blows many times, and who has not abandoned the tactic, had just then put the tactic on hold while negotiating a deal, later scuttled, with King Hussein. , If anything, Mr. Abbas may be thought to be a greater patriot than Mr. Molqi. He is a general in the struggle and has fought far longer than Mr. Molggi. If he thought Mr. Arafatâ\200\231s strategy wrong, and hoped to derail it and then strike a blow for liberty as he saw it, does that make him less noble than Mr. Molqi, and his deprivations any less severe?

No. Nor, like Mr. Molgiâ\200\231s, should his deprivations be judged morally, - and therefore legally, attenuating.

Balance Our Forces |
Or Risk Security

By Adam Yarmolinsky

WASHINGTON The budget blowout for the Pentagon is over. The abundance of the first half of the 1980â\200\231s, when military spending grew in real, inflation-adjusted dollars by 50 percent, has suddenly ended. Congress has agreed that overall funding for defense will grow just about enough to cover inflation through the next three years. 4

The good news is that the transition to a leaner Pentagon diet can be accomplished without sacrificing any of the essential elements of a strong defense. The bad news is that Pentagon officials are so fixated on major weapons, especially nuclear weapons, that they are willing to starve everything else. One can only hope

Congress will have the wisdom to establish a proper balance in the fiscal regimen â\200\230it has rightly prescribed. _

' No doubt, Congress would prefer to avoid the genuinely difficult task of determining its defense priorities. The House and Senate armed services committees have prepared versions of the annual defense authorization bill that would put off hard choices and instead merely slow

down production rates of weapons

and delay some research programs.

In the long run, however, there will not be enough money to buy and operate all the weapons begun in the halcyon days of the buildup. Congress

+ will face critical trade-offs â\200\224 first, between continuation of all major new weapons in the development pipeline and adequate supplies of spare parts, fuel, ammunition and other mundane provisions; second, between the next generation of nuclear weapons and our non-nuclear, conventional forces.

If responsible members of Congress are putting off the day of reckoning in hopes the Administration will help make choices, they should give up the wait. Critics and supporters of the buildup have long asked for Pentagon guidance in accommodating more limited funding levels. In the past six months, weâ\200\231ve seen evidence of the Administrationâ\200\231s priorities. I, for one, am almost sorry we asked. |

The Administration would sacrifice

-readiness to safeguard its favorite big weapons projects. Exhibit No. 1 is the fiscal 1987 budget the Pentagon requested in February. Compared with the budget plans for fiscal 1987 pre-

Adam Yarmolinsky is chairman of the board of the Committee for Na-

" tional Security, an organization concerned with defense policy.

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pared last year, the proposal cuts spare parts purchases for the Air Force by 39 percent; the Navy, 22 percent. â\200\230cent, the Army, 32 percent. Funds for

ammunition, tactical missiles and critical support equipment were slashed almost as deeply.

This is especially unfortunate because budgets for support are shrinking just as new weapons ordered earlier in the decade are coming off production lines. If the squeeze continues a few more years, we'll end up with new high-tech forces that cannot roll, sail or fly where needed. 1

If readiness is at the bottom of the Pentagon's list of priorities, nuclear weapons are clearly at the top. Above all else, the Administration cares about protecting its big nuclear weapons modernization program and its Strategic Defense Initiative.

It is critically important to preserve an adequate nuclear deterrent. But the President could not be more mistaken when he chides those who argue that strategic forces must take cuts along with everything else when budgets are tight.

If the nuclear buildup continues unabated while overall military spending stays level, our security will increasingly rest on weapons no one can use. The President in a letter to Congress implicitly recognized this

- trade-off by asserting that a strong U.S. strategic deterrent decreases the threat of any Soviet aggression and serves as the vital background which discourages Soviet conventional attack on our allies or our interests abroad.

This argument harks back to the Eisenhower Administration's more bang for the buck strategy, which relied on nuclear weapons as a substitute for conventional forces. But anyone who recalls the crisis-ridden 1950s, when we enjoyed nuclear superiority, recognizes how foolish it is to depend solely or primarily on nuclear weaponry for our security. .

Even in an era of restrained defense spending, we must maintain strong, balanced forces. This requires a willingness to determine what we want our forces to do and then eliminate weapons programs - nuclear and conventional that do not contribute to those goals.

Sacrificing the readiness of our conventional forces on the altar of nuclear modernization will undermine the flexibility and credibility of our military posture. If President Rea-

gan has his way, and strategic weaponry takes absolute precedence, we will sorely and unnecessarily test the proposition that nuclear weapons alone can keep the peace.- {}

e S A

Both men committed terrorist murder â\200\224 Mr. Abbas by organizing the plan, Mr. Molqi by pulling the trigger â\200\224 and both should be seen as terrorists and get the fullest punishment allowed for terrorist murder.

To mete out lesser punishment on the grounds that a terrorist believes himself to be a deprived, aggrieved, freedom fighter undermines the ground on which justice stands by accepting terroristsâ\200\231 â\200\230argument that only their concepts of justice and rights, and their sufferings, are valid.

This murder of justice is not good for the Palestinians, either. So long as Mr. Molqi, Mr. Abbas, Mr. Arafat or other P.L.O. members advocate terrorism or practice it while publicly denouncing it, or focus it on civilians who happen to be Israelis or Jews or Americans, they will continue to undermine the possibility that they will ever achieve the justice they define for themselves. The countries targeted by such attacks â\200\224 especially the United States and Israel â\200\224 will retaliate, and the war will go on.

For all this to end, two things are necessary. The Palestinians â\200\224 and any of the many groups using terrorism to satisfy grievances â\200\224 should scuttle terror and find other ways, inevitably involving compromise, to achieve their goals. And the Western democracies must reject the argument that any excuse â\200\224 even one involving a background of deprivation â\200\224 can â\200\230â\200\230attenuateâ\200\231â\200\231 responsibility for terrorism against innocents. O

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Protectionism: A persistence

| What's

i The House-passed omnibus
! +4800â\200\224is 458 pages long and g
* would shift the U.S. sharply towa
(and away from its current empha
l And in the fine print, it would d
would attempt to extend U.S. |
foreign nations, and open the do
planned economy at home.
Here are some of the bill's p
. visions we found most troubling:
Â® The bill would, under certain
weaken the Presidentâ\200\231s long h

| trade matters and force him to
i and raise tariffs, shifting the bal

tiation to confrontation. This wo
retaliation from the nations invol
@ Some provisions clearly vio
the General Agreement on Ta
which the U.S. first signed in 19
U.S. intends to help amend and
international meetings beginni
much clout will this country hav
tiations if its trade policies are g
that is inconsistent with the trea
Â® The bill is sometimes va
overly specific. For example, it
cial import quotas against Â¢
. exports to the U.S. are 175 perc
from the U.S. At present, this
apply only to Japan, West Germ
would not answer the need t
markets to U.S: exports, and th
in the U.S. Besides, in the norm
ness, trade balances are neve
and fall in accordance with the
needs of both parties.
Equally onerous are those fi
guaranteed to make our tradi
For example, the bill define
ableâ\200\235 trade practice by a forei
of collective bargaining, the a
tecting child labor, and the
safety regulations. These
nationally recognized worke
governments of many natior
U.S., the provision will doub

es, 'h - â\200\230
scrutln
g&ve

claim to democracy.

Senegal -and. the Sudan -

Algeria: â\200\234Socialist ~dicta-

torship.. Ahmed:Ben Bella,
who led the country to Wnde .
-pendence in 1962, was over- .
thrown in.1965 and . held
without â\200\230trial for 15 .years...
Ben BellaÂ® ihas been freed.
but other politlca.l offend-
Â» grs'remalninja.lL '

â\200\234â\200\234Angola â\204ç Communistâ\200\235

dictato: .Soviet-hacked

Jose do Dos-Santos
survives; 0Â£:30,000 Â\$
Caba.n .+Rebels, â\200\230led â\200\234Â\$*

by â\200\230democrat' â\200\234 Joseph
Savimbi, control much of
the countryside.

Benin: Communist dicta- =

torship. President Mathieu
Kerekou-came to power in
a militaryâ\200\235 coup in 1972,
Communism was adopted

_killed hundreds of govern-

only Egypt. can lay anyâ\200\230

Below .the Sahara, only. |,
tour Botswana, Gambia,,. Â\$..

- state. .In. November -1985, -

â\200\230erippled economy andx
sive foreign debtâ\200\224a result

Scule of fmles

â\200\234â\200\234ment troops;"'s, S

Sudan: â\200\234Multi- party
democra.cy. Pri.me -Minis-
ter Sadiq el-Mahdi .was
~elected in May after.a 17-
year military. dictatorship.
His prospects are slim T,un_-
less he can end the â\200\230warâ\200\231
â\200\234~with â\200\230the Ethhpm7MR' ed

Swaziland:"" Monarchy.'
â\200\234King Mswati IIL, 18, was
crowned in April after
three years -of _ political,
_, strife. Five politica.l â\200\234pris-
onixl's. â\200\230held aâ\200\231 yea,â\200\230r without,
.-trial, we q'eed a.nuary
after rmurer? !rom Am
nesty Interna.tional. ;

Tanzanias &Â« One-party

of experiments with â\200\234Afri-
can- - socialism.â\200\235 . Party
s chairman Nyerere rema.lns
" influential. -

Togo: Military dictatorship ;

"ship. - Gen. - Gnassingbe

Evadema seized power in

wui Vaves, CUUTTeSY Ul wu,ull
Cuban troops. Rebels, led
by democrat Joseph
Savimbi, control much of
the countryside. b
Benin: Communist dicta--:
torship. President Mathieu
Kerekou came to power in
a mill ;.coup.. in 1972,
Comm was ado tedâ\200\231
in 1974. mx hlghly-reprea- ;
sive regime tolerates capi-
talism. .

dand-pickea sSuccessor, Ali
Hassan Mwinyi, lnerxted a
crippled economy and mas-
sive foreign debt â\200\224 a result

can socialism.â\200\235 Party
hairman Nyerere remains
mĩ¬\202uential

ahip. Gen. | Gnaassinghe
Eyadema â\200\230seized power in
1967. ~Abuse . of human
rights is widespread. Am-

Botswana:. . Democracy. :
The country, independent â\200\230Congo: Communlst dlcta.
since 1966, encourages pri- torship. Preaidengzâ\200\231; Dennis
vate enterprise and foreign Sassou-N jaâ\200\231
investment. In- September . Soviet-style .
1984, President Quett Ma- State. Capitalism, however,v
sireâ\200\231s party won 70 percent istolerated. . . .
of the vote. . Egypt: Democracy Hosni.

Burkina: Faso: Mllltary Murbarak, successor to-
dictatorship. Capt: Thomas: ; slain.: President ; Anwar"
â\200\230Sankaraâ\200\231s- successful coup " Sadat, was elected in a 1984
was backed byâ\200\231Libya's Col. s referendum. In:parliamen-*
Moammar Khadafy: Seven tary elections-voters ballot
opponents were executed in'* â\200\234for politicak P&l'tie! rather
â\200\230June 1984.7 than individuals.*

" Burundi: One party state. -~ Equatorial Gulnea.. Mlll-
President - Jean-Baptiste 'ta!'y dictatorship.â\200\231 Presi-.

Bagaza râ\200\230%unoppoged for dent Theodoro .Mbasogo
another ffre-year term in "â\200\231

ve:: ;
gn- years of severe political.

ald fmm the presalon. Voters, ln a refer-

crimes such as

polltlcal prisoners. Â©
dictatorshlp. â\200\234Brig.â\200\235

Bepubllezmplre: Military - Gambia
idictatorship: 4 +#Emperor d ocracy. In ..
ean-Bedel gtemted 31::1 opposed to 8

SRR

Jerry Rawllnga tegime lailed 1985)

hasâ\200\230executed 33 people for Â° chargu he rlgged a.n elee- i slowly preparing for evo
lu-

s â\200\234economic {um & by

totauta.run\ubotage. me 33 are: ya: : : THE

under sentence of death. ' â\200\230ship.â\200\235 Col. â\200\234*Moammarr ~ dictatorship
â\200\230Guinea: Military dictator- Khadafyseizedpowerfmmv~ backed Samora Machel's

ship. Col. Lansana Conte King Idris:in a military.

came to-power in:a 1984 â\200\230coup â\200\23017" years: ago.

coup following the death of fpolitlcal ppponents

Ahmed Sekoua'.l'om-eâ\200\230 who

â\200\230executedsome: 2900 oppo- -

nents. Oonte-;'eleased 250

Malagas e-pu'ty

Guineaâ\200\231 Bissau: Military â\200\234state. Presldent Didier Rat-
Gen. " sirakaâ\200\231 â\200\224 whose predeces- " â\200\230seized power in 1973 after
.Joao Bernardo -Viera: in. sor was
_1980 ousted President Luis:. a week repo:
Â«+ de Almeida.Cabral, who is:- ecly obsessed with' â\200\230securi-
: Alleg:dil;â\200\231to â\200\230have - executedâ\200\224gged Benk
cal opponents-and* â\200\230when he suppressed a

ja.uedr -andâ\200\234tortured: thou. ?-â\200\230Knng â\200\230Fu :

scribed - â\200\234Eyadema = â\200\230as

Obaervera clalm he is
_of...Idi Amin."â\204ç"
â\200\234 " Tunisias:
President-for-m

â\200\230tion to democracy::

since independence over:-30
Soviet-armed forces have

Many fa.lled to. supress growing:
cy. Hunger is ram-

useveni,
On leader: of the: National
Resistance Army; - ousted:
Gen. Tito Okello lut Janu-

- ary. Okello overthrew: Mil-

% Nigers Military dictator-
-ship. Gen.-Senyi Kountche

as assassinated after 10 thousands died: in -a-
inoffice 20024is drought. In:1983 his forces.
{ifoiled: an attempted coup -

alleged

rts

20 years ago 20 people 200230 and 200230 -arrested. -
= - political

a.him, ., ., zm

erwltlioutti 202al 200230 200235u foryem
becauag 200230hc 18 acs
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eonlutuuh: 200230n..? ship. S!nee JU04 Fught Lt lar.Sixteenpeople dledlna - ruler

SRR e

nesty International. 200234de- 4

chtatorahip.
-+ Habib
Bourgiba has beeninpower- \

years ago. He-is-facing in--
200234creasingly 200234violent 200231 opposi 200224
200230tion" to his autocratic but;; ;

of experiments with 200234Afri- /-

Toge: Military - dictator-

200234frighteningly reminiacent]

ailed withouttrial. Othem p.a.n and Machel's regime relatively regime..
ave been summarily exe- *is being shored up by Zim- 200230Uganda: Militarydicta-
'cuterh.thomea.nd abroad. 200235 200230 " 200234ba torship. Yoweri: M

-ton: : Obote, .:who " llke
200230predecessor Idi. Amin 200224
s kept: himself in powerby"

" and detention withouttrial.

{

St [Mo bt \$5 1 S
U.S. Has Reportedly Provided

â\200\224

T iy s

ASHINGTON - The United

States, working closely with British

intelligence services, has provided
South Africa with Adnformation

- about the banned and exiled Afri-

can National Congress, according
to present and former U.S. offi-
cials. :

The African National Congress

â\200\230A,-is the principal guerrilla gr(xxf

seeking to overthrow the South Af-

" rican government and to end apart-
e S e S TR

. The U.S. sources said that the

information, including political in-

- telligence as well as warnings about

attacks planned by the group, was

gan administration at least into the
mid-1980s. The sources could not
be specific about when in the Rea-
gan years the information â\200\230sharing

. South Africa, in return, reported

on Soviet and Cuban activities in
the region, the sources said. * &35

It could not be determined
whether the United States was still
providing information to Pretoria
on the African National Congress.
Nor could it be learned whether
South Africa had used the informa-
tion to thwart ANC attacks or to
organize raids against' guerrilla

â\200\234bases in Mozambique and else-

where in southern Africa.

~ torate of Military Intelligence was
described as part of a reversal of a

â\200\230given 10/South Africa by the Rea- -â\200\231

Beacusc South Aï-\201ica has no

space-satellite intelligence ability, -

sources said, it has been dependent

on the United States and Britain
for communications intelligence
from the black nations in Africa

beyond the range of its own radio

Interception equipment.

â\202¬ sources, who include former
White House aides in the Reagan
and Carter administrations, said

~'Data on Guerrillas to Pretoria

SO Byâ\200\230Scymour&:M. lâ\200\224fcrsh

the United States and South Africa

had exchanged intelligence under

an arrangement that began in the |

1960s. They said the data initially
concerned Soviet shipping and sub-

marine movements in the South At- Vi

lantic and Indian oceans.

- The sharing of information
about the African National Con-
gress with the South African Direc-

policy of the Carter administration,
which had banned sharing of intel-

ligence with South Africa,

It could not be learned whether

President Ronald Reagan or any of

~ his senior advisers had ordered or
acquiesced in the policy change.

[Secretary- of State George P.

Shultz denied Wednesday that the

United States had provided South

Africa_with 'intelligence on the
" ANC, The Associated Press report-

*ed from Washington.

[Mr. Shultz, testifying before the

* Senate Foreign Relations Commit-

- tee, said he had talked by telephone ,'
â\200\230with the director of central intelli-

P

gence, William J. Casey, and that
Mr. Casey had told him â\200\234categori-

o

* cally that was not true and had not

- been trueâ\200\235 throughout his period as
head â\200\230of - the intelligence agency

[-since 1981, :

. [Responding to a. question by

~ Senator Claiborne Pell. Democrat

AN C: U S. Aocused of Helpmg Pretona Monwor Rebels

(Coni¬\20lnued froin Pnge 1)

of Rhode Island, Mr. Shultz said he

* had been authorized by: Mr Casey
â\200\23010 make the denial %ublr =7
' Earlier, Edward erejmn. a
â\200\234 White House spokesman, said

â\200\230when asked for comment about the

â\200\230â\200\234sourcesâ\200\231 account: â\200\234We simply do

" not discuss or.comment on intelli-- :

gence operauons or alleged rmellr-
Â« gence operations.â\200\235

US. officials said some of the
information shared with South Af-
rica focused on intercepted com-
munications between the guerrillasâ\200\231
headquarters in Lusaka, Zambia,
their training camps in Angola and
their offices in Africa and Europe.

Most of the conversations were
conducted â\200\234in the clearâ\200\235 â\200\224 that is,
uncoded â\200\224 and the information
included precise advance informa-
tion on plans for bombings and
other disruptions, officials said.

= Many of Mr. Reaganâ\200\231s senior na-
tional security officials, the sources
asserted .. interviews, took office
convinc d that the leadership of
the African National Congress was
dominated by pro-Soviet Commu-

nists and that providing South Af-

- rica with informationâ\200\230on the group
â\200\234was in the U.S. national interest.
Other officials, including present
members of the administration,
disagree with this view; contending
that the ANC is primarily.anation-
alist group whose views must be
taken into consideration. -

Last year, the State Department .
publicly urged South Africa to take.
part in talks with the ANC .and to .
release its imprisoned leader, Nel-

son Mandela. A senior official was
quoted as having said that U.S:

it can,â\200\235 including oontabts with the
ANC.

The ANC has been recogmzed

â\200\234 by the United Nations General As-
sembly and the Organization of Af-

" , ncan Umty as a mmonal lrberauon

â\200\230movement. It has otï-\201ces in more

-than 30 countries. BThg

= *It all comes down to what you

: , belrcve about the ANC, â\200\235 one for-

mer senior Reagan administration.

â\200\230official said, acknowledging that .

â\200\234intercepted intelligence on the

group had been relayed to South -

Africa. He described the group asa -

tion controlled by Commumsts.

adding: â\200\234Our interests requre

helping the South Africans.â\200\235

An intelligence officer in the

Reagan admunistration, acknowl-

edging that the ANC had been a .

major target, said: â\200\234I've known

about it for a long time, that we.

Jarget the ANC. We've always con-

â\200\230sidered them to be the bad guys, to

be Soviet pawns, slalkmg horses for

the Soviets.â\200\235 W

South Africa, in a booklet pu%-

lished early â\200\230last month, .asserted

that 23 of the 30 members of the -

ANC executive committee â\200\234are

known to have membership withâ\200\235

the South African Communist Par-

ty, which was outlawed in 1950.

Oliver Tambo, the groupâ\200\231s presi-

dent in exile, acknowledged in a

newspaper interview last year that

there was â\200\234an overlapping of mem-

bershipâ\200\235 between the two groups

but said: â\200\234It is often suggested that -

the ANC is controlled by the Com-

munist Party. by Communists.

Well, I have been long enopgh in

the ANC to know that that has

never been true.â\200\235

" A former official of the National

Secumy Agency, the U.S. commu- |

nications-monitoring and â\200\230code-

. breaking ~service, discussing : the

pohcy called for South Africa tobe *

reachmg as broadly and widely as

British rolein the sharing of intelli-

gence with-South Africa, recalled:

- attending â\200\230a meeting in the mid- '

1980s at the headquarters of the
Government -

Communications
Headquarters at Cheltenham, En-

At the meeting, he said senior

1J.S. and British officials reviewed

previous intelligence - assignments
and future targets - a process
known in intelligence as - tasking.

After long discussions of inter-
ception programs involving the So-
viet Union and the Middle East,
the officials turned to Africa. The

* meeting was led by a British repre-

sentative of the Government Com-
munications Headquarters with a
small group of U.S. intelligence of-

* ficials, including two officials from

the National Security Agency.

At this point, the former NSA
official said, three South African
military intelligence officers were
ushered into the room. The South

Africans and the British exchanged

tasking requirements - sophisti-

cated documents outlining previ-
ous ' communications intelligence
targets, such as a Third World em-

bassy, and the frequencies on

- dangerous revolutionary organiza- which they relayed intelligence and

other communications.
According to the former official,

the delegations from the American

and British agencies asked South
Africa to continue to monitor Soviet
and Cuban activity in Angola

.and Mozambique, as well as Soviet

shipping and submarine activity:

- around the Cape of Good Hope.

The South Africans were asked
to provide reports on Soviet and

Cuban activity on a weekly basis,

instead of monthly, as in the past.
Other targets were to include Soviet
commercial and economic activity

ty south of the Sahara, with emphasis on support for the rebels in

South-West Africa, or Namibia,

where South Africa has been engaged in a guerrilla war with the South-West Africa People's Organization.

In return, a participant said, the South African delegation had its own requirements. Two copies of a South African document were turned over, outlining previous targets for the United States and Britain and new targets for the day-to-day intelligence monitoring

These included a South African request that an extensive array of

political, military, diplomatic and

economic activity south of the Sahara be collected and relayed to

Pretoria, including intercepted in-

formation dealing with the governments - of Angola, Mozambique, Zambia and Botswana, the former NSA official recalled.

I saw the list, the former official said, and they also wanted any and all tasking related to the ANC, including the movements of -* Oliver Tambo. We got a list of 10 people on Tambo's staff the

ANC high command and they wanted information from us.

The South African request appeared routine and the nobody seemed surprised about it, the officer said, although he recalled his personnel surprise at how extensive the cooperation was between the South Africans and the United States and Britain.

Z}.mbabwe to cut SA - air HnkÂ\$

legal posidoo require a-
mle more tme 10 uader-
take the implementation
of sanctioas, said Mr Mu-
gabe.

â\200\234The ummg is not yet:

fixed but it couald vecy
well be towards the end of
this year, or during the
last quarter of the year,â\200\235
qe said.

â\200\234If we accept the whole
package it means we are
going to impiement sanc-
doas as given in the pack-
age fully, and severing

our air Unks is one such
saactioq.

â\200\234As to possibie actioa
against those who would
undering sanctions, ab-
viciously f you have under-
taken o implement sanc-

Uons you cannot at the
same Ume acocept a posit-
ion in which others who
operate from .their own
tarritory are undcr'nnmng
the very sanctions that
You are wying o impie-
meat.

It we sever ail air links
with South Africa then we
would got allow any other
counay to fly over our
ternitory.â\200\235

Asked about the trust-
worthiness of Zim-
babweâ\200\231s White communi-
ty ia the face of an econ-
omic coafrontaticn with
South Africa, Mr Mugabe

said: â\200\234When an economic
â\200\230war has been deciaered
- against you you acvepl it
as such.. Youw do oot go
grovelling to those who
are waging war against
you. - i

Comfort
â\200\234All thought about lux-
ury and comfort will have

" to go.

â\200\234(f we have to eat sadza
(Maize meal porridge) we
will eat it, and the Whites
will have to forego their
comfort until the situation
comes back to normal.â\200\235

Mr Mugabe said Zimbabwe
would re-open its
railway line through Mozambique
from Chicuala to Maputo, closed
by Renamo rebel action
since August 1984, â\200\234sveq
if it means lining it with
guards every yard of the
way.â\200\235

Mr Mugabe said the
blockade of South Africa
was now trying to impose

on Zimbabwe and Zam-

bia would affect them adversely
but would also hit the
Republic.

â\200\234She has a viable market
here and so we are not
the only one who will
lose.â\204¢

Zimbabwe had paid
transit charges for the use
of South African railways
and harbours but now it
would develop alternatives,

tives,

â\200\234We will have to defend
those routes to the
west, he said.

â\200\234They won't go back
through South Africa until

there is freedom and

majority rule there,â\200\235
vowed Mr Mugabe,

â\200\234They are waging to
show their muscle. Fine,
and in the final analysis
they will lose much more
than we have to lose,â\200\235 he
said.

Mr Mugabe said South
Africa owned investments
in Zimbabwe which re-
mitted profits to South
Africa.

â\200\234And we are remitting
peu:lons 0 South Afri-
ca,â\200\235 he said. â\200\234Of course if
it is an economic war all
these things will stop.â\200\235

Mr Mugabe said while
he hoped for economic
aid in reopening vital
trade routes through Mo-
zambique he did not be-
lieve any outside military

aid would be offered to

the Frontline states to
help them withstand any
South African threat.

He said the Frontline
states had to accept they
did not have the military
capability to resist an out-
right South African inva-
sion. For this reason, al-

though Zimbabwe was -

Sager [0 step up support
from the African National
Congress and Pan Afri-
canist Congress through

the Organisation of Afri-

can Unity, it could not go
back on its policy of de-
stroying their military bases.

It could not secure such
bases from South African
attacks, and that permit
their establishment would
therefore only weaken
Zimbabwe and its ability

to give the aid it did to
South African liberation.
he said.

He said he was still as-
sessing the border slow-
down placed by South

" Africa on Zimbabwean

and Zambian goods en-
tering the country this
week.

He added Pretoria had
acted against the two
countries â\200\230to demon-
strate that we are weak
states and the world must
see what South Africa is

capable of if it (the world) -

aroczgeds (0 impose sanc-
dous agaiast South Afri-
ca. But we will not be
cowed. We may suffer for
a whiie, but Zambia will
aot die, Zimbaowe will
noc die.â\200\235

Abcut 385 percent of
Zimbabwe's trade and 50
percent of Zambia's use
Tansport routes through
South Africa.

He pointed out that
South Africa eamed a
great deal of money from
the freight maffic of iss
neighbours and other re-
mirtances. Official figures
put the amount annually
paid Dy Zimbabwe o
South Africa at abouz
R280 muillion.

Mr Mugabe said that
Zimbabwe would defend
itself if South Africa took
any military acdon, such
as the raids it carmied out
against Harare,
and Gaboroue in May.

lavade
Asked Â¥ he feared
South African Tocps
might invade, he repiied:

â\200\234l canâ\200\231t ruie thar out. I's.

a mad regime, unpredict-
able, capable of any avil."â\200\235

The Zimbabwean lead-
U .sad the countries
aeighbouring South Afr-

Lusakaâ\200\234

ca would nesd suppert in
the strugzle to end apart-
heid aod he expected this
0 be forthcoming from
the â\200\234progressive worldâ\204ç.

Asked if he expected
any future co-operation
from Mrs Thatcher, he re-
piied: â\200\234I've given her up,
written her off as a bad
case.â\200\235 2

He accused ber of

- racialism in her refusai to

put human rignts in Scuth
Africa - before- Bridsh

economic interests. . He
said while the British sang
that they would never be
slavesâ\204ç in â\200\234Rule Bdran-
aiaâ\200\235 they were quite pre-
pa:-d to be slave-masters
i South Afnica.

Question .

â\200\234{ do not think Mad-
ame Thatcher is capable
of changing her ideas on
this question,â\200\235 Mr Mu-
gnoe said with ob*nov.s
bicterness.

He added: â\200\234She (Mss
Thatcher) appears. (o be
mediated by radsm. Thae
ssue in South Africa is
Whites versus Blacks,
Blacks versus Whites.
Now it's the Whites in
power. Under m.uom:y
cule the Blacks will be i n
power. That sbe cannot
accept readily.â\200\235

Referring w | Zim-
baowe's independence in
the early days of Mrs
Thatcher's term of office
sixX years ago, Mr Mugabe
said: â\200\234She didn't accep it
readily here and why
should we expect her to
have a different idea oa
South Africa.â\200\235

He believed Mrs
Thatcher had damaged
Botswana but had not
brought the Commonwealth
wealth to the brink of
breaking up.

HARARE. â\200\224 Zim-
babwe planned to in-
troduce a ban on direct
air links with South
Africa and on overfly-
ing rights, along with
the full range of sanc-
tions _agreed by all
countries except Brit-
ain. at the Common-
wealth â\200\230â\200\234mini-summitâ\200\235
in London, the Prime
Minister, Mr Robert
Mugabe, confirmed
yesterday.

Mr Mugabe told a Press
conference that among
measures to be expected
if a full-scale economic
war developed with South
Africa would be a ban on
the remittance not only of
company profits and divi-
dends but of pensions to
South Africa.

threat-
a ban on

Pres Mugabe
ened to impose, a

By BRIAN STUART
and SAPA , -

Yy

SAA â\200\234by the end of the
yearâ\200\235,

There was no immedi- -

ate response from the SA
Government last night,
but it appears Mr Mugabe
is endangering his road
and rail links through
South Africa â\200\224 a vital
life-line for that countryâ\200\231 s
exports and imports.

- Traffic
- The Government has

for the past three days

. those imposed recently on

been monitoring - south-
bound traffic from Zam-
bia and Zimbabwe to gain
information about the

nature and extent of their

use of South Africa's *

transport and harbour facilities. :

It is clear South Africa could impose far stricter border controls similar to

. the borders with Lesotho.

Trade experts believe more than half of Zimbabwe's overseas trade makes use of South Africa's transport systems.

In addition, Zimbabwe signed a new trade agreement with South Africa on July 31, an agreement which Mr Mugabe now threatens to tear up. ;

His threat to close Zimbabwe to SA Airways is:

"' being taken seriously in Johannesburg - South Africa. Landing and overflying rights are

the subject of - mutual agreement and capable of being cancelled by either country at any time.

However, trade officials say Zimbabwe would be far harder hit by Mr Mugabe's - sanctions proposals than would South Africa. Zimbabwe is one of South Africa's major trading areas outside of its immediate neighbours,

. Lesotho, Swaziland . and

Botswana.

Mr Mugabe said Zambia and Zimbabwe had accepted the sanctions in full. It included a ban on air links, curtailment of consular functions, and embargoes on the import of South African steel and agricul-

tural products.

As to the timing, the actual implementation of the package, we will wait until the Commonwealth

Secretariat has done its exercise, said Mr Mu-
gabe.

Some countries be-

cause of their internal

) TOPAGE?2

ARTS AND LEISURE

NADINE Gordimer has the delicately pointed features of a min-

lature collie and the warning

growl of a watchdog,

Since she was 15 years old she has played the role, barking like a Black sheep around the Govern-

ment sty and Shapping sharply at the heels of the white flock.. "

Major literary awards have fallen

on her tiny shoulders like confetti on a bride, because she is a brilliant writer who chooses to bear

on those same shoulders the burden of subtly dissecting - a twisted

Society. |

At 62, Gordimer finds herself the recipient of numerous worldwide honours, acclaimed as one of our greatest writers. She is considered one of the 10 best novelists in the English language. :

For the past several years she has been tipped for the Nobel Prize, Her eight novels and seven collections of short stories have been published in 21 languages.

The honours she has turned down are revealing. She would take no Prize money from the SA government. She

In Gordimer's world there is no place for sloppy thinking. Like her multi-layered hooks which reveal

large truths by fine-tuned observation,

her poised demeanour forms a critical filter.,

She begins politely, As she speaks, ;

she becomes impassioned, "' -

If outside this country Gordimer
Stands as a searchlight illuminating
hidden truths, inside it she has come

to embody the cultural element of .

the anti-apartheid orthodoxies, . 200/230.

Her uncompromising insight is
not always a comfortable companion. -

ion. 'Like many SA writers her
books often make readers, abroad
and in SA, feel slightly uneasy, -

White people in her books, espe-

cially the early ones, live their lives
| in a world that many liberal South

Africans may have flirted with and Y
would have liked to venture into if -

as been for generations. FHU

200/234 SOUTH Africa has
generations open
Whites. 200/235 (200/230 Living
numbers 200/231: a legacy
Y)

in the Interreg.
ture delivered in SA

what happened in

and money that for

11 years went
y into telling

a 20th century
going to win a 19th ;
d a black majority
to liberation,

century war ap
that this was),
had been better
2021 truth, then 28 0gg
not have lost their lives
on a conclusion,
university style

People would

h
" (Address to

t stories, nov-
prizes followed. From 1961
ds she has re--
e WH Smith
otprintâ\200\235, the
â\200\234A Guest of

: Collections of shor
PROFILE /Heather Ross :

- ti
life

y the awar
ceived include th

they knew how.
Award for â\200\234Frida

r Gordimer, st
never possible. â\200\234Th
. Up with were like th
â\200\230we donâ\200\231t get involye.

aying out was
people I grew
at. They said,
d.â\200\231 There is no
ng apart, You

-sharing the
Conservationistâ\200\235
Aigle d'Or, It

rize, SAâ\200\231s CNA
. In the early
with other writers,
ersity and marr
Byl st)

~ Afler Sharpevill
second husband R

alyâ\200\231s Mala-
yâ\200\231's Nelly Sachs -
rize three times. ; P â\200\230:%â\200\231h
fties she mixed -

., ~are all involved. Al thie rest of yoy

rings, daughter
nts from Eng--,
At nine she was

grew up in Sp
wish immigra
Â» land and Lit

already wrij E, S A O

- â\200\234Ni much notice of \$ s v
â\200\230just Nadine amus e she and her
i einhold Cassirer
g 0 Zambia but.
it_bgcause Gor-
ere she was just

herself. "The
Springs where
-lonely child wag

[lived a? t_a r
my great treasure-

i d â\200\230a irRare: dimer felt that th

- another Europ |

accepted as a white Afrj

â\200\230 tment to the

AL15, her work was published in
Tum, an obscy

yria African.. 7
wenties The |
ry, and he

re- liberal

G SV

tief jand Sixties, _ By
0iiyouâ\200\231 not'. care aboutâ\200\230f-yoyr :

uniry, I am often asked. Tido: 1

gard. myself as an extremely loy-

â\200\234al South African. I am not loyal o
~, the government. 1 identify with the
" libe ation of the black masses in
'SA, the rea] SA. GRg g
... â\200\234Writers have done 3 great'deal.â\200\231]
thinkâ\200\231it has been the books, begin-

ning'with Cry the Beloved Country,

,whlch;reall{ aroused people in the
outside world

o VIBYIs] the. writersâ\200\231 instinct â\200\230to -
- smell out and absorb. They have to
- digâ\200\230deeply within the motives â\200\234of

to the realitjes of this

their society to create their charac-

ters. o '

Many people she met in the Fif-

â\2027s and Sixties helped shape her

One was Betty du Toit, a trade
unionist who went into exile. Then ;
came Beyers Naude, the Mandelas,
lawyer George Bizos, Cassim Saloo.
jee, Allan Boesak, Desmond Tutu
â\200\234an absolutely remarkable and jn-
spiriniI manâ\200\235, â\200\234Terrorâ\200\235 Lekoto,
olefe and others. A
â\2027 people I am talking about.

could be, but donâ\200\231t chogse to be. You
are not going to meet Beyers Naude

. at the country club, .

ossibility of jail has always

ailed 4 Ne

_been â\200\230tï\201ere 'â\200\224 â\200\234anybody who op.

{JOSGS the regime must have felt
thatâ\200\235 â\200\224 but hag always stopped
short, - i Â¢ SOLRE

.. â\200\230She told the Londoï\201 Times in, .

. 1983 that she digd not think she was
. brave enough to become a true rey-
ol plutinary and spend her life in jail,

Yewradoans

Ly /3 /%

| After the euphona Shaun Johnson i~\201nds confusmn in the townshlps |

Those who are against us,
we shall reckon with them, -
the day we take our land back .

Their names are s;;:ltlen down. - -

When there zs a
â\200\231 -heroes

I call for our-

â\200\2301 wonder if my mltme thl %e on

-that roll ...
I wonder what it will be Itke
when we sit with Tambo--.
.and tell him about the fall of Ihe
Boers.
Song sung at the opening of most
youth meetings and nllm in the
townships. .

Ten years ago, the black youths of
South Africa catapulted . them-
selves into the forefront of the
fight against apartheid. Never in
the history of liberation move-
ments had youngsters taken the
lead in this way. The seminal
action of the children of Soweto,

1976. was 10 take tg the streets as :

their parents had never done.

In the decade since, the role
played by students and school-
children as part of the opposition
to the South African government
has grown and matured irrevers-

ibly. The political initiative
against the government now rests
with the militant, impatient

youth. They determine the pace
and nature of direct confrontation
with the state and serve 'as the
motor of resistance activity.

The importance of the youth

organizations and -township net-
works has often been underrated
outside South Africa. But that
rror has not been made by the
Botha government. Many of the
moves which it has made during
he most recent state of emergency

suggest an all-out effort to break
the web of organizations. The
Outcome of this battle will have a
great bearing on the shape and
form of South Africa over the next
few years. -

The Soweto revolts were school-

based affairs. while the principal

youth organizations that existed of

the time were student ones. The
Congress of South African Stu-
dents (Cosas). formed in 1979,
first raised the idea of broader
youth organization, mooted nat-
ionwide congresses which were to

draw their members from young -

workers, professionals, un-
employed youths,
groups. students and school pu-
ils. The community-based struc-
ture paralleled the practice of the
ascent United Democratic Front.
By 1985, these groups were suf-

ficiently well-entrenched to sur-

mount women's

.. \ Ak

Black youth

Now on -

the defensive

Since the banning of Cosas. and its
replacement by local congresses.
These have spread to embrace
an extraordinarily wide member-
ship which includes, in one form
or another, black, coloured, In-
dian and even white youths. Age
limits are usually stipulated often
in the 16-30 range. But it is not

uncommon to find a congress with

members as young as 10 or as old
as 45. Most of the members I
interviewed said that it was more a
matter of attitude than of age.

The level of student and youth
organization and the degree of
politicization among young black
South Africans is far greater now

than ever before. Today an

organizational web spans the en-
tire country. It has developed,
unevenly, into an intricate mesh

of strands; some clashing. some

loose. Two divergent tendencies *

have emerged.

The first is represented by the

â\200\230hundreds of congresses affiliated

to the UDF which use the 1955
Freedom Charter as their point of
political departure. They describe
their characteristics as â\200\234popularâ\204ç,
aiming to include as many mem-
bers as possible as long as they

- subscribe to the basic principles of
the charter They regard them- ..

selves as â\200\234'progressiveâ\204ç, meaning

- being part of the. history of the

â\200\230African National Congress.

â\200\230important

. According to one of their most
12 leaders, Daniel
Montsisi, the congresses â\200\234drew on

â\200\234the experience of groups like the

- ANC Youth League. We regarded -
- ourselves as a logical progression
" of that type of tradition. and the
' UDF was the overall coâ\200\224rdmat-

ing organization.â\200\231

Montsisiâ\200\231s own career illustrates

the change.â\200\235 He was president of
the - Soweto Students - Repre-

-sentative Council at the time of

the 1976 uprising. and spent four
years in detention on Robben
Island as a result. He is now UDF
Transvaal youth officer and an

.Cape and the Transvaal.

executive member of the Soweto
Youth Congress.

The ranks of the congresses
contain political tendencies rang-
ing from socialist to liberal. The
very choice of the term *congressâ\204ç
is an indication of â\200\234ideological

affiliation, harking back to the

ANC tradition and its alliance to
the Indian, coloured and white

congresses in the 1950s.

The charterist youth groups are the largest and most important

within the resistance movement.

In many townships they.- along . with civic organizations, provide the fulcrums of local power. *For the planning and execution of campaignsâ\200\235, Montsisi said, â\200\234you will always find the youth organizations doing the practical work . . . They are the first to be detained. the first to be shot.â\200\235 The emphasis on the Freedom . Charter means that even very young children have grasped the basic ideals. The charterist use of popular symbols â\200\224 the ANC col- - ours and the mythology * of Mandela â\200\224 has been extraordinarily effective. t 2 The second major tendency comprises affiliates of the National Forum. a loose coming

â\200\230together of black ' consciousness

and left-wing groups united by the Azanian Peopleâ\200\231s Manifesto of 1983. It is a much smaller alliance - than the UDF and 'its 'youth

groups differ from those of the :

UDF, * The Azanian Students Movement (AZASM). launched in 1983 on black consciousness prin-

-~ ciples. is numerically dominant. It -excludes whites from membership and claims 30.000 adherents. Its

areas of greatest strength are in the western Cape, parts of the eastern These youth groups regard themselves as the â\200\234*pure leftâ\200\235 in South Africa and reject the Freedom Charter as being unsocialist.

The Youth- Brigade of the Inkatha movement headed - by

Chlef Galsha Bmhelm mmâ\200\231lots its . parent -body: -it is-a fightly con-

â\200\234trolled "organization whose -style

*~borders :on - that of: a military

movement. â\200\230Its â\200\230members wear | .uniforms and carry identification - cards. It claims a membership.of

half a â\200\230million and -has â\200\230un- questioned -authority .- in â\200\230the

KwaZulu . -homeland, where
schools are cĩ\201"ecuvcly admin-

-istered by Inkatha.

The bngade is under Buthelezn s
~ -direct - supervision, It is wve-
hemently anti-socialist, anti-boy-
cott and anti-UDF. The brigade
president, Musa.Zondi, told me
that it upheld the
children to go to school, the right
of teachers to teach, the right to
protect school property against
vandalismâ\204¢. It is di icult for other

. groups to operate in .Inkatha-

controlled areas. but â\200\230the move-
ment is geographically restricted,
with no serious prospect of
becoming a national organization.
.During the lengthy and meticu-
-lous build-up to the tenth anniver-
sary of the June 16 Soweto riots, a
_feeling of confidence developed
within - resistance groups,- most
notably the. youth movements.
Â» They were -beginning to feel that
. the authorities had lost the ability
to control protest in the town-
ships. That !P eeling has been shown
to be dangerously wrong.
. Youth organizations are now in
disarray. Some of their leaders are
incarcerated, others are :under-
ground. open meetings are impos-
sible and there is a distinct air of
aimlessness and despair. I do not

" believe that the state of emergency

can destroy the complex,: deeply
entrenched youth network. but its
growth will be set back. The
government is well .aware that
schools are the focal points and it
is taking stringent measures to
-prevent mobilization and -expose
mĩ\202uusual leaders.

The crucial issue is the extent to
which the existing structures are
broken â\200\230down. or take different
- forms. I suspect that the depth of
< youth militancy and politicization
-lssuch that it is, in the long term,
irreversible. - ; ;

Â© Times Newspapers, 1986.

The author spent several months in
.SoulhA frica before the imposition
-of the state of emergency research-
ing vouth .organizations. This
.article is adapted from a paper
prepared for. the â\200\230David Davies
Memorial. Institwte of * Inter-
-.national Slldltâ\200\231s

prhungad PAATINE)E

TAN QJury 24, 1986 TR RREREREE

HE censorship laws under the state of emergency have pushed authors and: - publishers to the wall.

For more than 25 years, since the i mceptwn of the

Publications Control Board (now called the Publications Appeal Board), which could declare any publication undesirable, writers and publishers of books - have had to tread ever so lightly in order not o]

cause offence.

S

But provisions under the state of emergency have

. given the Minister of Law and Order and his officers powers that go beyond formal censorship. Authors,

publishers and booksellers now have to be even

' more cautious,

â\200\234 Above all else, one word â\200\224 subversive â\200\224 as conâ\200\224 : tained in the emergency regulations has caused consternation, anger and frustration throughout the

. book world.

To stretch it to the ridiculous, - a policeman could -

:)â\200\230 shelves.

-+ walk into a bookshop and order books that he thinks i contain â\200\234subversive statements

off the book-

If found to have published a â\200\234subversive â\204¢ 1 statementâ\200\235 the offender is liable to 10 yearsâ\200\231 rmp'ls- :

_; ~onment or a fine of R20 000 or both.

A bookseller can be charged with being in possession of a â\200\234subversive statement and is liable to the *

same punishment

The interpretation of -

the word subversive as =~

used in the emergency .

" regulations was the fo-

--cus of a Supreme Court-:
action in Dwurban lastâ\200\230,

| week.

Mr Justice Dxdcott Y

~said he could make ..

neither â\200\234head nor. tailâ\200\235

â\200\230of the- regulations, so
vaguely were they o
worded

â\200\234 The<:court, declared

void all or parts of five -

of the six definitions of
. â\200\234subversive state- -
- mentsâ\200\235.

Adtough: â\200\230the judg-

ment somewhat soft-
_ened the harshness of
the regulations regard-

ing the interpretation of .

subversive statements,, .

Â»authors and publishers

are notjnmipingforjoy. o

- Useful

= â\200\234One bookseï¬\202er sald <

the judgment was useful
to lawyers in their inter-

_pretation of the law. But -

1 for the layman, the psy-
chological effect of the

knowledge that censor-

ship existed. would re-
main. ==

Author Miss Nadine

Gordimer said the emer-

_gency regulauons thh a

would have â\200\234graveâ\200\235 con-
sequences for th

* yond the activities of the

Publications Appeal o,

Board through the new,.
powers given to the po-
lice-will -'mthve the stzte
of emergency. :
â\200\234OnÃ@- of the gravest:
aspects is the intimidat-
tion of printers and bo-

oktraders who are re- i

.sponsible for the distri-
bution of the books: we
write and produceâ\200\235.

A senior editor of Baâ\200\224 24

van Press, Mr Milke

â\200\234Kirkwood, said it wazs

most disturbing tha*
some bcoksellÃ@rs * were
taking -buoks off their
shelves, in effect practis-

ing self-censorship.

For instance, books -

like A Dfferent Kind oj
War by Julie Frede-
rickse (Ravan) and .4

i

B T

State of Fear by Menan
â\200\230du â\200\230Plessis (David Phil-
â\200\230lip),â\200\235 have disappeared
from the shelves at some
bookshops. i

But not all booksel-
" lers arÃ@ practising self-
" censorship. Mr Jererny

Gordin, manager of Ex-

clusive Books, said:
â\200\234We onfy remove from
our shops what the Pub-
lications Appeal Board
declares undesirablz and
put on our shelves titles
that have been unban-
ned. :
â\200\234For instance, June 16
â\200\224 The Fruit of Fear by
Peter Magubane (Skota-
* ville), is available a: Ex-
clusive Books whi'e it is
unavailable at some
bookstores.â\200\235

Fearing

Mr Kirkwood said
some printers had re-
turned manuscripts fear-
ing they might be con-
travening the censorship
regulations if they went

ahead with printing.
He said some news-
papers had refused to

| print some advertise- _

ments from Ravan Press
for the same reason. Ex-
amples are the book
Disinvestment and

' Thirty Years of the Free-
dom Charter.

i Mr Kirkwood said:
| â\200\234We as publishers feel
| that the current laws af-

! fect us all negatively.

The whole question of
censorship has been ex-

acerbated by the emer-

gency lawsâ\200\235.
Mr Mothobi Mut-

loatse of Skotaville Pub-_

lishers said he was find-
ing it difficult to have
som~ of Skotavilleâ\200\231s
titles reviewed in the

* Press.

Some publishers have
said that some critics
were afraid to appraise
certain books which
they feel could result in
them writing reviews
that could contain â\200\234sub-
versive statementsâ\200\235.

Monitor

Two weeks ago, an
eight-member steering
committee, including
Miss Nadine Gordimer,
was elected after an in-
augural meeting of the
Anti-Censorship Action
Group (ACAG), whose
aim is to monitor direct

and indirect censorship
under the state of emer-
gency and other regula-
tions.

A statement released
by the group said in

_part: â\200\234Censorship in its

extended forms can no
longer be justified by
anyone on the grounds
of defence of public
morality. It is now an
overt political tool that
is bringing about a total
devaluation of thought,
imagination, ideas and

information in our coun-

SIPHO Sephamia

A.uthor. Mr Sipho Se-
phamla said he would
continue with his work
and would not be intim-
idated by laws that deny Â°
people the right to ex-
press their ideas.

(Â® Cont. on page 5)

o v

_THE CITIZEN

Thursday 24 yyly 1986~

Big gap
White-Black

WHITES in South Africa
still.earn far bigger salar-
ies than the other race
groups, according to a
survey released in Pre-
toria yesterday by the
Central Statisticaj Ser-
vice. : 4

In March this year,
Whites employed in the
wholesale trade earned
on average R] 831 per
month . compared with
R344 for Blacks.
Coloureds and Indians
carned R598 and R882 re-
spectively.

Disparities in the retail
trade were smaller., Here.
Whites earned R934 per
month compared with
R343 for Blacks, R409 for
Coloureds and R551 for
Indians.

Disparities also exist in
l_the automobile, contro|

board and hote] indus-
tries.

White motor trade
workers on average re-
ceived R1427 each in
March, compared with
R343, R539 and R931 for
Blacks, Coloureds and In-
dians respectively.

South Africaâ\200\231s 2 186
White control board em-
ployees on average drew

R2 045 each in salaries,
compared with R417,
R378 and R528 for the
919 Blacks, 378
Coloureds and 48 Indians
working for the boards.

Whites in the hotel
trade earned R891 on average,
compared with
R250, R317, and R537 for
the concurrent groups.

The control boards is
the only category covered
in the survey in which the

between

per

number of Whites
number Blacks.

In 1920 March there were
49 600 Blacks in the motor
trade compared to
41 700 Whites, and 30 400
Blacks in the hotel industry

out-

ry compared to 8 500 -

ites.

The retail trade supplied
jobs for 175 000
Blacks compared to
127 000 Whites, while the
wholesale sector had
96 000 Blacks compared
with 82 900 Whites.

Coloureds and Indians
numbered 13 800 and
4 800 respectively in the
motor trade, 6 800 and
3200 respectively in the
hotel industry, 46 200 and

19 800 in the retail industry

try, and 23 700 and 12 800
in the wholesale industry.
1924 Sapa.

- BUSINESS DAY, Thursday, July 24 1986 -

RESIDENT. Ronald Reaganâ\200\231s surprisingly forthright rejection of punitive sanctions against SA has

drawn the Predictable condemnation.

nation from people like Bishop Desmond Tutu who say â\200\234To hell with the Westâ\200\235, and from, Westerners who fear that people like Bishop Tutu may say â\200\234To hell with the Westâ\200\235

The bishopâ\200\231s curse may be premature,

Senator chairman of the Africa sub-committee â\200\230of the powerful Senate Foreign Relations Committee,

will surely do her best to undermine

the Presidentâ\200\231s stand before

the current session of Congress ends. And she will surely

succeed. : B
The House of Representatives,

acting with feckless disregard for cost or consequence; has already

passed a sanctions Bill that amounts to 3 declarations of

economic warfare. The Senate; -

: burdened as the House is not with

co-responsibility with the President

for foreign policy, will be much more circumspect in passing a Bill with limited, but not : inconsequential, effect.

In the end, the two chambers

will agree on a compromise that falls between the two Bills, probably much closer to the Senate version; and the compromise will almost certainly be immune to presidential veto, So US' sanctions

tions, in some or other degree,
remain on the cards,

The real importance of President Reagan's speech should perhaps be sought, therefore, on the other side of the Atlantic where

an insular Labour Party, no longer--

Nancy Kassebaum,

tions and Minerals]

. Would in the end have to clean up

er restrained by the oil imperialism |
Sense of Britain's global interests, is hell-bent (towards the bishop's ward) on Sanctions, even if to do --
So it must misrepresent Chjef

- Mangosuthu Buthelezi as a fascist

Cist and slander South African

liberals as racists, A moral crysade, tainted by unholy glee.

Thatcher has met the tide

though Britain's direct

interests in Southern Africa

have steadily declined as her

identification with Europe has

grown. Neither she nor Reagan is

irrevocably tied to these days to SA -

by material interests, but neither of them is yet ready to as Bishop

Tutn apparently is to destroy

A in order to save it.

Both leaders know that the consequences of smashing one of the world's major trading nations exporters would be capricious and unpredictable and, more to the point, that Britain and America

the mess as they are trying to do in Angola and Mozambique and in a dozen other basket cases created by the retreat of the West,

So Reagan comes to Thatcher's psychologically critical moment, just as Thatcher came to Reagan's aid against Libya. Two conservative leaders work together to preserve struc-

tures against disintegration, not simply because their immediate » political interestg so demand, byt because they share an instinctive feeling that ljttle 800d can arise from destructive means.

Heaven help us, bishops and all, if the West ever does go to hell.