# U.C.L.A. Evicts Protesters, Ending Sit-In on South Africa

Wen york Times By The Associated Press april 27, 1985

The police evicted 60 students yester. | about 100 more camped outside. day from the administration building at the University of California at Los Angeles, ending a three-day sit-in in protest of the university's investments in companies doing business in South

Demonstrations against the strict racial separation in South Africa continued at other universities around the country, and some of the schools said they would review their investments.

The campus police at U.C.L.A. arrested two students and issued 19 trespassing citations. Hundreds of people had taken over the building Tuesday.

The Acting Chancellor of the University of California system, Dr. William Schaefer, said he had decided to evict the protesters after the groups that originally organized the demonstration, the Undergraduate Student Association Council and the Black Student Alliance, pulled out Thursday.

At the University of California at Berkeley, 150 people were conducting a sit-in at Sproul Plaza.

More than 90 people were protesting at the University of Southern California's administration building. Students also staged anti-apartheid protests at other campuses in the state.

#### **Protests Started in April**

Students from California to Massachusetts have been demonstrating since the beginning of April to protest South Africa's policy of racial segregation and to get their schools to withdraw investments from companies that do business there.

In Bloomington, Ind., 20 Indiana University students gathered vesterday outside Bryan Hall for the fourth day.

For the third day, students occupied the Tufts University administration building in Medford, Mass., while

About 30 people camped out overnight in front of the administration building at the University of Florida in Gainesville. By early afternoon, about 50 protesters had gathered, chanting "U.F., Divest."

At Pennsylvania State University, Obie Snyder, president of the trustees, said divestment from companies doing business in South Africa would be discussed at a meeting next month.

#### Columbia Students Arrested

By United Press International

About 60 Columbia University students were arrested yesterday after a demonstration at the Manhattan offices of Rolls-Royce Inc., a concern dealing with South Africa. The protest came a day after a three-week demonstration ended at Columbia.

"This is our first action of escalating our struggle to urge university trustees to divest university money from companies doing business in South Africa." said John Klavens of the Columbia Coaltion for a Free South Africa.

The protesters were arrested outside the Rolls-Royce offices at 430 Park Avenue, at 56th Street, and taken to the 17th Precinct's station house, where they were processed on misdemeanor charges of disorderly conduct, the police said.

Rolls-Royce is headed by Samuel Higgenbottom, chairman of the Columbia board of trustees.

# Navaho woman triggers Indian, White House flap



AP PHOTO

Mae Chee Castillo: april 27 Cited for heroism

WASHINGTON (UPI) - A White House aide reprimanded an elderly Navaho woman after the woman pleaded publicly with President Reagan to keep economic benefits at their current level, a Navaho spokesman said.

White House aide Ann Kelly yesterday privately rebuked the woman, Mae Chee Castillo, then refused to accept on Mr. Reagan's behalf a woven rug and woven basket, Navaho spokesman Dan Lewis said.

The White House denied that Mrs. Kelly reprimanded Mrs. Castillo or refused the gifts.

Mrs. Castillo, 72, from the Navaho reservation in Pueblo Pintado, N.M., was among 150 senior volunteers that Mr. Reagan honored yesterday in the White House Rose Garden. She was

19% Please see Navaho/4A

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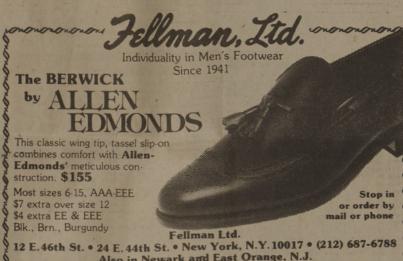
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# Around the World

#### 11 Nigerians Killed In Police-Moslem Clash

LAGOS, Nigeria, April 26 (AP) — Eleven Nigerians, including three po-licemen, were killed today in shootouts between the police and members of an outlawed Moslem sect in the eastern Nigerian town of Gombe, the police said. Six other policemen were wound-

The semiofficial Nigerian news agency reported that hundreds of people, including civilians, were feared dead in the shooting, which began early today when the police tried to arrest a leader of the Maitatsine sect, Yusufu

The Nigerian police headquarters in Lagos said that the shooting had ended and that 11 people had been arrested. "Police have dislodged the fanatics," it

Gombe, in Bauchi state, 600 miles northeast of Lagos, has a population of one million.

### Sihanouk To Remain With Cambodian Group

PEKING, April 26 (AP) — Prince Norodom Sihanouk has withdrawn his request to step down as president of the coalition of Cambodian rebel groups fighting the Vietnamese occupation, the coalition's office in Peking announced today

Prince Sihanouk's decision came two blacks had not be after the vice president of the coalition,

Khieu Samphan of the Khmer Rouge, asked him to stay on, a spokesman

It was the fourth time Prince Sihanouk has threatened to resign since the uneasy alliance of the Khmer Rouge and two non-Communist factions was formed in 1982 to combat some 160,000 Vietnamese occupation troops.

## 5 South Africans Die In Continuing Unrest

JOHANNESBURG, April 26 (Reuters) - The South African police reported five more deaths today as vio-lence and arson continued in black townships in various parts of the coun-

A spokesman said two badly burned bodies had been found in the eastern Cape area, center of recent violence in Cape area, center of recent violence in which over 300 people have died in the last 14 months. Two others died in separate incidents when the police opened fire with birdshot and shotguns near Port Elizabeth, and another was found dead after a clash with policemen near the Hartebeesfontein gold mine, 95 miles southwest of Johannesburg.

JOHANNESBURG, April 26 (Reuters) — Three white men who beat two blacks to death in revenge for an attack on a white friend were jailed today for 10 years each by a judge who called the assaults "cowardly atrocities." The two blacks had not been involved in the

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The Senate overwhelmingly urged President Reagan to cancel his planned visit to a German military cemetery. In a voice vote, the Senate adopted a resolution co-sponsored by 80 legislators that said Mr. Reagan "should visit a symbol of German democracy" instead of the cemetery. [Page 1, Column 6.]

International

The Warsaw Pact was extended for 20 years at a meeting in Warsaw of the Soviet-led military bloc presided over by Mikhail S. Gorbachev, the Soviet leader. The 30-year-old pact was to expire on May 15. [1:4.]

The U.S. failed to get an agreement that could bring about direct talks between Israel and Jordan. The attempt was made by Richard W. Murphy, an Assistant Secretary of State, in advance of a visit to Israel by Secretary of State George P. Shultz. Mr. Murphy reportedly said that the Arab world was still too divided to support a move by King Hussein of Jordan to enter talks with Israel and a delegation of Palestinians not affiliated with the Palestine Liberation Organization. [1:5.]

A U.S. team rescued survivors of a Nicaraguan plane crash on the Greenland icecap last weekend. The rescue was carried out by a United States Air National Guard crew flying a transport plane. Three of the five flyers aboard the Nicaraguanowned plane were taken aboard the American plane. [1:6.]

Security and foreign policy advisers were directed by President Reagan to review possible measures by the review possible measures by the United States against the Nicaraguan Government. The White House spokesman, Larry Speakes, said Mr. Reagan had asked for a review of a "full family" of economic, political and other measures, which he declined to specify. The possibilities do not include the use of military force, he said. [1:2.]

#### National

Segregation still exists in rural Southern towns despite the civil rights laws of the 1960's that banned overt discrimination. There are bars where blacks know they cannot buy a drink and restaurants in which they cannot eat. These are the towns and rural

areas that the civil rights move tions in the region as a whole were

delibly changed. [1:3.] Chapter 11 protection from credito for financially troubled United Pre International was authorized by th board of directors, a move, a con pany spokesman said, that would n

## The New York Region

interrupt service. [6:1.]

327 top police officers were warned by New York City Police Commissioner Benjamin Ward that each of them would be held personally accountable for any brutality or corruption committed in their commands. Reacting to recent charges that police officers in the 106th Precinct in Queens had tortured prisoners with a stun gun, Commissioner Ward said he felt "personal shame and disgrace." Several more now characteristics. eral more new charges that men in custody had been assaulted with a stun gun in the 106th Precinct were being investigated. [1:1.]

A helicopter plunged into the East River when its engine failed after a take off from the 34th Street heliport. It was carrying six passengers and the pilot and co-pilot. All survived ex-cept one passenger, who was trapped by his safety belt and died later at Bellevue Hospital Center. [9:1.]

A murder suspect was shot to death in a state police car on the Taconic State Parkway as he was being returned to the Westchester county jail in Val-halla after being arraigned in Greene County for murder in the death of a Westchester woman. The prisoner, Alex J. Mengel, was also charged with the killing of a Westchester County police officer, Gary Stymiloski, on Feb. 24. [1:1.]

A drought emergency was declared by Mayor Koch, who placed manda-tory restrictions on water use by all New York City residents and businesses. Violators of the restrictions will be fined \$100. [9:6.]

New York was named Tree City U.S.A. by the National Arbor Day Foundation. And in an Arbor Day ceremonies presided over by Com missioner Henry J. Stern, the Parks Department named 113 winners in its Great Tree Search conducted in the five boroughs. [9:1.]

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Arts/Entertainment Studio testing "Mask" ads that show hero's deformed face
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## Quotation of the Day

"Chancellor Kohl! Free President Reagan! Let our President go!" -Senator Alan Cranston, Democrat of California. [4:6.]

Style

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fear a dollar outflow "John P. Servant": A capital survival kit Florence Avakian: The Armenian dead

## CORRECTIONS

An article in Weekend yesterday about opera performances around New York City gave an incorrect date for a production of Handel's "Ales sandro" at Carnegie Hall. It is being presented tomorrow at 7:30 P.M.

A photograph on page 15 in Weekend yesterday, showing opera performers, appeared without a caption in some copies. The performers, in "Xerxes" at the Juilliard American Opera Theater, were Mark Watson eft, and Yan-Yu Guo.

An article on Wednesday about 1 autopsies reviewed by a mayora commission investigating New Yor City's Chief Medical Examiner mis stated the number of autopsies in the case of Ralph Tarantino. There was second report on the cause of Mr. Ta antino's death, not a second autopsy

A brief report yesterday about memorial service for the television producer Robert L. Bach incorrect reported the date of the service, will be held at noon on May 6 (not a Monday), in St. Peter's Church, L ington Avenue at 54th Street.

# Navaho

## Elderly woman stirs White House dispute

1985

#### From page 1A

cited, along with her grandson, Willie, for rescuing 10 children from a burning school bus she was driving.

Speaking Navaho through an interpreter, she made her plea before presenting the president with a colorful blanket emblazoned, "Chief Volunteer."

Mrs. Castillo told the president, "We need to continue the current level of economic benefits such as Social Security since many, many Native American elderly depend on this support for their only source of income.

"We need funds for these services that I have mentioned because in Indian country, there is little or no private sector. I ask for your support,

Mr. President.

"We have no roads. The roads where I live are not paved. In your position please help us."

The president replied, "Most of those things that you were talking about here, those problems come under what we have called the safety net and which we intend to continue and even in regard to our battles to lower the deficit, these things will not be done away with or reduced."

It was the second week in a row that the president was questioned in public by a guest at the White House. Last week, Holocaust historian Elie Wiesel urged Mr. Reagan to cancel his visit next month to a West German cemetery containing the graves of Nazi soldiers.

Navaho spokesman Lewis said that after the ceremony that Mrs. Kelly told Mrs. Castillo, "She was supposed to say something very appreciative, not what she did. She also wanted to give the president a woven basket and a woven rug but the aide refused. She said 'I don't want it."

Mrs. Kelly was not immediately available for comment.

"She was very, very rude," Lewis said. "She ushered us right out very quickly, hustled us out."

Lewis said, "People like Mae Chee Castillo, they come many miles for this ceremony and do this to express their feelings in an honest, open way. We were ushered into (Mrs. Kelly's) office and told to get our things and she had to leave. She said, 'My head's on the block now. ... You weren't supposed to do that."

## David Braun, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Government this week spelled out clearly-defined points of departure to be used as guidelines in the negotiating process with blacks.

At the same time it has recognised that a wider group of people than those leaders in elected positions will have to be involved in the intended discussions.

The broad policy position with regard to blacks is contained in a remarkably frank new National Party booklet "... And what about the Black People?" compiled by political scientist and Mp for Helderkruin Dr Stoffel van der Merwe.

The booklet catalogues fundamental flaws in previous National Party black policy.

Dr van der Merwe refers to the National Convention of 1909 where one of the thorniest problems was the question of franchise for people of colour. "Ultimately it was decided to maintain the status quo," he says.

"The limited franchise people of colour enjoyed in the Cape Province and Natal, would be retained but would not be extended to the other provinces.

"Clearly this arrangement was a compromise by means of which the founders of the Union of South Africa actually postponed the problem.

"Now, in 1935, we have reached the stage where it can be postponed no longer."

Dr van der Merwe says in implementing the policy of complete separate development which was to have led to all-encompassing independent states for the black nations, three problems had arisen:

The problem of development.

International resistance.

Domestic opposition.

On the development problem, Dr van der Merwe says: "In the late Fifties and early Sixties we in South Africa and the statesmen of Europe (and of Africa) made the same mistake.

#### PUMP IN MONEY

made the same mistake.

PUMP IN MONEY

"We believed that the development of under-developed areas and states was a relatively simple matter. "One merely pumped some money and technical aid into such a state, and lo and behold development took hold, generating its own momentum.

"We thought that it would be relatively easy to get these black areas to develop economically so that they would eventually provide a living for the vast majority of their people.

"According to our estimates at the time, this development would result in a reversal of the tide of black people streaming to the white urban areas by 1978 and to an exodus of the black people back to their own areas."

In the event, South Africa experienced a widening of the gap between the developed and the under-developed areas.

It became obvious that the independent black states would not be able to accommodate all the country's black people and that the tide of blacks to white urban areas had actually increased.

On inevitable international resistance, Dr van der Merwe says: "Although we decided to continue granting independence to states in spite of the lack of international recognition, the failure to achieve recognition has had important consequences."

These new states are not able to take part in international politics. They cannot join international organisations.

# Govt's guideline for talks with the blacks

#### LESS ATTRACTIVE

Their citizens are not able to travel abroad on their own passports. Above all, they do not qualify for international aid.

"All this not only makes independence less attractive to these states, but it also materially inhibits their development, further complicating the whole policy of separate states."

On domestic opposition, he says: "It was not unexpected either that there would be considerable internal opposition to the idea of independent states.
"Even people who were not against independent states in principle began to withdraw their support from the policy because of the problems encountered in development and international recognition."

Dr van der Merwe goes on to say that when it was realised that the vast majority of black pet, it would not be returned to

the black states, the response was that it should be possible to link black people with their homelands even though they no longer lived in their own states. "The inherent difficulty with this solution," he says, "was that the franchise a black person obtained in his state of origin was unable to influence in any way the problems he experienced where he lived.

"This form of franchise was, therefore, ineffective and consequently rather meaningless."

The central theme of the booklet is that a system has to be found in which all who live permanently in the country are able to enjoy the vote in such a way that no group dominates others.

That would enable the country to deal with the questions of citizenship, property rights and political rights.

Dr van der Merwe makes the point that it might be possible to produce a formulated plan within a month or two, but that any system will succeed only if it enjoys the support of the people for whom it is meant.

Any plan should be worked out in close co-operation with the leaders of as many black interest groups as possible.

Consequently, it would be futile and wrong to come forward with a pre-conceived plan.

But, he says, whatever form the plan eventually takes, there is no doubt that it will have to meet certain conditions.

#### CONDITIONS

Provision for the continued existence in security of the whites, coloureds and Indians.

Approval of the whites, coloureds and Indians as well as the blacks.

It must be formulated in close co-operation with all groups.

It must be formulated in close co-operation with all groups.

It must safeguard the Western norms and standards that have already been achieved.

Contribution to greater security and prosperity for all groups and individuals.

Dr van der Merwe says that in view of the urgent need to discuss with blacks the form in which their political rights may be realised, the question is with which black people should there be negotiations.

These, he says, must include the elected leaders of the homelands and local authorities — as well as those leaders who have chosen not made themselves available for election within the present system.

He accepts many of the people who will have to be involved in negotiations have developed a mistrust of the good intentions of the Government over the years.

"Before meaningful discussions can begin," he says, "It will be necessary to create a climate of confidence among the parties to the discussions."

For this reason, there should be a series of informal talks to find out with whom the negotiations should ultimately be held and on which points it will be possible for the Government to reach agreement with black leaders.

To the final analysis the Nature of the control of the close the possible for the close the Nature of the control of the close the Nature of the control of the close the Nature of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control of the Control

reach agreement with black leaders.

"In the final analysis, the National Party remains the representative of the white electorate. That is why it will not take part in any government action which might be to the detriment of its voiers."

He adds: "The best way in which the interests of the whites are to be served, however, is to ensure the interests of every other group and of all individuals are similarly protected."

While his booklet is not a blue print or a statement of intent, it does represent an exposition of how the Government would like to start the process of negotiating SA's political solutions.

To the casual observer, the South African extra-parliamentary political spectrum is a bewildering array of UDFs, Azapos, MCs, TICs, Inkathas and National Forums. GARY van STADEN, Political Reporter, tries to unravel the political tapestry.





OUR STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION IS A STRUGGLE FOR PEACE

# Southern Africa's bewildering array of political parties To the casual observer the South African extra-par-

# Untangling the mix of left, right, centre

South African extra-parliamentary political spectrum is a bewildering array of UDFs, Azapos, NICs, TICs, Inkathas and National Forums.

The average newspaper reader may sometimes find it difficult to work out who stands for what, why and who is attacking who this week.

reek.
In addition to all this there also the "in-system" black collitical groupings, some of nom have taken various homeands to "independence" and there who serve on the South frican Government created community councils, or black scal authorities to give them near technically correct name. There is also little doubt that eligious groupings such as the

their technically correct name. There is also little doubt that religious groupings such as the offica-conservative Zion Christian Church could make their presence felt politically.

All of these organisations can be split into two main groups. Those who have selected to work within the system set up by the Government and those who oppose it.

There are some organisations which, while classified as being in-system, are also totally opposed to it but believe that they can achieve more working from ommunism and Markism through to socialism on the left, basses through the centre where reganisations like linkatha are to be found and proceeds to the inful from homeland governments to community councils and charch bodies such as the lon Christian Church.

Most of the news coming from the black (or rather non-racial) obtical spectrum during the asst few months has been generated by "anti-system" organiations.

These organisations and political spectrum organiations.

These organisations and political pressure groups fall into main catagories: the solled Charterists and the Black

THE CHARTERISTS: All the THE CHARTERISTS: All the ganisations in this group sub-rube to the philosophy of Charrism which is derived from a current alled the Freedom marter. The Charter was signed a groups of SA political ornisations in 1955. The main rust of the Charter is that all with Africans, regardless of the Charter is that all with Africans, regardless of the commodated in the political stem and get a greater share the country's economic alth. The major organisations in this group are the African National Congress (banned) and the United Democratic Front. The ANC is the only South African liberation group with an operational military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, or Spear of the Nation.

tion.

The South African Communist Party (banned) exercises its only influence on the black political sphere here, with the ANC. The SACP is not strictly a Charterist organisation but is involved only with them.

The UDF is itself the umbrellabody for hundreds of smaller affiliates, the major ones being the Transvaal Indian Congress, the Natal Indian Congress, the Natal Indian Congress, the Release Mandela Campaign and some of the major trade unions.

There are many other smaller affiliates including organisations such as the Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee.

The student organisation which keeps the Charterist flag flying is the Congress of South African Students (Cosas). The South African Communist

#### Some organisations believe they can achieve more working from within.

Charterism recognises the ex-Charterism recognises the existence of "national groups" in South Africa and believes democrats of all colours must work together to liberate oppressed South Africans. It is inclined to socialism but is not clear what economic course the country would follow under a Charterist government.

but to low a charterist overnment.

BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS: ierce rivalry exists between harterism and the advocates of Charterism and the advocates of Black Consciousness (BC) which has on occasion, resulted in violence. Though the divisions between the two are serious, they can, and have worked together. The umbrella organisation for the BC groupings is the National Forum while its major affiliates

are the powerful pressure group, the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and its student wing, the Azanian Students Movement (Azasm).

#### TRADE UNIONS

TRADE UNIONS

It too has influential trade unions under its wing and is extremely active in the Cape where the Cape Action League played a major part in the poor percentage polls there during last year's tricameral elections.

BC does not see the destruction of apartheid as a major objective, it believes that apartheid will vanish as soon as the capitalist system in SA is destroyed and replaced by socialism. This is BC's major objective. Only then will the oppressed peoples of SA (Azania) be really free.

Azapo and the other major BC organisations have planned their strategy with this in mind. They foresee the total nationalisation of all the multi-national corporations operating in SA and the return of all the land to the people of South Africa.

BC has an inaccurate anti-white image.

The advocates of BC maintain that white South Africans cannot possibly aid in the liberation of the black majority because they are so much a part of the system.

BC maintains that democratic whites have a role to play in the national liberation process but

BC maintains that democratic whites have a role to play in the national liberation process but that it must be strictly confined to their own community.

They should not seek to become involved in the struggle itself and must leave that to black South Africans. They have often accused the Charterists of allowing the liberation struggle to be hijacked by whites for their own ends.

#### DON'T BELONG

The Pan Africanist Congress (banned) also fits in about here.
The PAC is not a BC organisation and stands for Africa for the Africans only. They maintain that people of European

and Asian decent do not belong here. The PAC came about in reaction to a feeling among many blacks that the ANC had been taken over by the white-dominated SA Communist Party for its own ideological ends.

THE CENTRE: The main black political organisation at

#### The UDF is itself the umbrella body for hundreds of smaller affiliates.

the centre of the spectrum is the mainly Zulu supported Inkatha. Led by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Inkatha boasts a membership of 2 million people.

Chief Buthelezi has refused to accept independence from the SA Government for the homeland of kwaZulu but none-theless has taken a measure of self rule.

less has taken a measure of self rule.

This had led to charges from the liberation organisations that Chief Buthelezi has "soid out" to the government of which he remains a strong critic.

Inkatha has some ties with the ANC — Chief Buthelezi was once a member — but is also highly critical of the ANC's insurgency policies.

Chief Buthelezi also believes that the ANC has lost touch with the people of SA, the result, he says, of being in exile for so long.

long. Inkatha has a youth wing, the Youth Brigade, which has been criticised in the past for the violence which often occurs between them and members of the

IN SYSTEM POLITICS: Here we find the leaders of homeland authorities who have accepted "independence" from South

"independence" from South
Africa and the various political
parties who participate in local
township elections.
The Transkei, Ciskei, Venda,
Bophuthatswana and Lebowa
have opted for "independence"
while various other self governing states have indicated they

wish to follow suit.

The more well known leaders of the homelands are Chief Matanzima of the Transkei, Chief Lennox Sebe of the Cisket and Chief Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana.

On a local authority level there are various parties which work within the system and put up candidates for community council posts.

#### TARGETS

These men and women are often the targets of revolutionary elements because they are seen to have sold out to the government and accepted inferior-

seen to have sold out to the government and accepted inferiority.

One of the most well known parties on a local government level which operates within the system is the Sofasonke Party of Soweto.

Though strictly non-political the Zion Christian Church (ZCC) has millions of adherants and this fact has not gone unnoticed by the Government. The powerful church is ultraconservative and there is little doubt that the Government would like to be able to count them on its side.

The recent address given by State President P W Botha at a mass neeting of the church may be the first of many.

NAMIBIA: The Namibian political scene is in many respects simplier to understand that that in South Africa. In other ways it is more complex.

The political picture in Namibia is far more racially integrated that in South Africa. The Multi-Party Conference (MPC) which recently got the go-ahead from South Africa to set up a transitional government is a complex mixture of white conservatives and black socialists which is going to make governing a problem.

The main components of the MPC are the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), which is itself an alliance of 11 different ethnic groups, including the white Republican Party under the leadership of Mr Dirk

Mudge, the SWA National Union and the Swapo Democrats.

The other parties in the MPC are the National Party of SWA the Labour Party in connection with the SA Labour Party in and the Rehoboth Baster group.

The DTA is a conservative alliance with a free enterpriss base while both the SWA National Union (Swanu), under Moses Katjiuongua, and the Swapo-D's, under Andreas Shipanga, are inclined towards socialism.

There is also a dissident Swanu faction which broke away after the decision to join the MPC and various other parties who are mainly Swapo supporters. They include the Damara Raad led by Justus Garoeb and the Namibian Christian Democratic Party under Hans Rohr.

The major political party which operates both in and outside Namibia is the South West African People's Organisation (Swapo) led by Sam Nujorna and there is little doubt they would win a general election hands down.

They probably wouldn't even have to fight an election cam-

win a general election hands down.

They probably wouldn't even have to fight an election campaign.

Swapo's main base support comes from the Owambos who make up more than half of the total population but it also has widespread support among other population groups — including white members and supporters.

Swapo, in itself, is not a guerilla organisation, it is a national liberation movement and its insurgency campaign is carried out under the command of its military wing, the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (Plan).

Plan is responsible for the day—to—day running of the insurgency war in northern Namibia while Swapo itself concentrates on political issues and winning international support for its cause.

There are also many small splinter groups operating in

winning international support for its cause.

There are also many small splinter groups operating in South African and Namibian politics.

All the groups fit together, somehow, to form the highly complex political picture in South Africa and Namibia.

But two major objectives run throughout.

In South Africa the common aim is change, real change, and the implementation of a one-man-one-vote universial franchise system.

In Namibia there is an even stronger bond which transcends ail political differences: to get South Africa out of the territory.