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ew measures restrict

CAPE TOWN. â\200\224  
Regulations allowing  
the government to re-  
strict the activities of  
organisations and indi-  
viduals, without ban-  
ning: them â\200\230completely,  
were published yester-  
day under the signa-  
tures of the State Presi-  
dent, Mr P W Botha,  
and the Minister of  
Law and Order, Mr  
Adriaan Viok.  
The new i

under the 1953 Public

The UDF affiliates af-  
fected include the Detai-  
nees Parents Support  
Commnttee the Durban-

Residents Association,  
Soweto Civic Associa-  
tion, Soweto Youth Con-

tect the rights of those af-  
fected to seek legal re-  
dtessorundertake court

Democratic Front, 14 of  
its äi-\202ihates â\200\230and to the

The regulatlons allow

Banned groups usually  
go underground: Sash

WHAT the government bans usually goes underground  
to surface in another guise or changes its tactics, the  
Black Sash said yesterday in response to the effective  
banning of 17 organisations.

Itseemsthattheonlywaythegomnmentm  
â\200\234maintain the order it seeks is by evading the law and  
ruling by proclamation, harshly restricting all opposi-  
tion and any organisation it views as an absolute threat  
to its autonomy,â\200\235 a Sash statement said.

â\200\234It never learns that what it bans goes underground,  
to surface again in another guise or to change its tactics  
tooopemththeillcgahtywhldnsthmstuponxt.

â\200\234Instead of facing the fact that its policies are unac-  
ceptable to the vast majority of the people, the govern-  
ment stupidly seeks to stamp out all opposition as  
thoughnlspossiblctokeepthehdonthesteammg  
kettle indefinitely.

the Minister to â\200\234restrictâ\200\235  
an organisation â\200\234without  
prior notice to any person

and without hearing any personâ\200\235, if he is of the opinion that â\200\234it is necessary for the safety of the public, the maintenance of public order or the termination of the state of emergencyâ\200\235.

An order restricting an organisation applies until rescinded or until the state of = emergency ceases.

The proclamaton of a smteofemergenqauto matically expires at the endofayear â\200\224 the present ceases on June 11. However, the government can obviously re-institute the state of emergency, as happened last year.

While a restriction order is in force, no person may: :

@ â\200\234On behalf of or in the name or in a capacity as officebearer of that organisation carry on an activity or perform an act which the organisation is prohibltedbythesandor-

travention of the said orderâ\200\235.

However, the order â\200\234shall not be construedâ\200\235

as prohibiting the organi- |

sation from preserving its assets, carrymgonntsadâ\200\224

law or by a court, or taking legal advice or judicial

steps.  
Inadditionanorpnisaâ\200\224

tion may apply to the Minister for consent to carry on any specific activity.

The same regulations contain a section empowering th Minister to restrict the activities of an individual, and 18 people were reported to have been served restriction

notices yesterday.

If the Minister is of the opinion that it is necessary for the safety of the public, maintenance of public order or the termination of the state of emergency, he may without prior notice prohibit a person from:

@ carrying on an activity or performing an act specified in the order,

@ being, at any time or during the hours specified in the order outside the

17 organisation

boundaries of an area

specified, or

@ being, during the hours specified, outside the boundaries of the premises where he lives.

These restriction orders on individuals will also cease on the expiry of a declaration of a state of emergency.

In the case of individuals, they may seek permission from the Commissioner of Police to do

it

â\200\234No consent shall be granted by the Commissioner unless he is convinced that the granting of consent will not result in the safety of the public or the maintenance of public order being threatened, or the termination of the state of emergency - being delayed.â\200\235

These regulations are deemed to have come into operation on Monday, February 22.

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â\200\230Mlghty arm

g"(')r anisationally, that enhance({ level of unity has found  
ression in the growth of that  
tyartxzofctgewor , osfomtl;  
country, the Congress o ul  
@ggg Tradeumomaa@its affili-  
(January, 1988)  
Practice had more lî-\202y  
. demonstrated that â\200\234the stru eeg(f  
masses of our country n  
UDF as an instrument  
. advance and deepen mr umted  
actionâ\200\235.  
. The â\200\234National Liberation Alli-  
- ance,â\200\235 headed by the ANC, would  
be able to guide the only â\200\234if  
we have our underground struc-  
tl;rwe; within the UDFâ\200\235" (January,  
1  
On educatlon, Tambo was quo-  
ted as saying, in Janua 1987  
â\200\234The school, the college,  
versity is for us more t.â\200\230ban a place  
of formal education. It is also our  
L asî-\201sfclîî-\201bly point, tlllf loc%on from  
4 . W we marshall our forces, or-  
OTAMBO ... undorgmund ga them and take th ppor\_  
tunity to give the order of the day.â\200\235  
The system of peopleâ\200\231s educa-

country. â\200\224 Sapa

I a I I | bo tion had to be introduced as a â\200\234de-  
>< cisive elementâ\200\235 in the future of the

quoted  
on â\200\230ANC  
linksâ\200\231

MINISTER of Law and Order  
Adriaan Vlok yes! { terday authorised  
the quoting of ANC leader Oliver  
-Tam(1)o to demonstrate the ANCâ\200\231s  
alleged links with some of the or-  
ganisations served with restnctxon  
orders yesterdgyec

Chief of the Security Pblloe Lt-  
General Johan van der Merwe is-  
sued a statement quo Tambo  
at length. The quotations included:

â\200\234We have also succeeded to cre-  
ate mass democratic organisations  
representative of these conscious  
and active masses, ran from  
street committees to Cosatu, the  
UDF, the NECC and their affiliates  
and other democratic formauonsâ\200\235

(January, 1986).

â\200\234We also sieze this occasion  
especially to welcome most warm-  
szm the formation of the Congress of

th African Trade Unions ..â\200\235  
(January, 1986). ;

AF

{ 4.' /

B IO5T

} 'Ht;fsday 25 February 1988

il a s o

VIZSL Â\$ 1 38

THE CITIZEN

Terro leader lists

Oliver Tambo, presi-  
! dent of the ANC, has

| ibed the Congress  
) oï¬\2011

uth African Trade  
Unions (Cosatu),  
United Democratic  
Front (UDF) and  
other bodies as revol-  
utionary allies of the

#\ ~ ANC.  
L

This and other speech-  
es of Tambo were re-  
leased for publication yes-

- terday, as part of a state-  
ment by the SA Police se-  
curity chief, Lt-Genl Jo-  
han van der Merwe, giv-  
ing background to the  
new emergency regu-  
lations issued yesterday.

He said revolutionaries  
realised that armed con-  
frontation and violent  
revolution could not be  
successfully - imple-

mented, and therefore

~ applied other strategies in  
\_an attempt to -achieve  
their goals. :

These included boy-

cotts and coercive meas-  
ures, destroying govern-  
men ctures and re-

placing them with â\200\234alter-

nativeâ\200\235 structures, and vi-  
olence, intimidation and  
damage to property.

Gen van der. Merwe  
said it was important to  
bear in mind that the cre-  
ation of so-called â\200\234mass  
democratic organisa-

\* tionsâ\200\235 formed part of the  
revolutionary onslaught  
of the ANC and the SA  
Communist Party  
(SACP). 5

Tambo stated: â\200\234In  
â\200\230many parts of our country  
we have already made im-  
portant advances towards  
the creation of these mass

~ revolutionary bases.

â\200\234We have destroyed  
many of the enemyâ\200\231s or-  
. gans of apartheid rule.

The masses of the people  
â\200\230have played a central role

in this process as active

participants in the strug-  
gle for their own liber-  
ation.

â\200\234allies

â\200\234We have also suc-  
ceeded to create mass

democratic organisations

representative of these  
conscious and active  
masses, ranging from  
street committees to Co-

satu, the UDF, the

NECC (National Educa-  
tion Crisis Committee)

and their affiliates and  
\_other democratic forma-  
tions,â\200\235 said Tambo.

In another speech last

year Tambo called for-all

unorganised workers to  
â\200\234unite under the umbrella  
of Cosatuâ\200\235. e

Last month (January,  
1988) Tambo stated â\200\234Or-,  
ganisationally, that en-

- chanced level of unity has

found expression in the growth of that mighty arm of the workers of our country, Cosatu and its

Regarding the UDF,

- Tambo said this organisa-

tion' was needed as an

Instrument to maintain ANC's action in the coun- .

T O e

The national liber-

ation alliance headed by the ANC shall be able to

guide the UDF only if we

have our own underground structures within the UDF, Tambo said last month.

Gen van der Merwe said these should be read against a 1986 speech in which

Tambo said the ANC had

prepared conditions for

us further to transform

the situation to that position when it will be poss-

ible for us to seize power

from the enemy.

Tambo added: Our strategic goal must be to shift the balance of strength decisively in favour of our struggle, through the further ripening of the revolutionary situation = beyond the

point where the regime is

not able to rule in the old

way, to the stage where it is in fact unable to govern.

Tambo described the four pillars of the ANC-SACP approach as the armed attack against SA, mobilising the

masses in SA, making



the country ungovernable  
and creating alternative  
structures, and the inter-  
national isolation of SA.

Gen van der Merwe  
said the additional emer-  
gency regulations, promul-  
gated yesterday, would  
enable the security forces  
to ensure the safety of the  
public and to maintain  
law and order more effi-  
ciently. .

Turning to quotes on  
education, Gen Van der

Merwe again referred to  
statements by Tambo  
made in January 1987 and  
1988:

democratic

"his revolutionary,

The school, the college,

- the university is for us

more than a place of for-  
mal education. It is also  
our assembly point, the  
location from which we  
marshall our forces, or-  
ganise them and take the  
opportunity to give the  
order of the day. The  
system of peoples educa-  
tion had to be introduced  
as a decisive element in  
the future of the country.

The area of education  
remains one of our crucial  
fronts of the struggle. The  
victory of the democratic  
and non-racial perspec-  
tive in this theatre of ac-  
tion requires, among  
other things, that the edu-  
cators themselves, the  
teachers at schools, uni-  
versities and other institu-  
tions of higher learning -  
should be organised into  
\_ formations-  
that consciously and sys-  
tematically pursue the ob-  
jective of a people's edu-  
catopm in the full mean-  
ing of the word.

â\200\230What they say . ..

statement .

@ THE effective ban announced by Government  
was â\200\230insidiousâ\200\231 the National Council of Trade  
Unions (NACTU) said. The bans were â\200\234tanta-

â\200\234By its nature trade union organisation reflects  
on the economic and political realities ... the action  
against Cosatu is a blatant attempt to create a docile  
organisation.â\200\235 :

@ The Muslim youth movement of South Africa  
condemning yesterdayâ\200\231s effective ban saying â\200\234the  
latest restrictions are yet another futile attempt on  
the governmentâ\200\231s part to strangle the legitimate pol-  
itical and economic aspirations of the majority of  
South Africans.â\200\235

@ Kangwane Chief Minister Enos J Mabuza  
noted yesterdayâ\200\231s central government effective ban-  
ning of 17 organisations with â\200\234profound regret.â\200\235

Mr Mabuza and his government â\200\234cannot but as-  
sume that this is a most unconsidered move on the  
part of the central government that will have severe

repercussions in terms of political stability and the  
quest for peace,â\200\235 a statement said. 3

â\200\224 Sapa.

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THE restrictions placed  
on 17  
â\200\234chlding

described yesterday by

Archbishop Desmond

Tutu as an â\200\234unmitigated

disaster for South Afri-

Caâ\200\235. : :

At a Press conference  
yesterday, which he  
shared with Dr Alan Boe-  
sak president of World  
Council of Reformed  
Churches, - Archbishop  
Tutu said many would see  
it as a declaration of war  
by the government.

He told reporters: â\200\234I  
see it as a vicious and pro-  
vocative act by a govern-  
ment which has now be-  
come a serious threat to  
Southern Africa. We  
have seen its bully-boy  
tactics at their most vi-  
cious in our neighbouring  
countries over the last few  
years. It has now shown  
that within South Africa  
its only plan for the future  
is to fight against the logic  
of history by resorting to  
the most blatant forms of

. oppression.â\200\235

Archbishop Tutu said  
there was not the slightest  
doubt that its idea of re-  
form was to smash all ef-  
fective possible political  
opposition in the country,  
â\200\234no matter how peaceful  
or lawful, and to rule with  
the jackbootâ\204ç.

. He said the organiza-  
tions the government was  
suppressing were all ded-  
icated to peaceful means  
of opposing the brutality  
of apartheid.

â\200\234If they had not been,  
we would have seen them  
in court long before now,

- facing serious charges  
under the governmentâ\200\231s  
draconian laws, he said

Archbishop Tutu said

the governmentâ\200\231s message was clear â\200\224 peaceful paths to change are being closed off one by one, and those wanting real change are being encouraged by the governmentâ\200\231s actions to turn to violence.

Archbishop Tutu said White South Africans had to realise that they are at the crossroads â\200\224 â\200\234If they donâ\200\231t stop this government soon (and thereâ\200\231s not much hope that they

tions, in-  
the United  
Democratic Front, were

â\200\230Restrictions  
a disaster,  
â\200\230says Tutu =

will), we are heading for  
warâ\200\235.

He said foreign countries, and especially the

\_governments of - Japan,  
the US and West Germany, had to realise that they were prejudicing their investments by refusing to take effective

. economic action against  
the government.

The government â\200\234seems to have nothing to offer South Africa but violence and bloodshedâ\200\235.

â\200\234It must go, and be replaced by a democratic, non-racial = government which represents all the countryâ\200\231s people, Black and White.â\200\235

Archbishop Tutu said he still - desperately wanted a negotiated solution to the countryâ\200\231s crisis, and the only peaceful way of forcing the government to the negotiating table was through properly-enforced and comprehensive diplomatic and economic sanctions.

Dr Boesak, in turn,

told the conference he would continue to follow

a course of peaceful, non-violent opposition to the government.

The â\200\234bannings,â\200\235 he said, would drive more and more people underground, resulting in violence becoming the only option.

The blame for this had to be placed at the governmentâ\200\231s door, he said.

After the implementation of the state of emergency, the government must have expected opposition to become non-existent, he said.

â\200\234It must have been a very unpleasant surprise to see that opposition in our communities has not only survived, but

wn.,â\200\231 :

- Dr Boesak claimed the government had no interest in peaceful change, or non-violent solutions to the problems they had ~created for the country.  
â\200\230South African Council

of Churches general sec-

retary, the Rev Frank Chikane, reacted to governmentâ\200\231s effective ban on 17 organisations by

calling on the international community to act against the â\200\234apartheid regime,"

He also expressed fears South Africans would â\200\234â\200\234see force as the only way of ending apartheidâ\200\235.

â\200\234I am alarmed by the effective banning of 17 organisations and the restrictions imposed on Co-satu,â\200\235 said Mr Chikane.

â\200\234This is another draconian way of closing the doors for all organisations which were still committed to non-violent change in this country.

â\200\234Once more the Nationalist government has

revealed what really lies  
beneath its reform policy  
â\200\224 total control of the  
people of South Africa by  
a White minority and out-  
right repression of dis-  
senting voices-of the ma-  
jority . . .

â\200\234The argument by the  
Minister of Law and Or-  
der that the order does  
not prohibit the organisa-  
tions \* from = preserving  
their assets, keeping up to  
date their books and re-  
cords and performing ad-  
ministrative functions, is  
an attempt to . . . mislead  
the international com-  
munity that this action  
does not amount to clos-  
ing down the organisa- -  
tions . . .â\200\235

The bannings were in  
fact directed at the â\200\234fun-  
damental aims and objec-  
tives of these organisa-  
tions â\200\224 that is, to protest  
and work for the end of  
apartheid . . . â\200\235

The End Conscription  
Campaign said it was  
â\200\234sickened and angeredâ\200\235  
by the latest move.

â\200\234These are organisa-  
tions that represent and  
campaign around the  
legitimate aspirations of .  
many South Africans,â\200\235  
the ECC statement said.

By placing a ban on the  
affected organisations,  
the government was plac-  
ing a ban on peaceful,  
non-violent protest.

â\200\234By further restricting  
the space in which non-vi-  
olent protest can take  
place, a negotiated settle-  
ment to our problems  
seems ever remote.â\200\235

By Brian Stuart

CAPE TOWN. â\200\224 Announcing restrictions on â\200\230Cosatu, the United Democratic Front, Azanian Groups and some affiliated bodies, Mr Adriaan Vlok, Minister of Law and Order, said the government wished to prohibit only those activities that endangered public safety.

The government was determined to take all reasonable steps to ensure the safety of the public and the maintenance of public order in its bid to end the state of emergency, said Mr Vlok.

â\200\234It is a worldwide phenomenon that revolutionaries and activists, apart from the perpetration of acts of terror and violence, also specialise in

- other activities to render countries ungovernable. South Africa has not escaped these attempts.

â\200\234There are organisations and people in the Republic of South Africa who persist - in establishing, maintaining and

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â\200\231Curbs in interest of public safety

promoting a revolutionary climate. To a certain extent the enforcement of the emergency regulations and the actions of the security forces kept violence in check to a cer-

- tain extent.

â\200\234Revolutionaries and activists, realising that armed confrontation and violent revolution cannot be successfully implemented in the RSA, created various other alternative strategies to reach their goal.

â\200\234These activities include the fostering of civil

disobedience and revolt, creation of revolutionary alternative structures to replace existing government structures, disruption of the economy and waging of campaigns often accompanied by violence and fear, or which give rise to violence.

â\200\234Activities of these organisations and peopleâ\200\235 not only threaten the safety of the public or the maintenance of public order but also hamper the termination of the state of emergency.â\200\235

The State President had promulgated regulations to amend the existing emergency regulations to make it possible to restrict the activities of organisations and individuals.

Mr Vlok said that after careful consideration of the information at his disposal, he had decided to issue the order as promulgated in the Government Gazette in respect of the organisations mentioned.

â\200\234It must be emphasised that the South African Government does not wish to prohibit all activities of the organisations concerned â\200\224 only those which endanger the safety of the public, the maintenance of law and order or the termination of the state of emergency.

â\200\234Notwithstanding the order issued under these regulations in respect of the activities of an organisation, the organisation may still

@ Maintain its assets;  
@ Keep its books and

records up to date and perform the administrative functions connected therewith;

Â® Comply with an obligation imposed on it by or under law or by a court of law;



@ Take legal advice or legal steps.

â\200\234The regulations also make provision for an organisation subject to such an order, to approach me for permission to continue with certain activities which do not endanger the safety of the public, the maintenance of law and order or the ter-

mination of the state of

emergency,â\200\235 Mr Viok

added.

â\200\234These regulations further provide for action that might be instituted against people by restricting their activities without necessarily detaining them.

â\200\234Finally, I wish to mention that I am convinced that the implementation

of these regulations will |

contribute to a climate of stability, peaceful - co-

existence and good neighbourliness among all population groups in the Re-

public of South Africa.â\200\235

CAPE TOWNâ\200\224The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok has authorised quoting of ANC leader Mr Oliver Tambo to demonstrate ANC links with some of the bodies served with restriction orders yesterday.

The Chief of the Security Police, Lt-Gen Johan van der Merwe, issued a statement quoting Mr Tambo at length and said the revolutionaries and activists realised armed revolution could not succeed in South Africa and were trying various other strategies. - ! The restriction orders on the UDF, Cosatu, Azapo and others, issued yesterday, would enable security forces to maintain law and order more efficiently, he said.

The ANCâ\200\231s strategy rested on three legs which he summarised as. being the armed attack on South Africa, mobilising the masses in the country, making the country ungovernable and creating alternative structures, and the international isolation of South Africa.

It is important to bear in mind the creation of so-called mass democratic organisations forms part of the revolutionary onslaught of the ANC and the SA Communist Party against the RSA.

From a quotation dated January, 1986, he quotes Mr Tambo as saying important advances had been made towards the creation of â\200\230these mass revolutionary basesâ\200\231.

Welcome

He continues with Mr Tambo: â\200\230We have also succeeded to create mass democratic organisations representative of these conscious and active masses, ranging from street committees to Cosatu, the UDF; the NECC and their af-

filiates and other democratic  
formationsâ\200\231.  
From January, 1986: â\200\230We  
also seize this occasion espe-  
: cially to welcome most warm-  
}:&Y the formation of the  
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-Trade Unions : ..

-found expression In the

â\200\234the. workers of our country,

<iljates.â\200\235.:  
+3aid â\200\230that outstanding; prod-  
uct of the-creative initiative

otha/Malan/Coetzee regime

and to suppress our demo-

A :

â\200\234â\200\230From January, 1988:  
â\200\234\*Qrganisationally, that"en-"  
hanced level of unity has-  
growth of that mighty arm of

â\200\230the Congress of South African  
:Trade Unions and its aff- \*

â\200\230Ã@Ã@â\200\230r,rorvist' onslaught: of the "

to defeat.our mass offensive s

1:ampo quotes  
N aled MNMyC .  
emonsffgte

to  
Jtinks of ANCL

cratic organisations.

â\200\230To this day the threat of  
prohibition hangs over the  
UDF.."

He was confident the UDF

â\200\224 â\200\230having more than survived |  
the assassination and impris- |

onment of its leaders, the  
cold-blooded murder of its  
followers, banning of its  
meetings' â\200\224 would overcome  
all attempts by â\200\230the enemy to  
wipe it out of existenceâ\200\231.  
Practice had more than am-  
ply, demonstarted â\200\230the strug-  
gling masses of our country

need the UDF as an instrument to maintain, advance and deepen our united actionâ\200\231, Mr Tambo said in the quotation of January, 1987. He continues to say the â\200\230National Liberation Allianceâ\200\231 headed by the ANC, would be able to guide the UDF only â\200\230if we have our un-

derground structures within

the UDFâ\200\231. â\200\224 (Sapa)  
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ngress of South â\200\230African ;

#0f the UDF, Mr Tambo-had

%Bf' the masses of ourâ\200\231strug-  
fgling people;. the- UDF, has -  
â\200\234Borne the brunt of the futileâ\200\231

4 PP

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Order on  
- UbF

THE president of the  
United Democratic

lease Mandela Com-  
mittee office bearer,

striction order follow-  
ing the clampdown  
under Public Safety  
Act yesterday, their  
legal representatives  
have confirmed.

The details of Mr  
Ngwenya's order were  
sketchy but they are be-

Thursday

25 February 1988

lieved to be the same as  
Mr Gumede's with dif-

is no  
longer allowed to take  
part in any manner  
whatsoever the activi-  
ties of the United  
Democratic Front, Na-  
tional Indian Congress, Re-  
lease Mandela Commit-  
tee, Durban Housing  
Action Committee,  
Friends of the UDF and  
the Association of Dur-  
ban Democrats.

He also may not  
without the written  
consent of the Commis-  
sioner of the South Afri-  
can Police or the Divi-  
sional Commissioner of  
the SAP for the Port  
Natal division address  
any gathering at which

Order on

10 or more persons are  
present.

He may not take part in any interview with any journalist, News reporter, news commentator or news correspondent.

Mr Gumede may not contribute, prepare,

any manner whatsoever any matter for publication in any publication or assist in the preparation, compilation or transmission of any matter for publication.

The restrictions are

similar to those served on released ANC activist Govan Mbeki late last year.

A total of 16 other people linked to organisations affected by yesterday's government action were last night in

the process of being served with restriction orders, writes Tony Stirling.

The government is not releasing their names at this stage

compile or transmit in  
p 1

UDF chief

but according to The Citizen's information they are mainly persons connected at regional level to the organisations affected by the new restrictions.

Only two of the 18 are said to be prominent people, while some of those being served with the orders are in detention under the emergency regulations.

The orders being served on these people

are basically of two kinds â\200\224 the first restricting a person to a particular magisterial district, and the second of a type that will limit the restricted person to one named place of residence at night.

In the case of persons in detention who have been served with an order, the terms of the order will be â\200\234effective upon the personâ\200\231s release, the sources said.

The sources said the orders apply mainly to persons in the Western Cape, Johannesburg and Natal.

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: 'cmlaâ\200\231m pdâ\200\230Bwî¬\201â\200\231

THE virtual banning of 17 organisations and

i thereotramtsputontheCongressofSouth  
- African Trade Unions, Cosatu, confining it  
to trade union activity, have not come as a  
surprise.

Some of the organisations have ANC links;  
~ others are so radical that it was inevitable the  
government would clamp down on them.  
The reason for saying this is simple: The ANC  
has lost the battle to overthrow the govern-  
ment through violence and has had to turn to  
other means of achieving its objectives.

â\200\230One of these is to use seemingly democratic

movements to mobilise the Black masses  
-~ against the existing order â\200\224 through the  
- schools, with peopleâ\200\231s education, through the  
townships, 'with street committees and alter-  
~ native structures, and through the trade  
unions, using them as powerful political  
tools.

At the same time the ANC has been sharpen-  
" ing its campaign to isolate South Africa econ-  
omically, through disinvestment and sanc-  
- â\200\230tions, and to present itself as the sole rep-  
resentative of the people of South Africa,  
just as Swapo has achieved this status in the  
case of the people of South-West Africa.

Security chief, Lieut-Gen Johan van der

Merwe, says the creation of so-called â\200\234mass  
democratic organisationsâ\200\235 forms part of the  
revolutionary onslaught of the ANC and the  
SA Communist Party.

- Tambo quoted

He quotes Oliver Tambo, the ANC leader, as  
saying: â\200\234In many parts of the country we  
have already made important advances to-  
wards the creation of these mass revolution-  
â\200\230ary bases.

â\200\234We have destroyed many of the enemyâ\200\231s or-  
gans of apartheid rule. The masses of the  
- people have played a central role in this pro-  
cess as active participants in the struggle for  
their own liberation.

â\200\234We have also succeeded to create mass  
democratic organisations representative of

- these conscious and active masses, ranging

from street committees to Cosatu, the UDF,  
the NECC (National Education Crisis Com-

-+ mittee) and their affiliates and other demo-



cratic formations.â\200\235

We have pointed out on several occasions that

- the creation of so-called democratic organi-

sations under a variety of names and banners is reminiscent of the Congress Alliance of the late 1950s and early 1960s, with the Freedom Charter as the basic document uniting them against the government.

Three alliance members â\200\224 the ANC, the Congress of Democrats, and the Coloured Peopleâ\200\231s Congress â\200\224 were banned.

The government has not gone so far as to ban

- the 17 organisations it has listed yesterday.

â\200\234Endanger safetyâ\200\235â\200\231

However, although the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, says he is prohibiting only those activities that â\200\234endanger the safety of the public, the maintenance of law Â° and order or the termination of the state of emergency,â\200\235 the organisations have been virtually banned.

Since the orders have been issued in terms of the emergency regulations, the prohibitions are valid (unless thrown out by the courts) until the emergency ends.

We hope that the emergency will not last for years and that the country will be able to return to a situation in which all Draconian measures can be lifted.

One further point needs stressing: The Sharpeville riots, the Soweto â\200\23176 riots and the unrest that led to the present national state of emergency are progressions in a history of violence, with the period between the riots

.. becoming shorter.

Suppression of radical or revolutionary movements does not solve the countryâ\200\231s problems. It only provides the space within which solutions can be found.

This makes it even more imperative to bring in the reforms without which we will never have a peaceful future.

~ That is the message we believe should accompany the massive clampdown announced yesterday.

trade union

paragraph 235 as any public statement, - Press inter-

CAPE TOWN. Paragraph 224 Regu-

lations under the Internal Security Act yesterday restricted the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu) to its trade union activities and banned it from making Press statements and indulging in

Cosatu is specifically prohibited from encouraging or inciting, paragraph 234 by way

of publicity campaigns paragraph 235,

, boycotts or commemorations of banned or affected organisations, the deaths of people or security prisoners or detainees.

The special regulation

other organisations, together with a list of such organisations.

R

applies only to Cosatu. - Separate regulations were

view, distribution of printed literature or posters, and the issue of any TV, film or sound material as defined in the media regulations.

Cosatu may not solicit from members of the public by way of publicity campaigns for the restoration of any unlawful organisation, the release from detention of security prisoners, the suspension or reduction of a prison sentence, or the abolition of any local authority. .

It is prohibited from stirring-up, by publicity signs, any Opposition to Internal Security

" Thursday 25 February 1988

ties.

In respect of o

not affiliate

the perso!  
after-hours movements.

them to society while curbing their subversive activi-  
isations the restrictions would  
affect only the actions of its officers and mebers but  
isations.

â\200\234We have no official legal position, we are not a  
law firm, but I can only say how we understand the

â\200\234Effectively they wull  
for certain times of the day.â\200\235 e

The Ministerâ\200\231s Press liaison officer, in elaborating  
on the effect of the restrictions Brigadier Leon Mel-

A POLICE legal advisor briefed the Press yesterday  
on the implications of the restriction orders as the

SAP viewed them and stressed that a court or other  
ini interpret the orders differently.

be restricted to their homes

banning of the ANC and PAC which became illegal

and had their assets liquidated and seized.

The legal advisor poi

ted out that the restrictions

were issued in terms of the emergency regulations  
and as such had an effective life of less than six  
months when the current state of emergency lapsed

on June 11.

Act detentions or regu-  
lations, the system of  
local government or ne-  
gotiations towards a new  
constitutional dispensa-  
tion.

It may not call on  
people to boycott or not  
take part in a local auth-  
ority election or impede  
such an election.

Cosatu is further bar-  
red from publicity cam-  
paigns aimed at i  
any particular day to com-  
memorate or celebrate

events in banned organi-  
sations Of organi-  
sations.

It may not by way of  
publicity â\200\234encourage  
people to observe a par-  
ticular day to â\200\230â\200\234â\200\230commem-

orate or celebrate an inCi-

dent of riot, public viol-  
ence or unrest, or a pro-

other in the Republicâ\200\235.

Other clauses prohibit  
it from encouraging or in-  
iti disinvestment,  
trade boycotts, economic  
or other punitive meas-  
ures; the severing or re-  
stricting of diplomatic re-  
lations or the suspension  
of ties with any persons or

bodies in South Africa.

. Cosatu may not assist

any other bodies who  
hold public gatherings  
aimed at promoting any  
of these aims.

A police spokesman  
said yesterday the object  
of the regulations was to  
allow Cosatu to perform  
jts normal functions as a  
trade union body, while  
preventing it from exter-  
nal political activities.

25/2/ 94

THE CITIZEN

Clampdown on 18 groups |

FROM PAGE 1

and to carry on their administrative functions.

Anything outside of this narrow limitation can only be performed with the specific permission of Mr Viok. .

The regulations say that no such permission shall be granted by Mr Viok unless he is convinced that . . . it will not result in the safety of the

- public or the maintenance of public order being threatened, or the termination of the state of emergency being delayed.

Permission was granted to newspapers yesterday to publish extracts from speeches by ANC president Oliver Tambo, in which he referred to the UDF, Cosatu and others as allies in the revolutionary struggle.

While on the march, we must build our forces into an ever more formidable united mass army of liberation, an army that must grow in strength continuously, able to deliver and actually delivering bigger blows at every stage . . . of the destruction of the apartheid regime and the transfer of power to the people, said Tambo.

Barred .

The restricted organisations themselves are barred from commenting

. publicly on the matter in terms of the regulations.

Cosatu may make no

. Press statements and give  
no Press interviews, while  
the UDF, Release Man-

"delat Committee, Detai-

. mee Parents

. Committee, Azanian  
People's Organisation  
and various others are  
clearly covered by being  
prevented from any ac-  
tivities or acts whatso-

H Mr, PR i

The United States gov-

ernment said in a state-

. ment released in Pretoria

that it is appalled that the

.-South African govern-

;ment, has effectively out-

".lawed the activities of a

large number of organisa-

tions: It described the

move as a giant step

backwards for the coun-

3

A statement Yesterday  
issued by the US Em-  
bassy in Pretoria on be-  
half of the Department of  
State in Washington said  
the South African  
government had dealt a  
severe blow to efforts

. to achieve a peaceful so-

lution to South Africa's  
problems.

The affected organisa-  
tions represent the aspira-  
tions of a broad cross-sec-  
tion of the Black com-  
munity.

By acting to outlaw  
the non-violent political  
activity of these organisa-  
tions the South African  
government has dealt a  
severe blow to efforts to  
achieve a peaceful solu-

tion to South Africaâ\200\231s problems. This is a giant step backwards for South Africa.â\200\235

The statement added that the US Assistant Secretary of State (for African Affairs), Dr Chester Crocker, had called South Africaâ\200\231s ambassador to the US to register â\200\234our shock and distress at these inexplicable actions by this government.â\200\235

The British Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, said yesterday he was shocked and saddened by the news of the latest clampdowns.

The British Government was â\200\234totally opposed to repressive measures of this kind.

â\200\234We do not see how the suppression of non-violent political activity can possibly contribute to a peaceful solution to South Africaâ\200\231s problems.

â\200\234We are particularly concerned that the Black opposition in South Africa should not lose hope of peaceful fundamental change.â\200\235

The Commonwealth Secretary-General, Sir Shridath Ramphal, described the measures as a new act of brutality against human freedom.

Black day

Mr Tian van der Merwe, PFP spokesman on Law and Order, said the new emergency regulations were â\200\230a black day for democracy in South Africaâ\200\235.

By acting against a number of extra-Parliamentary organisations the government had treated Parliament with contempt and had further obstructed peaceful political ac-

tivity and peaceful  
change.

He said many of the  
political activities banned  
in the imposition of re-  
strictions on Cosatu were  
â\200\234perfectly legal peaceful  
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These included calls for  
the release of detainees,  
opposition to detention

without trial, opposition  
to the present system of  
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mate does exist â\200\224 it exists  
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sations were â\200\234not  
enoughâ\200\235, the Conserva-  
tive Party commented  
after details were an-  
nounced.

â\200\234In the present atimos-  
phere in the country,  
these steps against the or-  
ganisations come too late  
and their effectiveness is  
doubtful,â\200\235 the CPâ\200\231s Law  
and Order spokesman Dr  
Chris de Jager said.

â\200\234An impossible load is



being placed on police to differentiate between legal and illegal activities under these regulations,â\200\235 Mr De Jager said.

â\200\234This once again shows that the reform policy of the National Party is not bringing the utopia of peace and love in South Africa.â\200\235

â\200\234The conduct of 17 organisations which should form part of the reform process of the unitary state indicates such conflict that their actions had to be banned.â\200\235

#### Politics

The banning of 18 organisations and individuals in extra parliamentary politics amounted to a â\200\234declaration of warâ\200\235 on Black politics, the National Democratic Movement (NDM), said.

â\200\234The bannings sabotage the chances of South Africans reaching a political accord.

â\200\234It will only result in greater polarisation and underground politics, but it will certainly not end the legitimate struggle for equal political rights and for a democratic order in South Africa.â\200\235

The Stateâ\200\231s action was further evidence of its total obsession and determination that all power and even initiative must be securely held by Afrikaner nationalism, Dr Alex Boraine, executive director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA (Idasa) said.

Dr Boraine said the bannings were a further example of a government committed to repression and a totally ruthless attitude towards dissent of

any kind.

part in any manner:  
whatsoever the activi-

can Police or the Divisional issues

By Brian Stuart and Sapa

THE government has taken steps to restrict the activities of the United Democratic Front, the Free Mandela Committee and other UDF affiliates, as well as the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) raised a storm yesterday.

The US and UK Governments, the Progressive Federal Party and extra-Parliamentary organisations slammed the move as undermining, undermining the process of the transition and the process of the transition. The Conservative Party, however, criticised the government for not banning the 18 organisations outright.

New regulations were promulgated yesterday to create circumstances in which Mr Adriaan Vlok, Minister

limited to its affairs as a trade union, but

cannot launch any publicity campaign or make public statements on a number of issues which are already the subject of earlier emergency regulations.

The UDF and some of its affiliates, as well as the Azanian organisations, are restricted by a separate set of regulations

and to carry on their administrative functions. Anything outside of this narrow limitation can only be performed with the specific permission of Mr Viok. :

The regulations say that no such permission shall be granted by Mr Vlok unless he is convinced that . . . it will not result in the safety of the public or the maintenance of public order being threatened, or the termination of the state of emergency being delayed. Permission was granted to newspapers yesterday to publish extracts from speeches by ANC president Oliver Tambo, in

which he referred to the 'UDF, Cosatu and others as allies in the revolutionary struggle.

While on the march, we must build our forces into an ever more formidable united mass army of liberation, an army that must grow in strength continuously, able to deliver and actually delivering bigger blows at every stage . . . of the destruction of the apartheid regime and the transfer of power to the people, said Tambo.

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A statement Yesterday issued by the US Embassy in Pretoria on behalf of the Department of State in Washington said the South African government had dealt a severe blow to efforts

. to achieve a peaceful solution to South Africa

problems.

â\200\234The affected organisations represent the aspirations of a broad cross-section of the Black community.

â\200\234By Acting to outlaw the non-violent political activity of these organisations the South African government. has dealt a severe blow to efforts to achieve a peaceful solution to South Africaâ\200\231s problems. This is a giant step backwards for South Africa.â\200\235 :

The statement added that the US Assistant Sec-

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Restrictive steps the government took in terms of the emergency regulations, against 18 organi-

G

sations were not enoughâ\200\235, the Conservative Party commented after details were announced.

â\200\234In the present atmosphere in the country, these steps against the organisations come too late and their effectiveness is doubtful,â\200\235 the CPâ\200\231s Law and Order spokesman Dr Chris de Jager said.

â\200\234An impossible load is being placed on police to differentiate ~ between legal and illegal activities under these regulations,â\200\235 Mr De Jager said.

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tude towards dissent of any kind.



"\ Ukhetha iphela emasini Nalela

NGISACELA ukuba nami kengibeke ngalokhq  
osekwenzeka manje lapha eSobantu, engathi  
indaba ayisenjengoba umphakathi waseS&  
bantu ufisa.

Thina mphakathi asikhethe nhlangano

ngalokhu esikushoyo. Lokhu okughanyukiswa  
ngusihlalo weSobantu Residents Association  
(SRA) ephepheni (Echo February 11) asiyazi.  
Thina mphakathi esikwaziyo ukuthi lezizing-  
ane ezaletswa imikhuba yazo ezayenza emalo-  
kishini lapho zihlala khona zisishiye â\200\224 kung-  
aba ziyi-UDF noma i-Azapo.

Thina esnhlala ngenhla eSobantu sazi  
kahle ngokwenzekayo. Ngo January i-UDF  
wena Ndlela oylthandayo yavimba amakhumbi  
ukuba angayi e-Dark City. Ayelaphi amaZim-  
zimu na? Abantu base-Dark City babekhu-  
phuka ngezinyawo bezothatha amakhumbi eh-  
holo kodwa abantu abafana nawe Ndlela  
abazange baphumele obala ngokuvimba leso-  
senzo.

2 /023

- Yini ungakwaz ukumela iginiso Ndlela?  
Ufunani kulelikomiti uma wena uzwana  
neyodwa yalezizinhlangano? Ngabantu aban-  
jengawe esingabafuni ngoba thina asihlangene  
nalezi zinhlangano. Yini wena usho okusuka  
kuwe hhayi emphakathini?

Kweminye yemihlangano esasinayo eh-  
holo nina Ndlela nakwazi ukufunda incwadi  
ningazange niyicubungule yini indaba? Ukuthi  
nikhetha isayidi.

Wena usuwenza sengathi sonke slyllenh- i

langano oyiyo kanti sifuna kulunge loludaba  
kuphela. Isikhulumi se-Azasm sikubeka obala  
ukuthi sebexolelene, nathi siyakubona lokho,

kodwa singeke slyeke ukuthi laba abafika nga-

lezizinhlangano besuswa wudlame emakubo

abagoduke ngoba kuningi esifuna ukukulung-  
isa lapha eSobantu. Okunye kwakho ukukhetha

ikomidi elisha elizoghubeka lapho kwagcina  
khona iDazini.

Esifuna ikomidi likaNdlela likwazi ukuthi  
asifune kusayida nanhlangano. Phuma moya

-wokukhetha kuNdlela kungene umoya woku-

dala uxolo ezinganeni.

ONGAKHETHI,  
Sobantu

Â© ENGLISH SUMMARY:

I would like to rectify the error which was made by the chairman of the Sobantu Residents Association (SRA), Mr Ndlela, in the Echo of February 11. Sobantu residents did not resolve that it is the Azasm youths only that should quit Sobantu. This is wrong.

We are actually wanting all the troublesome youths who ran away from their homes to leave our township, irrespective of their political affiliation. They may be Azapo or UDF. For example the UDF you seem to like stopped kombis from going to Dark City. And people like you, Ndlela, did nothing to prevent it.

Ndlela, you are not fit to be a mediator because you are in favour of the UDF. Residents are interested in settling the conflict between the rival groups. And they are not interested in having one particular organisation dominating the township in accordance with your wish.



CP: too little too late

THE restrictions were not enough, according to the Conservative Party. "In the present atmosphere in the country, these steps against the organisations come too late and their effectiveness is doubtful," said spokesman Dr Chris de Jager.

"An impossible load is being placed on police to differentiate between legal and illegal activities under these regulations," he said. "This once again shows that the reform policy of the National Party is not bringing the Utopia of peace and love in South Africa."

Suzman: why aren't h[  
| AWB, BBB on list? =

THE AWB and the Blanke Bevriddingsbe-

weging were conspicuous by their absence from the list of 17 organisations banned by government, PFP law and order spokesman Mrs Helen Suzman said yesterday. Mrs Suzman described the bannings as a "heavy-handed method of crushing oppo-

sition" which would "prove as ineffective and counter-productive as have previous attempts by the government".

Hendrickse: regrets

erosion of rule of law

THE leader of the Labour Party in the House of Representatives, the Reverend Allan Hendrikse, regretted "the further erosion of the rule of law", adding that bannings "can never be the solution".

Calling for negotiations on a new political dispensation acceptable to all South Africans, he said the immediate release of jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela and others would contribute to the restoration of peace.

Tutu: unmitigated  
disaster for SA

THE effective banning of 17 organisations was an "unmitigated disaster" for South Africa, Cape Town's Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu said yesterday.

He said many people would see the bannings as a declaration of war by the government. ;

"It has now shown that . . . its only plan for the future is to fight against the logic of history by resorting to the most blatant

by WYNDHAM HARTLEY

GOVERNMENT action  
against the UDF has  
â\200\234killedâ\200\235 the Pieter-  
maritzburg peace initia-  
tives, and has come as a  
â\200\234massive blowâ\200\235 to many  
people involved in the  
process.

A high-ranking Inka-  
tha official expressed  
shock at the moves, say-  
ing that Inkatha had  
been left isolated by the  
government moves.

Mr Musa Zondi, Nat-  
ional Chairman of Inka-  
tha Youth and leader of  
the Inkatha delegation to  
the talks, said the re-  
strictions â\200\234dash = all  
hopes for â\200\230the peace  
talks. The UDF is a cru-  
cial element in the  
search for peace. Who is  
there now for us to talk  
19770 Å¥

'The chamber of com-  
merce, conveners of the  
talks, said in a statement  
yesterday: â\200\234Obviously, if  
one of the parties to the  
talks is not able to be  
present the talks cannot  
continue.â\200\235

The chamber noted  
that the UDF could apply  
for permission to con-  
tinue certain activities  
but questioned whether  
â\200\234UDF/Cosatu would be  
prepared to and can  
effectively continue  
under these circum-  
stancesâ\200\235.

- â\200\234The chamber, as part  
of the ongoing process,

forms of oppression.â\200\235 â\200\224 Sapa. ~ Turntopage2



Crackdown â\200\230a massive blow to peace Pffqrtâ\200\231  
UUTRE T RRTARL WNINGSS L 2

From pagel

already has an appointment with  
(Law and Order) Minister (Ad-  
riaan) Vlok this Friday, and per-  
haps we will receive some clari-  
fication,â\200\235 the statement added.

Despite a clause.in the order  
that organisations may apply to  
Mr Vlok for permission to con-  
tinue certain activities, observ-  
ers believe it will be impossible  
for the UDF to continue in the

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t (5  
alks. / 3  
â\200\234Should the UDF make such  
application, it would tend to le-  
gitimise what the government  
has done,â\200\235 one observer said.  
National Democratic Move-  
ment (NDM) MP for Greytown Mr  
Pierre Cronje said: â\200\234This...isa  
massive blow to people in  
Pietermaritzburg who  
spent much energy on the peace  
effort.â\200\235

have

<02~ {

He added that the 3&) & t  
willingness of UDF/Cosatu to  
negotiate â\200\234does not suit the gov-  
ernmentâ\200\231s propaganda of a total  
onslaught which is dependent  
on the mass organisations being  
seen as subversiveâ\200\235.

â\200\234Because 80% of people are  
excluded from Parliament, to  
ban extra-parliamentary organ-  
isations is in fact a declaration  
of war on black politics,â\200\235 he

said, adding this gave  
the lie to the govern-  
mentâ\200\231s stated commit-  
ment to negotiation.

President of the  
Methodist - Church of

Â« Southern Africa, Dr  
Khoza Mgojo, said it  
was a â\200\234nightmareâ\200\235.

â\200\234We have been doing

our best even after the recent detentions but this has brought the peace initiatives into a

â\200\230 total cul-de-sac.â\200\235

When approached, Independent Media-tion Services of South Africa (Imssa) media-tors Phillip Glaser and John Radford said: â\200\234(Yesterday's) action by the state has effectively removed one of the major parties attempting to negotiate a settlement in . Pietermaritzburg. This has two consequences.

â\200\234Firstly, it â\200\230denies - those residents represented by the UDF from having access to the negotiations. This could place a serious question-mark on the continued credibility of the peace initiatives.

â\200\234Secondly, it has be-

come clear that the state has, and will continue to have, a direct influence on the peace initiatives.â\200\235  
e Two women, one an adult and the other a teenager, were injured and their house extensively damaged at Mpu-malanga near Ham-marsdale when a petrol-bomb was hurled at the dwelling, police said in their overnight unrest report.



## ORGANISATIONS GAGGED

Govt' quotes Tambo

ATAL Wi TNEQS

to â\200\230prove a pointâ\200\231

CAPE TOWN â\200\224 The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, has authorised the selective quoting of ANC leader, Mr Oliver Tambo, to demonstrate the organisationâ\200\231s links with some of the bodies served with restriction orders yesterday.

The Chief of the - Security Pohce Lieutenant-General Johan van der Merwe, issued a statement quoting Mr Tambo at length and said revolutionaries and activists realised that armed revolution could not succeed in South

Africa and were trying various other-

strategies.

The restriction orders on the UDF, Cosatu, Azapo and others issued yes-

=

terday would enable the security forces to ensure public safety and maintain law and order more efficiently, he said.

â\200\234It is important to bear in mind that the creation of so-called mass democratic organisations forms part of the ! revolutionary onslaught of the ANC | and the SA Communist Party against the RSA,â\200\235 General van der Merwe said.

From a quotation dated January, 1987, he quoted Mr Tambo as saying | that important advances had been made towards the creation of â\200\234these mass revolutionary basesâ\200\235.

He continued quoting â\200\230Mr Tambo: â\200\234We have also succeeded

to create mass democratic organisations representative of these conscious and active masses ranging from street committees to Cosatu, the ~| UDF, the NECC and their affiliates and other democratic formations.â\200\235

Mr Vlok said yesterday the government did not want to prohibit all the

activities of the organisations listed in the State President's proclamation.

It was only those (activities) which endanger the safety of the public, the maintenance of law and order or the termination of the state of emergency, he said.

In spite of the restrictions, the 17 organisations listed could still maintain their assets, keep books and records - up to date and perform related administrative functions. Sapa.

R

W77 wESS

Exodus from Maritzburg a  
pup|ls search for classroo

MOST pupils who are  
stranded without class-  
rooms have vanished.  
Some parents and guard-  
ums have noted an exo-  
dus of pupils leaving  
rmaritzburg in  
rch of educational  
institutions in rural  
areas and other parts of  
the country.  
Violence has  
cited by most parents as  
another contributing fac-  
tor to the exodus. Stu-  
dents were insecure in  
their former schools,  
wlncb were disturbed by  
ntations between  
the rival groups in and  
oulside school premises.

Echo was previously  
flooded by worried par-  
â\200\234ents complaining that all  
~ schools were full and  
that the shortage of  
schools was depriving  
- their children of the op-  
- portunity to go to school.  
Few . complainants  
emerged this year.

The Department of  
Education and Training  
(DET) public relations  
officer, Mr Steve Zulu,  
confirmed that not all  
children seeking admis-  
sion to secondary  
schools at Imbali had  
been accepted because  
the schools are full.

Parents had also com-  
plained about the short-  
age of schools in black  
areas, and they added  
that the situation was ag-  
gravated by the fact t!  
the DET is not takg

been

more than 31 pupils for  
each class.

A snap survey con-  
ducted by Echo has re-  
vealed that the majority

of children who could not enrol at schools are scattered all over the country.

Some of our children have found schools in Durban, Soweto, Transvaal, Chancele, and elsewhere ... just to get the

much criticised Bantu

Education, pointed out one concerned Imbali parent.

Another parent suggested that it was double torture for the apartheid administration to rob our children of a normal education, and not to provide adequate classrooms and facilities.

ECYI

25/ /£

s

On the Ekerold Yamaha motor bike dung the Miss Ekerold Yamaha beauty contest at the Mpophomeni hall in Mpophomeni township on Sunday are (from left) the first princess Thandi Khumalo, who was awarded R50, second princess Nokuthula Sicam (R30) - and third princess Xoli Sibisi (R20).

## ORGANISATIONS AFFECTED

THE organisations affected by government restrictions are: : ~â\200\224 - Rgaited D;; "ooâ\200\230;; aï¬\201ï¬\201;g"t; TRNE W ATy

nian Peopleâ\200\231s Organisation; (@9} â\200\231  
Azanian Youth Or'q;anisation; : D-Sâ\200\230) 3%  
Detainees Parentsâ\200\231 Support Committee;  
Detainees Support Committee;  
Release Mandela Committee;  
National Education Crisis Committee;  
National Education Union of South Africa;  
South African National Studentsâ\200\231 Congress;  
Cape Youth Congress;  
Soweto Youth Congress;  
South African Youth Congress;  
Soweto Civic Association;  
Cradock Residentsâ\200\231 Association; Â\$  
Port Elizabeth Black Civic Association;  
Vaal Civic Association;  
Western Cape Civic Association.

! organisations like the UDF and Azapo,

| government was not empowered to  
- issuethem. ;

. would increase the tendency to vio-  
| lence. :

Cosatuto  
chaâ\200\230g],len S  
| 2Â¢] o2 |  
restriction

- JOHANNESBURG â\200\224 The Congress of  
South African Trade Unions is to fight

' the order restricting it to trade union  
activities on the grounds that it is â\200\234full  
of loopholesâ\200\235, one of its legal represen-  
tatives confirmed yesterday.

\_The Detainees Parentsâ\200\231 Support  
Committee said yesterday it believed  
the restrictions were illegal and the |

lt said it was â\200\234baffledâ\200\235 as to how the  
DPSC could be a threat to public safety  
since no organisation had worked  
harder to terminate the state of emer-  
gency. â\200\234The major part of our work is  
geared towards the welfare of detain-  
ees and their families, whose dire cir-  
cumstances are directly caused by  
(Law and Order Minister) Mr Vlok and  
his political police.â\200\235 5  
The move would have repercussions  
in Pietermaritzburg and Cape Town,  
according to Cosatuâ\200\231s general secretary  
MrJay Naidoo. i Aoy  
Peace initiatives taken by the United  
Democratic Front to resolve the vio-

lence in Pietermaritzburg and in Cape squatter camps would be hampered, he said. â\200\234There cannot be a peaceful resolution without freedom of expression ~and association, and without credible organisations which can articulate the needs and aspirations of the majority.â\200\235 The UDFâ\200\231s national treasurer, Mr Azhar Cachalia, warned the steps

â\200\234For the government to act against

which publicly espouse a non-violent position, is only going to increase the tendency in our country towards a violent solution of our political problems. e Two protest meetings against the restrictions are to be held in the city | today. The University of Natalâ\200\231s SRC will hold a lunchtime meeting at the Students Union. The Natal Inland region of the Progressive Federal Party will hold a protest meeting at 7.30 pm atc]

thecity hall. :

ECHO

25 /2EE

' zomzabalazo eziphethwe umholi wabasebenzi

=

MUZI omdalaongenamakhansela, ongenanka-  
thazo sithi halala thina bathandi bomzabalazo  
womuntu omnyama uma sizwa ukuthi intsha  
yethu eyithemba loMgungundlovu isixolelene.  
Azapo/Azasm nawe UDF/Soyo ngicela ba-  
fowethu nithandane njengakuqala, njengoba  
sengishilo bafowethu ngathi nilithemba lethu.  
. Nginethemba Sobantu ukuthi lokukug-  
wazwa kwabantu edolobheni begwazwa izitha

kodwa ongakaze asebenze, kuzoncipha uma  
kuke kwaxolelwana. s  
Bafana bakaGumede nabakaMolala anike

nidumaze izitha zomzabalazo. Nibambe ku-

thule umoya, kuphele ukuthi ubani iVarara  
ubani iZimzimu. Kuphela nje umfowethu nom-  
fowethu. "

: Bantu base Sobantu asike sifuze U-Percy  
â\200\230(Peter Qoboza owayeyi-Azapo, eyi-UDF  
aphinde abe i-Cosatu (sic). 4 : :

" ENGLISH SUMMARY:

e S =

Viva Varara! Viva Zimzimu!

Asikubeke eceleni okwezinhlangano si-  
bambane thina balezinhlangano engizibale  
ngenhla. Abaholi bethu abakhuluma iginiso  
abahlezi beboshwa singabagedi uthando lom-  
zabalazo. A : :

Viva UDF, Azapo and Cosatu. : 4

1 N.Z. MNDAWENI |

We, the lovers of the black manâ\200\231s |  
struggle for liberation, appreciate  
that the Sobantu rival youths have  
reconciled. Brothers in Azapo/A- -  
zasm and UDF/Soyo, please love one -  
another like before, because our  
hopes are on you. :

I hope killing one another will  
end completely. Let us not destroy  
the love of our leaders that are con- -  
stantly being detained for spFaking  
the truth. o

ILANGAY, FEBRUARY 25-27, 1988

UP W Botha wehlulekile  
kusho Inkosi Buthelezi =<

Ekhuluma embhlanga-  
nweni abenawo nale-  
ptsha ufundele intsha  
IZ.iIâ\200\231!hIOSO zomthetho-si-  
vivinywa owashaywa  
ngo-1986  
Council Draft Bill. Uthe

iNational

ngesikhathi kuchazwa  
ngezinhloso zalomthe-  
tho-sisekelo kwathiwa  
kuhlongozwa â\200\230ukuba |

kube khona ukubambi-  
sana phakathi kwezi-  
nhlanga ngenhloso yo-  
kwakha umthetho-sise-  
kelo omusha, kanye no.  
kunikeza abaNyama  
ithuba lokuba nezwi ku-  
Hulumeni ikakhuluka-  
zi kulezozinto ezibathi-  
ntayo.

Uthe okunye okuquke-  
t}\_lwe yilomthethosivi-  
vinywa wukudala uzwa-  
no, ukuhlonishwa kwa-  
malungelo obuntu kanye  
nenkululeko yazozonke  
izinhlanga zakulelizwe.

Unxuse intsha yama-  
Bhunu ukuba keyicubu-  
ngule ukuthi usenzi  
uMnuz Botha uku-  
hlangabezana nezi-  
nhloso eziqukethwe  
ngumthetho-sisekelo.

Wathi yena namanje  
uzimisele ukuba aba-  
mbe ighaza ezingxoxwe-  
ni ngekusasa lalelizwe  
wathi nokho kuze kube  
manje akukho kubonisa-  
na kweqiniso osekuke  
kwenzeka kulelizwe.  
Uthe asekwenzile nje  
uHulumeni ukuqoka la-  
bo afisa ukuxoxisana  
nabo, wathi akukho lu-  
hla oselukhishiwe la-  
lokho okungakhulunywa



. ngakho njengamanje.

Uthe ngenxa yokuba-  
mbeleka kwezingxoxo  
phakathi kwezinhlanga  
kuleli, sekudale ukuba  
ukungqubuzana phaka-  
thi kwezinhlanga kuye  
ngokuya kujula. Wathi  
nombusazwe waba-  
Mnyama uya ngokuya  
ushuba njengoba kubo-}  
nakala endaweni yase-  
Mgungundlovu lapho la-  
womagambu angaha-  
mbisani nokuxazululwa  
kwezinkinga ngendlela  
yokuthula  
ngqo nalabo abazinikele  
embusweni  
sana.

bebhekene |

wokuboni-

. VUSI SOSIBO

ETHEKWINI. â\200\224 UNdunankulu wa-

KwaZulu, Inkosi uMan  
Buthelez.i, utshele intshaâ\200\230yarr%a(1)lill:ltll:lill  
eNyuvesi yasePitoli ukuthi uMongameli  
wa!(ulelizwe uMnuz. P.W. Botha wehlu-  
lekile ukufeza izethembiso zakhe maqo-  
ndana noguquko kulelizwe,

ngesikhathi  
ehluleka  
ukuletha izinguquko ku-  
leli amagambu asema-  
zweni angaphandle ?ba-  
ngabangane bakuleli na- |  
labo abayizitha zalo  
baya ngokuya ngokuya  
belifulathela elaseSouth  
Africa.

Uthe intuthuko ezi-  
nguqukweni kufanele  
kube y'mtuthuko enga-  
hlangene nombusazwe  
wokutshela abanye uku-  
thi kufanele b\_enzem,  
wathi uHulument wezwe  
usaghubeka nokuthatha

izingqumo ezithinta aba-  
Mn;q'ama ngaphandl'ce  
kokuthintana nabo. Uli-

nganise ngomthetl)o wo-  
kugeda ohulument bezi-  
funda (Provincia! Admi-  
nistration) wathi lokhu  
kwenzeka ngaphandle  
kokuthintwa kwaba-  
mnyama phezu kckuba  
kwaziwa ukuthi nabo ba-  
yathinteka kuloluguqu-  
ko.

-

SR B2 ynsutsR st st  
SOWETAN, Thursday, February 25, 1988

SIR â\200\224 Perhaps you will  
permit me to make some  
comments on your issue  
of February 11 regarding  
the attempted coup in  
. Bophuthatswana. \_  
I am sure you have as

A

PRES Mangope

Another  
the Bo

P 7

much - regard for truth  
and facts as any British  
newspaper and that you  
will not object to my

pointing out some errors.

You are correct in  
saying that Kalmano-  
â\200\234u.

vitch was arrested in  
England. Thijs arrest  
came as a shock to all of  
us involved in Bophutha-  
tswana ause up to  
November when he was  
dismissed by the

AZ7A | |

perspective on  
phuthatswana cou

Bophuthatswana go-  
vernment we had had no  
idea of his shady  
dealings. '

I can assure you that  
his bail was most  
certainly not paid by  
Bophuthatswana. In-  
deed the mere thought is  
absurd as the govern-  
ment was hardly likely to  
pay a cent towards the  
release of a man it had  
dismissed! :  
Gunpoint

There is an important fact you left out in your account regarding Malebane - Metsing swearing himself in as president, namely that his fellow henchman held the Chief Justice at gunpoint. It obviously did not occur to Malebane-Metsing that even if the Chief Justice had sworn him in, it

~would have been

completely invalid, having been obtained by force.

The fantasy in which Malebane-Metsing lives was evident inâ\200\230that a car

â\200\234which he used to flee

â\200\230Bophuthatswana was found to contain a brand new formal suit and silk top-hat, of the kind used for the swearing-in of presidents. It would be extremely funny if it were not so ludicrous. Regarding comments made by people interviewed in Soweto: it is as foolish as it is untrue to say that President Mangope supports the

apartheid 'jstem.

Thanks to his courageous stand, the Tswana people now live in a free society where apartheid is banned

~under the constitution.

It is probably difficult for your readers, six thousand miles away from Britain, to appreciate the admiration and respect. in which President Mangope is held in this country. This is because he has the stature and dignity expected of a world statesman . and which, alas, is so often lacking in Africa where aggressive verbal histrionics are used by petty tyrants who have no real interest in

. beace or prosperity for  
their own people.

It is only too easy to be  
derisive of men and  
women who seek \* the  
peaceful and construc-  
tive way to change. After  
all, violence is a cheap  
commodity and the  
prerogative of villains.  
Yours sincerely,

RUTH REES  
Public Relations  
Consultant, %  
Bophuthatswana  
International Affairs,  
London.

PREFERENCE will be  
given to short, signed  
letters. Readers are re-  
minded to provide their  
names and addresses,  
even if they want pseu-  
donyms used.

Write to: Letters to  
the Editor, PO Box  
6663, Johannesburg  
2000.

Jiss

ders are UDF co-presidents Archie Gumede and Albertina

"fâ\200\234:a"iâ\200\230mounced in the security crack-

day could lead to the release of

es indicated that the orders,

â\200\230Ormande Pollok  
Politica

i Corrosonde\_nt

t about 20 restriction orders were to

ut that some of the people involved

into hiding and last night it was not

hli many had actually been served.

ver, it is thought that in future similar orders could be  
n\_people already in detention clearing the way for  
their release on certain conditions which would amount to a

limited form of house arrest while allowing them to do work.

Archie Gumede ,  
Among those known to have been served with restriction or-

Sisulu and UDF Natal Midlands chairman A S Chetty.

In Pietermaritzburg, former Methodist Church president Rev  
â\200\230Simon Qgubule received a restriction order.

Mr Gumedeâ\200\231s order 1  
activities, talking to the Press, addressing gatherings of more  
than 10 people or preparing material for publication as defined  
by the Internal Security Act. vâ\200\234#,\_ Aol e R

Mr Qgubuleâ\200\231s order prohi{â\200\230)ikÃ@â\200\231-Tiitgi'-from being away from  
home between 6 pm and 5a m. Â¥

Lawyers acting for the affected organisations said they would |  
be mounting a legal challenge in the rieur future. !

In terms of the measures announced by the Minister of Law  
and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, individuals can be prohibited  
from â\200\230carrying on an activity or performing an act specified in  
the orderâ\200\231 or from â\200\230carrying on activities or performing acts of a  
nature, class or kind specified in the orderâ\200\231,

ew restriction orders on in- | jouever, two othe

. al co  
B4

ï¬\201%ï¬\201lÃ© â\200\230specifiedâ\200\231 an

- prohibited â\200\230from carrying on

prohibits him from taking part in UDF |

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ould be prot  
S %ï¬\202ï¬\201,}ï¬\201g

S WS TN e L T

TN e et P  
â\200\230This means that in future

N et L  
(ietainees could be  
orders restricting them, for example, from

hÃ©x 1688 of the order specify that an infivid.  
oâ\200\230h"t&lÃ©eq from â\200\230being, â\200\230

the order, outside the boundaries of an-.area  
lik j ! â\200\234from 5 {%â\200\230nfg .â\200\234dunngâ\200\234thâ\200\230ehoâ\200\231ur's'  
spe'cifie\_dâ\200\231â\200\234 1  
Eï¬\201hg\_ g{(lierv,f-ogtsld<\_er e \_boundax}gs of the premises where he

at any time or during the

s

participating ip

politics or addressing meetings, and restricting them tq their

homes at certain times. 3

They could also apply for  
the consent of the Commis-  
sioner of Police to do certain  
things mentioned in the  
order. A

The new restrictions have  
effectively excluded the |  
UDF from the Pietermaritz-  
burg peace talks, but it can  
apply to the Minister of Law  
and Order for: special con-  
sent to participate in them.

In terms of the order is-  
sued yesterday the UDF is

or performing any activities  
or acts whatsoeverâ\200\231. ,  
However, it is still allowed |  
to preserve its assets, keep  
and administer its books,  
comply with legal obligations  
and take legal advice. :

But, it could also carry on  
with such activities or per-  
forming such acts as the min-  
ister may have consented to.  
The Mercury's Pieter-  
maritzburg Bureau reports  
that the Chamber of Com-  
merce is to meet Mr Vlok  
during his visit to the capital  
tomorrow. ) g

" A spokesman said the

meeting might provide some  
clarification on the position

. of the peace talks between

UDF/Cosatu and Inkatha in  
which the chamber has been  
mediating.

In a statement the chamber  
said obviously if one of the  
parties involved in the talks  
was not able to be present,  
the talks would not be able to  
continue. :

@ See also Page 2 and  
Editorial Opinion

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released with :

2S Feama

f



' Mass condemnation

\ ã@reets-

Mercury Correspondent

CAPE TOWNâ\200\224The effective banning yesterday of 17 organisations together with the restrictions on Cosatu have drawn widespread condemnation both inside and outside Parliament.

It was a â\200\230black day for democracy. the PFPâ\200\231s Tiaan van der Merwe stated, while Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Dr Allan Boesak.vowed to continue the fight against apartheid.

Archbishop Tutu, the Anglican Archbishop of Cape

own, warned that many

ould see the latest clampdown as a â\200\230declaration of warâ\200\231 by the Government. i â\200\230I see it as a vicious and i provocative act by a government now become a serious threat to.southern Africa.â\200\231

â\200\230There is now not the slightest doubt that its idea of seform is to smash effective possible political opposition in the country, no matter how peaceful or lawful and to rule with the jackboot.â\200\231

He said the organisations -named had- all been- committed to peaceful change. :

-â\200\230So.the message coming out-of the Governmentâ\200\231s action is clear: Peaceful "paths to change are being closed off â\200\230one by one and those wanting: real change are being encouraged by the Governmentâ\200\231s actions to turn:to violence.â\200\231

â\200\234 Dr-Boesak, speaking in: his:

W ool

personal capacity, said the Governmentâ\200\231s â\200\230desperate action to break the back of democratic opposition in South. Africaâ\200\231 was driving increasing numbers of people underground â\200\230and violence then becomes the only optionâ\200\231.

He said while the UDF may in future be prohibited from taking peaceful action, as it had been doing, â\200\230I will continue to fight this Government at every single level I canâ\200\231.

Dr Boesak said it was not really possible for the Government to ban the UDF with its 800 affiliates and 3 000 000 supporters.

â\200\234The UDF is a symbol of determination: to oppose the Government until it is no more â\200\224 the idea the UDF stands for will continue to live,â\200\235 he said.

The PFPâ\200\231s Mr van der Merwe said that the Government by its action had treated Parliament with contempt and had â\200\230further obstructed peaceful political activity and peaceful changeâ\200\231.

He said Parliament had been- completely ignored -in the-enactment of the powers used to impose the bannings. - and restrictions.

â\200\230Parliament will further also suffer by the disastrous

clampdown on: political de--~"law.and â\200\230orderâ\200\230Helen Suzman-

bate outside:Parliament where views on constitutional and other important. issues

- are formulated amongst the

,357%1!?!â\200\231

Goâ\200\230vt\bï¬\201;nmngs

voteless communities.â\200\231

The action, Mr van der Merwe said, was also-a blow against peacefu. ; Jlitical activity and peaceful change, adding that it was revealing to note the kind of political activity being banned.

It included calls for the release of detainees, the reduc-

tion of the sentences of

prisoners, opposition to detention without trial, med-

dling with the affairs of a local authority and the commemoration of certain political events.

â\200\230These are perfectly legal, peaceful, democratic activities. They are banned because the Government believes that they create a revolutionary climate.

â\200\230Not enoughâ\200\231

â\200\230The fact is that a revolutionary climate does exist â\200\224 it exists because of the Governmentâ\200\231s untenable constitutional system and of their obvious unwillingness to replace it with a fully democratic dispensation.â\200\231

The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) and Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging (BBB) were â\200\230conspicuous by their absenceâ\200\231 from: the-list of 17 organisations effectively banned by the-Government-yesterday, PFP spokesman-on

noted. .

The Conservative Party commented that the steps the Government. took yesterday

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were â\200\230not enoughâ\200\231. i

â\200\230In the present atmosphere % in the country, these steps ! against the organisations come too late and their effectiveness is doubtful,â\200\231 the CPâ\200\231s | law and order spokesman Dr Chris de Jager said.

â\200\234This once again shows that the reform policy of the National Party is not bringing the utopia of peace and love. The conduct of 17 organisations which should form part of the reform process of the unitary state indicates such conflict that their actions had to be banned.â\200\231

Dr Alex Boraine, executive director of the Institute for a

Democratic Alternative for  
S A said the State's action  
was further evidence of its to-  
tal obsession and determina-  
tion that all power and even  
initiative must be securely  
held by Afrikaner  
nationalism.

The National Democratic  
Movement said it was deeply  
disturbed by these events:  
The bannings sabotage the  
chances of South Africans  
reaching a political accord.

The Black Sash said what  
the Government bans usually  
goes underground to surface  
in another guise or changes  
its tactics it seems that the  
only way the Government can  
maintain the order it seeks is  
by evading the law and ruling;  
by proclamation, harshly re-  
stricting all opposition and  
any organisation it views as :

'\_threat to its-autonomy'-...\_ -

Business NAY

25 febA. 193

The banned seventeert

DIANNA GAMES

MOST OF the 17 organisations effectively banned yesterday are township community groups, the majority of which have already had their activities greatly hampered by the detention of leaders. â\200\230

Now, in terms of the new regulations under the Public Safety Act, the 17 will have no effective powers, with government allowing them merely to exist and maintain their assets, keep books and records up to date and perform administrative functions. N

The organisations listed under the regulations are: :

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT: Formed in response to governmentâ\200\231s constitutional proposals for the tricameral Parliament, the UDF was launched nationally in August, 1983.

It is a loose association of about 400 labour, political, civic, church, womenâ\200\231s and studentsâ\200\231 organisations, and is led by a national executive including Albertina Sisulu, wife of jailed ANC leader Walter Sisulu, Natal lawyer Archie Gu-ï-\202lede and Johannesburg lawyer Azhar Cacha-

a. by

Its launch represented the broadest allian .+ of anti-government groups since the congress movement of the Fifties. .

In 4% years it has been involved with a vast

number of campaigns opposing government, and thousands of people belonging to its affiliated organisations have been detained at various times. It was declared an â\200\234affected organisationâ\200\235 in August, 1986.

.AZANIAN PEOPLEâ\200\231S ORGANISATION

.(Azapo): Formed in 1978, six months after the 1977 bannings, from the Soweto Action Committee, which comprised mostly activists who had eluded the security clampdown.

It is still linked to the black consciousness movement and has been involved in on-going conflict with the UDF. Its president, Nkosi Molala, served seven years on Robben Island.

PORT ELIZABETH BLACK CIVIC ORGANI-

SATION (Pebco) â\200\224 Formed in 1979, it had a meteoric rise, led by Thozamile Botha, a key figure in PEâ\200\231s labour upheavals at that time. He was detained with other Pebco leaders in 1980

after staging Ford strikes in 1980 and organising protest marches and stayaways.

1984, two released Robben Island prisoners, Edgar Ngoyi and Henry Fazzie, were elected to lead it.

Pebco became one of the best organised and most widely supported civic groups, leading major stayaways and protests. But its effectiveness was greatly reduced by the emergency regulations and detentions.

SOWETO CIVIC ASSOCIATION (SCA): The Committee of Ten, formed in 1977 to fill the leadership vacuum in Soweto after the 1977 bannings, gave birth to the SCA in 1984 to look after community affairs.

It is involved with, but not officially affiliated

to, the UDF. Chairman is Dr Ntatho Mot-AZANIAN YOUTH ORGANISATION: Azapo's youth wing, formed about 1984.

SOWETO YOUTH CONGRESS (Soyco): A UDF affiliate, Soyco was one of three youth congresses formed in 1983. It comprises mostly uneducated people, many of them unemployed.

CAPE YOUTH CONGRESS: Described as a radical organisation, it was formed in 1983 as part of the same movement as Soyco. It is a community youth body and many of its members are former members of banned groups.

CRADOCK RESIDENTS' ASSOCIATION: A

UDF affiliate, the association was led by Matthew Goniwe, also a UDF regional organiser, who was ambushed and murdered on the roadside near Port Elizabeth in 1985, with three other members. :

It pioneered street and area committees and was one of the first organisations to advocate negotiations with government, primarily regarding the schools boycott. :

ETAINEES PARENTS' SUPPORT COMMITTEE (DPSC): A national organisation

formed to monitor detentions, support political detainees and work for their release.

DETAINEES: SUPPORT COMMITTEE: A similar group which was absorbed by the DPSC.

NATIONAL EDUCATION CRISIS COMMITTEE (NECC): A UDF affiliate, it was formed in December 1985, born from the Soweto Parents' ASSOCIATION.

Crisis Committee. Its primary objective was to end the schools boycott, and it went as far as negotiating with the Department of Education and Training before its leadership was detained.

NATIONAL EDUCATION UNION OF SA: A union of approximately 235 teachers involved with alternative educational groups, such as the NECC, and an advocate of people's education. It is led by Curtis Nkhondo.

RELEASE MANDELA CAMPAIGN: A UDF affiliate started in 1983, committed to working for the unconditional free election of political leaders, the unbanning of groups, the dismantling of apartheid and the unconditional return of exiles.

SOUTH AFRICAN NATIONAL STUDENTS CONGRESS (Sansco): A UDF affiliate, Sansco was formerly the black consciousness oriented Azanian Students Organisation. It is concerned with problems affecting black students, and its aim was to mobilise students in their struggle against oppression.

SOUTH AFRICAN YOUTH CONGRESS (Sayco): Launched early last year to co-ordinate youth movements. It comprises local and regional youth groups.

Vaal CIVIC ASSOCIATION: A UDF affiliate formed in 1983 as a protest against black local authority elections in the Vaal Triangle. Most of its leaders are in detention and some of them, including Popo Molefe, are appearing as accused in the Delmas treason trial.

WESTERN CAPE CIVIC ASSOCIATION: Formed in 1983, it has become a low profile organisation, co-ordinating community activities. Its first chairman, Johnson Nxobongwana, changed sides and led the Witdoeke in the Crossroads conflict. Nxobongwana is now mayor of Crossroads.

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#### GOVERNMENT

moved against â\200\230lead-  
ing anti-apartheid ac-  
tivist yesterday,  
slapping restriction  
orders on a(jfevt five

Restrictions .~

senior UDF 'office Â\$lgpped On

The restrictions  
were issued in terms  
of new emergency  
regulations issued by  
Law and Order Minis-

\* ter Adriaan Vlok, who  
said 18 people, some ;  
of whom were in detention, would be

N restricted. \_

UDF co-presidents Archie Gumede  
and Albertina Sisulu and UDF Natal  
Midlands chairman A S Chetty received  
restriction orders late yesterday after-  
noon. In Maritzburg) rmer Methodist  
Church president Simon Qgubule re-  
ceived a ban, as did Cape Town UDF  
members Willie Hofmeyer and Joey  
Marks. Release Mandela Committee  
office bearer Jabu Ngwenya was also  
served with an order at his Soweto  
home. ,

Gumedeâ\200\231s order prohibits him from

| taking part in UDF activities, talking to  
the Press, addressing gatherings of

more than 10 People and greparing ma-

. terial for publication as defined by the  
Internal Security Act.

Lawyers acting for the affected or-

â\200\230 ganisations were yesterday studying the

restrictions and said they would be

UDF leaders

SIPHO and  
PATRICK BULGER

mounting a legal challenge in the near  
future.



Police swooped on the Johannesburg  
offices of the Azanian National Youth  
Unity (Azanyu) â\200\224 not one of the listed  
groupings â\200\224 and removed documents  
{esterday. Although the offices were  
ocked, police allegedly used their own  
keys, Azanyu officials said. -

The raid came less than 10 minutes  
after an Azanyu official single-handedly  
removed almost every document and  
other office goods from the office after  
tip-offs from four anonymous callers.

The lone official also removed a  
hoto-copying machine, boxes of litera-  
ug:kanmthi\202oo T-shirts prlfnt:d for this  
weekâ\200\231s annive; of the death of  
PAC founder Robei\201asrzbukwe. .

â\200\224

## Black opposition in disarray

cept it. There will be massive opposi-

.tion, he said.

- Naidoo said the restrictions were ir-

. tended to destroy the last vestige of  
' democracy in SA, and the closing down

of these avenues would possibly lead to  
an escalation of civil conflict. He said

Cosatu had legitimately put forward demands and interests both on the shop-

BLACK political opposition and labour

groupings were thrown into

disarray yesterday by government's

effective banning of 17 organisations

- and the imposition of wide-ranging  
restrictions on Cosatu.

The order, gazetted in terms of a new

set of emergency regulations, will total-

Reaction Page 3

Details of the ban Page 8

Comment Page 8

2 R TS

political activities of the

ly curtail the

F and the

sation (Azapo), the two major extra-parliamentary  
opposition groups in the country.

Although they remain legal, they must  
have the permission of Law and Order  
Minister, Adriaan Vlok to perform any  
functions other than internal administrative  
activities such as maintaining  
assets and keeping books without

The new structure of the COSATU  
was apparently designed to

activity to purely bread-and-butter  
trade union matters â\200\224 follow recent  
ministerial and police statements about  
its political activities. 5

nian Peopleâ\200\231s Organi-

A, Cosatu. mea

il : Â®To 'P.g. 2 Âç

floor and in broader society.

He added government had beer en-

PATRICK BULGER  
and ALAN FINE

Cosatuâ\200\231s plans for campaigns against

- the October municipal elections and for

the release from custody of Moses  
Mayekiso â\200\224 general secretary of its  
second-largest affiliate â\200\224 now appear  
doomed. :

However, lawyers said most facets of  
Cosatuâ\200\231s â\200\234living wageâ\200\235 campaign as well

as its campaign against the %iil;ling La-  
are un-

bour Relations Amendment:  
affected by the restrictions.  
The curbs do not apply to Cosatuâ\200\231s  
individual affiliates. ;  
The orders also threaten to scuttle

talks aimed at ending the Maritzburg ,

conflict. Two of the key partici&a  
the talks, UDF leaders Archie

and AS Chetty, were served with re- 7

striction orders prohibiting, ar oth-  
er things, any involvement in UDE-â\200\230 ac-  
tivity without the permission of the SA  
Commissioner â\200\230'of Police.

mioïr-\201r fifâ\200\230F rant

.08atu woul )  
participants in the peace

Meintjies s  
ed flâ\200\230om !  
. detention o;

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talks andzafromrganising in the com-  
munity. : Â\$

.. The orders could also jeopardise the  
October municipal elections, according  
â\200\230to-Soweto Civic Association executive  
Sam Pholopo.

â\200\234As far as we are concerned the gov-  
ernment is declaring war on the people  
of SA. We are not going to take this  
sitting down,â\200\235 UDF co-president Alber-  
tina  
with a restriction order. 3

Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo  
said yesterday the restrictions were full  
of contradictions and Cosatu was con-  
templating legal action against them.

A labour lawyer said certain aspects  
of the restrictions â\200\230aigainitl Cosagi a

red improper and could possibly  
g::cessfullâ\200\230;' cmlleged in court.

NUM general secretary Cyril Rama-  
phosa said his union â\200\224 Cosatuâ\200\231s largest  
affiliate â\200\224 would be considering action

against the restrictions, including an ap-  
proach to the Chamber of Mines, over  
the next few days. :

~ â\200\234It is clear our members will not ac-

' law,â\200\235 he said. He a  
~ solution clearly lay in addressing the  
., fundamental ?roblem of full political

nts in 1  
Hutmeded 2 Nactu, which is not affected by the

couraged to opt for the pa.n u: incceased

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N }@. From Page 1

f;&gfressio'nâ\200\235â\200\230through support it had re-

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. ceived from employers and the right-

b< 'wi'ngtsUK, US anJ) West German gov}em-  
Â¢ ments.

A spokesman for the Chamber of  
Mines said it was regrettable that the  
situation in SA had evidently deteriora-

' ted to the extent that government con-

sidered it necessary to further erode

\_fundamental pillars of democracy in

â\200\230order to preserve stability.

~ â\200\234The chamberâ\200\231s perception is that

threats to law and order posed by these

organisations -could be adequately ad-  
dressed through due dprocws of existing  
ded the long-term

participation for all.

Seifsa director Brian Angus said the

ey

organisation still had to take a close look -

at the restrictions. There would be con-  
cern if they prevented unions from per-  
forming their union activities.

Seifsa wouldâ\200\235 probably discuss its  
views on the curbs on Cosatuâ\200\231s political  
activities at a board of management  
meeting soon, he added.

(Other key employer groups were ex-  
ted to respond to the clampdown to-

restrictions, called on other unaffected

organisations to show solidarity with the

18 affected groups, including assistance

?}d cc;,urt challenges to the â\200\234draconian:  
e ' j .

isulu said. She was later served

COMMENT  
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comes to its enâ\200\231cl

HE campaign to make the

country ungovernable has

reached its predictable end

with the banning of 17 organisations which, whatever their shortcomings, are legitimately representative of the political feelings and the interests of many black South Africans. Might has imposed its right.

. We reiterate what we have said before: in South Africa, capitalist economic growth leads to reform and liberalisation, revolutionary activity to neo-fascist suppression. In a perverse way, those who campaigned for ungovernability have won their way: minority government has given way to minority rule.

All of this may help to explain President Bothaâ\200\231s latest resort to brute force. It does not make his actions less ugly. It does not even make his actions wise. Tyranny is tyranny is tyranny, and in the end

the worm does turn. There will be

no dearth of people to point out that the newly banned organisations will, like the vainly banned ANC, go underground. Nevertheless, we state the obvious: the impulse to negotiate which was lately discernible in the comments of many black leaders, even some within the ANC executive, has been crushed. We refrain from speculating what they might do instead in order to escape the accusation of putting evil thoughts into peopleâ\200\231s heads, but all intelligent South Africans will see the matter plainly.

It seems, at the time of this

writing, that the suppression is intended to clear the way for elections in October which were clearly threatened by the necklace-and-boycott brigade. Intimidation of voters with threats of summary execution by fire has become part of the political culture of the townships, a unique South African tribute to the theories of terrorism by which Marxists operate. Many whites, in particular, will find in this intimidation and especially in the gruesome symbol of the necklace of fire a justification for the bannings announced yesterday.

They are wrong. The proper

way to deal with intimidation is

by routine, but rapid, enforcement of the common law. Had govern-

ment not complacently permitted its opponents to burn each other alive in 1985, until half the popula-

tion was ruled by terror of the

necklace, the emergency that followed would have been much less severe. The same tardiness in prosecuting political killers, it seems to us, can be discerned now in the Martizburg blood-feud.

To deal with such intimidation it is necessary for the police to arrest the killers and bring them quickly to trial, and for the courts to punish visibly, justly, but with appropriate severity. It is necessary at the same time to permit normal political processes, as far as is humanly possible, to throw up legitimate and respected leaders, and to engage those leaders in real negotiations for the elimination of grievances. Ironically, the black trade unions have in the past decade demonstrated the efficacy of that meth-

od, despite the episodes (in the

Sats strike, especially) of terrorism; the usual pattern has been for the trades unions to mediate between workers and employers to eliminate grievances, and in this role the most vociferous union leaders have performed essentially as a conservative, stabilising force.

The real tragedy of South African political life, demonstrated in

the latest bannings no more than in the usual behaviour of President Botha, is that 40 years of one-party rule has robbed the Nationalists of any understanding of political behaviour outside their own tight, closed circle of privilege. By banning some black opponents, they are seeking to protect elections which they hope will impart legitimacy to more pliable blacks. Instead, by the clumsy suppression of the increasingly demoralised and weakened political organisations on the Left, government has both robbed the October elections of all hope of legitimacy and weakened its own claim to legitimacy.

The country is not ungovernable, it is merely ungoverned. President Botha's regime has resorted to the old skiet, skop en donder not from evil intent, but because it has wielded sole power - so long that it has forgotten how to govern. &



\_ Pusinzss DAY 9g PzgR. jass

N 1977, Minister of Police Jimmy Kruger banned 16 black consciousness organisations in terms of the Internal Security Act, blaming them for being responsible for increasing the revolutionary climate.

Yesterday, government acted against another 17 organisations but it apparently sought to avoid invoking permanent legislation in its clampdown.

For this reason it used the temporary powers granted it under the emergency regulations and not the Internal Security Act, according to Professor John Dugard, Director of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand.

In effect; the two sets of ban- nings (1977 and yesterday) are substantially similar. The difference is that the Internal Security Act is part of the permanent law of the country, whereas this is an emergency measure, he said.

The effect of the latest regulations would be to allow the organisations in question to operate at the pleasure of the Minister.

But politically these organisations will be finished.

Dugard said he believed the orders had been timed to gain right-wing approval in the coming by-elections in the Transvaal.

The orders would also enable government to take firm action against student meetings on cam-

us, as several of the organisations were campus-based.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok said yesterday government did not want to stop all the activities of the organisations it had named only those which

O VLOK ... approachable

| At the  
Minister's  
pleasure 1

PATRICK BULGER

\  
endanger the safety of the public,  
the maintenance of law and order  
or the termination of the state of  
emergency's ;

The organisations would still be  
able to maintain assets, keep  
books, comply with court orders  
and take legal advice.

They could also approach him  
for permission to continue with  
civil activities which do not en-  
danger the safety of the public's.

The Congress of South African  
Trade Unions (Cosatu) was banned  
from any political activity and ef-  
fectively restricted to trade union  
affairs.

The new regulations prohibit Co-  
satu from campaigning for the un-  
banning of illegal organisations  
and the release of detainees; oppo-

sition against the system of local  
government or negotiations on a  
new constitution; boycott actions;  
and making calls for disinvest-  
ment and sanctions against SA.  
Cosatu may also not organise  
commemorations or celebrations  
of riots, public violence or unrest  
in the or in honour of a prison-  
er, whether he be alive or dead's.

In addition to the clamps on or-  
ganisations, individuals may be re-  
stricted by the Minister. It was  
announced yesterday that orders  
were being served on 18 people,

some of whom are in detention.  
Those in detention would be re-

leased after the orders had been  
served on them. - v

No names were given. . 3

Security Police Chief Lt-C \_Â«-  
al Johan van der Merwe said. â\200\234rev-  
olutionaries and activists, realis-  
ing that armed confrontation and  
violent revolution cannot be suc-  
cessfully implemented in the SA,  
apply various other strategies in  
an attempt to achieve their goalsâ\200\235.

These included mobilising the  
masses, rendering the country un-  
governable, making impossible de-

- mands on government, destroying

existing structures and instituting  
boycotts.

wyers acting for the 17 or-  
ganisations have said they intend  
taking whatever legal action was  
possible against the orders.

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dete

--â\200\224! b SRIREY 25 T oy S 5 =z o 5B  
1 CAPE TOWNâ\200\224New restriction orders on in-  
dividuals announced in the security crack- -

~down yesterday could lead to the release-of-  
~ detainees.

Y&

;1 Government sources indicated that the orders, -

i Which can  
iconfine an  
individual to  
et Aih  
.-Places at cer- ' &  
â\200\234tain times, i

were a â\200\230definite shift away from detentionsâ\200\231. 3

I - Ormande Pollok

Political Corrosponde'nt. !

BRI L

r . However, two other legs of the order specify that an individ-  
.- al-could be prohibited from â\200\230being, at any time or during the  
1+ hours specified in the crder, outside the boundaries of an-area  
likewise specifiedâ\200\231 ang from â\200\230being, during the hours spetified  
in the order, outside the boundaries of the premises where he  
i livesty e LSSBUM I S e

This means that i futiie aq;inees could b  
orders restricting them, for example, from  
politics or addressing meetings, and restrictir  
homes at certain times. !

They could also apply for {  
the consent of the (Commis:

sioner of Police to do certain |  
things mentioned in the |

e released with

g them to thejr  
R A

It is understood that about 20 restriction orders were (o  
be served yesterday but that some of the people involvedâ\204¢  
may already have gone into hiding and last night it was not  
- possible to establish how many had actually been served.

However, it is thought that in future similar orders could be  
served on people already in detention clearing the way for  
their release on certain conditions which tould amount to a  
limited form of house arrest while allowing them to do work.

Archie Gumede

Among those known to have been served with restriction or-  
ders are UDF co-presidents Archie Gumede and Albertina  
Sisulu and UDF Natal Midlands chairman A S Chetty. -

In Pietermaritzburg, former Methodist Church president Be\_v  
Simon Qgubule received a restriction order. ey

Mr\_qumede's order prohibits him from taking parf in UDF-  
activities, talking to the Press, addressing gatherings of more

than 10 people or preparing material for publication as defined  
by the Internal Security Act. :

Mr Qgubuleâ\200\231s order prohibits him from being away from  
home between 6 pm and 5a m.

Lawyers acting for the affected organisations said they would  
be mounting a legal challenge in the near future. Al

\_.or performing.,any activities

order. \_\_ e

7 =The â\200\230new restrictions have (  
effectively excluded the |  
UDF from the Pietermaritz-  
burg peace talks, but it can  
apply to the Minister of Law  
and Order for.special con-  
sent to participate in them.

| In terms of the order is-  
sued yesterday the UDF is  
prohibited â\200\230from carrying on

or acts whatsoeverâ\200\231.

. % | : .1  
However, it is still allowed Â£ SpaResninn sae e

| i meeting might provide some  
- to preserve its assets, keep clarification on the'position  
and administer its books, | " peace talks b+ ween

comply with legal obligations UDF/Cosatu and Ink. aa in

and take legal advice. - | which the chamber has been  
rBut, it could also carry on mediating.

}â\200\235ith â\200\230'such ?lmâ\200\230?tiestl?r per- In a statement the chamber  
torming suhc acis as e(;â\200\234tâ\200\235â\200\230,' said obviously if one of the  
ister may have consented to" parties involved in the talks

The Mercury's Pieter- was not able to be present,

mÃ©fitzbutg Bureau reports tal ld not be able to  
that the Chamber of Com- :â\200\230};ers]tiamli:.wou e

merce is to meet Mr Vlok @ See also Page 2 and  
-â\200\224-during his visit to.the capital Editorial Opinion  
tomorrow.

participating i -

In terms of the measures announced by the Minister of Law  
and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, individuals can be prohibited  
from â\200\230carrying on an activity or performing an act specified in  
the orderâ\200\235 or from â\200\230carrying on activities or performing acts of a  
{ nature, class or kind specified in the order

~

e s et .

5

Crackdown â\200\230a

From page 1

already has an appointment with  
(Law and Order) Minister (Ad-  
riaan) Vlok this Friday, and per-  
haps we will receive some clari-  
fication,â\200\235 the statement added.  
Despite a clause in the order  
that organisations may apply to  
Mr Vlok for permission to con-  
tinue certain activities, observ-  
ers believe it will be impossible  
for the UDF to continue in the

massive blow t

e â\200\224 â\200\230\ â\200\224~ i -, â\200\230\r\*  
talks, ' HE NRTAL W

â\200\234Should the UDF make such  
application, it would tend to le-  
gitimise what the government  
hasdone,â\200\235 one observer said.

National Democratic Move-  
ment (NDM) MP for Greytown Mr  
Pierre Cronje said: â\200\234This...isa  
massive blow to people in  
Pietermaritzburg who have  
spent much energy on the peace  
effort.â\200\235

gle among  
lacks. jp  
Natal have

een dis-

mer . of hope,  
the daily po-  
lice report on  
civil - strife \_  
said no deaths had been reported  
in the past 24 hours in the main  
killing ground near Maritzburg.

About 400 people have been  
murdered in the past year in  
fi Iâ\200\230Eing between Inkatha and the

Spokesmen for the UDF said  
the organisation had proposed a

format for resuming stalled

talks with Inkatha on how to end

the violence,  
Talks late last year sponsored  
by the Maritzburg Chamber of

E Commerce broke down and the

shanty-town war has increased  
in ferocity, with nearly 130 people  
killed this year

UDF official A S Chetty said: -

"We proposed that the next  
meeting should concentrate on  
means of ending the carnage, not  
about our political differences.  
But he denied reports that top-

level talks between Inkatha and

the organisation had been final-

"Our standpoint remains that  
the violence in the townships  
around Maritzburg remains a  
Maritzburg affair," he said,

He made it clear, though,  
that if Inkatha wants to get

"their national leadership in-  
volved, we will do likewise sub-  
ject to a decision by our Natal  
executive."

Chamber of Commerce spokesman Paul van Uytrecht  
confirmed moves were under  
way to get the warring factions  
to the negotiating table, but re-  
fused to disclose details.

TENTATIVE DEFINES .

"Steps to end  
& carnage in  
Maritzburg

Yay Voiea\es

Inkatha  
Zondi said his  
not been contacted about the  
meeting, but the move was wel-



come. X5 % SR

â\200\234It is necessary for us to grow  
above ideological differem:egsr?or  
the sake of peace. The bloodshed  
in Maritzburg s a disgrace,â\200\235 he  
said. : :

Police \$aid a youth was shot  
dead in Soweto when blacks at-  
tacked a municipal policeman,

. But around Maritzburg only  
isolated Stone-throwing and ar.  
son incidents were reported. For  
almost the first time this year  
there were no deaths, But lufâ\200\230l's in  
the violence have occurred. be-  
fore. â\200\224 Sapa-Reuter.

uBgace of

spokesman Musa -  
iS organisation had -

â\200\224

b  
fQI' t e  
P& 2L 1SR \ /

He added that the pparent  
willingness of UDF/Cosatu to  
negotiate â\200\234does not suit the gov-  
ernmentâ\200\231s propaganda of a total  
onslaught which is dependent  
on the mass organisations being  
seen as subversiveâ\200\235.

â\200\234Because 80% of people are  
excluded from Parliament, to  
ban extra-parliamentary organ-  
isations is in fact a declaration  
of war on black polities,â\200\235 he  
said, adding this gave  
the lie to the govern-  
mentâ\200\231s stated commit-  
ment to negotiation.

President of the  
Methodist Church of  
Southern Africa, Dr  
Khoza Mgojo, said it  
was a â\200\234nightmareâ\200\235,

â\200\234We have been doing  
our best even after the  
recent detentions but  
this has brought the

peace initiatives into a  
total cul-de-sac.â\200\235

When approached,  
Independent Media-  
tion Services of South  
Africa (Imssa) media-  
tors Phillip Glaser and  
John Radford said:  
â\200\234(Yesterdayâ\200\231s) action  
by the state has effec-  
tively removed one of  
the major parties at-  
tempting to negotiate a  
settlement in Pjeter-  
maritzburg. This has  
two consequences.

â\200\234Firstly, it â\200\230denies -  
those residents repre-  
sented by the UDF  
from having access to  
the negotiations. This  
could place a serious  
question-mark on the  
continued credibility  
ofthe peace initiatives.

â\200\234Secondly, it has be-  
come clear that the  
state has, and will con-  
tinue to have, a direct  
influence on the peace  
initiatives.â\200\235  
Â© Two women, one an  
adult and the other a  
teenager, were injured  
and their house exten-  
sively damaged at Mpu-  
malanga near Ham-  
marsdale when a  
petrol-bomb was  
hurled at the dwelling,

â\200\231

police said in thejr  
overnight unrest  
report.

GvRBDIAN 25/(=2) 88

Pretoria bans UDF  
in new crackdown

Patrick Laurence  
in Johannesburg

HE South African Government yesterday  
â\200\234moved to silence all the  
leading voices of opposition outside Parliament, by effectively banning 17 organisations and restricting the powerful Congress of South African Trade Unions to a purely trade union role.

The special decree was swiftly followed by orders on key extraparliamentary leaders, including almost all the leaders of the United Democratic Front who have so far escaped detention.

The crackdown stunned many people and drew warnings from anti-apartheid leaders that it would fuel conflict and be interpreted â\200\224 in the words of Archbishop Desmond Tutu â\200\224 as a â\200\234declaration of war.â\200\235 .

Its timing was widely interpreted as an -attempt to win back white hardline support for the National Party in advance of two byelections next week.

A \*â\200\234shocked and saddenedâ\200\235 British Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, said: â\200\234The British Government are totally opposed to repressive measures of t this kind. We do not see how the suppression of non-violent political activity can possibly contribute to a peaceful solu-

tion. We are particularly concerned that the black opposition in South Africa should not lose hope of peaceful change.â\200\235 -

Yesterday's special decree did not ban the 17 organisations outright. They are allowed to exist, to retain their assets and

to fulfil their administrative and bookkeeping duties.

But they are prohibited  
â\200\234from carrying out or perform-  
ing any activities or acts  
whatsoever.â\200\235

The giant Congress of Trade Unions, meanwhile, may â\200\230now only function strictly as a trade union. It was specifically prohibited from playing a political role, a function it was increasingly forced to play as its overt political allies in the United Democratic Front and its affiliated organisations were either detained or driven into hiding.

The 17 affected organisations range from the UDF to the pro-black consciousness Azanian People's Organisation and its youth wing. The newly formed South African Youth Congress â\200\224 established clandestinely after the declaration of national emergency â\200\224 and the Detainee Parents Support Committee â\200\224 a civil rights movement which has monitored detention without trial, often challenging government statements on the extent of detention without trial and the treatment of detainees â\200\224 are- also among the proscribed organisations.

The clampdown was reinforced by the serving of restriction orders yesterday on key extraparliamentary leaders, whose orders restricted them to their home magisterial districts and forbade them from taking part in the activities of the affected political organisations.

They include two of the three presidents of the UDF, Mr Archie Gumede and Mrs Albertina Sisulu, both of whom are reported to have been confined to their houses at night. Mr Joe Marks, a UDF leader in the Western Cape, and Mr A S Chetty. the UDF leader in Pietermaritzburg, are among 10 UDF leaders known to have been detained.

The clampdown comes shortly before two by-elections next week in which the ruling National Party is expected to be badly mauled by the ultra-right

Conservative Party, which portrays the ruling party as infected by liberalism." 235

The display of toughness may have been calculated to reassure wavering National Party supporters that the Government can still wield the big stick effectively. -

It is the first major initiative on security matters since Mr Adriaan Vlok took over as Minister of Law and Order from Mr Louis Le Grange late in 1986.

THE GUARDIAN

AN

Pretoria gets even tougher in stifling anti-apartheid movement

SA groups.  
price of success

Patrick Laurence and =  
Victoria Brittain

HE success of the De-  
tainees Parents Support  
Committee and the

National Education Cri-  
sis Committee in bypassing cen-  
sorship is one of the main  
reasons for their inclusion in  
Pretoria's draconian action yes-  
terday against anti-apartheid  
organisations.

The South African govern-  
ment realises that without in-  
ternational news coverage of

i

events in South Africa, interna-

tional pressure on them will  
wane. Our aim is to break this  
blanket of silence, declared  
the DPSC last year.

The two organisations stand  
out as among the most effective  
monitors and challengers of the  
state of emergency imposed in  
1986. Both have been under at-  
tack from the Government in  
recent months and their ban-

ning comes as no surprise.

The DPSC was founded in  
September 1981 with the aim of  
monitoring detention without  
trial and campaigning for its  
abolition. It has built a country-  
wide network of monitoring  
groups with a reputation for  
conservative statistics.

The DPSC has been the only  
organisation effectively publi-  
cising the detention of children  
under the state of emergency  
8,800 were detained during the

1986 emergency, including chil-

dren as young as nine years old. By the end. of last year; 180 children were still detained, according to the DPSC.

The conditions in detention, which include children held 40 to a cell, assault and torture, and children held incommunicado, would probably never have become known abroad but for the DPSC.

FEL S8

Most of its original members were parents of the detainees. One of the detainees was 4 Neil Aggett, a young trade unionist whose death in detention created an International

The DPSC showed that it was possible to draw together parents of different backgrounds and political convictions to resist arbitrary arrest and to offer support and comradeship to one another.

Its first members included Professor Hendrik Koornhof, a brother of Dr Piet Koornhof, the then Minister of Co-operation and Development and now South Africa's Ambassador to the US, and Professor Ismail Mohammed, who was later to be tried (and acquitted) for treason in 1985.

From the outset the DPSC was an extraordinary organisation. It has never had a permanent committee, let alone a chairman. It has no formal office bearers. Decisions are taken by people at its meetings.

The membership fluctuates. . It is composed partly of people whose relatives have been detained. 3

Among the core of people who have been associated with DPSC from the beginning are Dr Max Coleman and his wife, - Audrey, whose sons have been detained, and Dr David Webster, an anthropologist and friend of Dr Aggett's.

The DPSC's main activity in the first months of its existence was to organise and participate

in silent but public protest  
against detention without trial.

Later it focused on providing  
reliable information about de-  
tention, seeking to prevent a sit-  
uation where people simply dis-  
appeared. People came to the  
DPSC offices to tell the organi-  
sations about detentions, often  
enabling it to give precise infor-

mation to families or lawyers.

The new Minister of Law and

pay high

Order, Adriaan Vlok, adopting  
an even more critical stance

Dr | towards the DPSC than his pre-

decessor, Louis Le Grange, has  
accused it of conducting a cam-  
paign of villification against the  
police and of denigrating South  
Africa. Neither the DPSC, nor  
any of its senior members have  
ever been charged in open  
court, Jet alone convicted.

The National Education Cri-  
sis Committee or NECC, an-  
other of the 17 organisations ef-  
fecï\202vel{ banned by Vlok, first  
moved to the centre of the polit-  
ical stage late in 1985. The  
NECC was the national arm of  
dozens of local crisis commit-  
tees which sprung up during  
the turmoil in the black town-  
ships of 1984-85. The rejection of  
apartheid education has been  
one of the main factors in robi-  
lising resistance.

The NECC campaigned for a  
conditional return to school  
after the boycotts of 1986 and  
for the introduction of  
â\200\234peopleâ\200\231s educationâ\200\235 at black  
schools. It tried to bargain with  
the authorities for the with-  
drawal of troops from black  
townships and, more particu-  
larly, from schoolyards.

At a meeting in Durban in  
April 1986, Zwelakhe Sisulu,  
son of the ANC life prisoner,  
Walter Sisulu, advised the  
NECC to proceed slowly, to con-  
solidate and move ahead cau-  
tiously to â\200\234peopleâ\200\231s power".

Sisulu, the editor of the alter-



native newspaper, New Nation, was detained. He is still in detention today, apparently for his association with NECC. He was never an office holder.

Officer holders were, however, detained. They included Eric Molobi, arrested in December last year, after more than a year underground as the last free member of the National Executive, Vusi Khanyile, IThrom Rensberg and the Rev Molefe Tsele. They all remain in detention.

25 /2/38 THE INDEPENDENT

Botha shows that he  
- has run out of ideas

A SPOKESMAN for the United  
Democratic Front, one of 17 radi-

were kept in the dark about Mr

From Tony Allen-Mills in Pietermaritzburg " Botha's plans until it was too late

cal organisations effectively  
banned by the South African gov-  
ernment yesterday, accused Pret-  
oria of declaring war against  
peaceful opposition. Yet the  
government's latest and most  
reckless assault on the bruised  
and demoralised ranks of the  
anti-apartheid opposition looked  
less a declaration of war than an  
admission of ideological defeat.

President P.W. Botha appeared  
bent on demonstrating yesterday  
that he has conclusively run out of  
ideas for further reform of South  
Africa. Having spent the past two  
years successfully crushing all  
meaningful black township rebel-  
lion, Mr Botha manifestly had no  
need of still more emergency  
measures to muzzle radical dis-  
sent. His government has banned  
anti-apartheid organisations in  
the past without making the  
slightest long-term difference to  
the struggle for black liberation.

Yesterday's crackdown on the  
beleaguered remnants of South  
Africa's anti-apartheid armies  
smacked of ridiculous overkill. So  
why did Pretoria do it?

The growth of the right-wing  
Afrikaner opposition certainly  
provides part of the answer. It can

be no coincidence that the new  
measures were unveiled, without  
prior warning, the week before  
two important white by-elections  
in right-wing-held constituencies  
in the Transvaal. One of the seats,  
Standerton, represents a near-  
perfect cross-section of Afrikaner  
society.

The opposition Conservative  
Party narrowly took the seat at  
the general election last May, and

the ruling National Party is desperate to avoid further embarrassment in a constituency it had previously held uninterrupted since 1948. The government has been making intensive efforts to woo back disillusioned voters. President Botha himself will speak in Standerton tonight.

He may well use the latest bans on anti-apartheid radicals to rebut right-wing allegations that he has gone â\200\234softâ\200\235 on black political rights. But it hardly seems likely that his government has embarked on such an inflammatory and repressive course of action solely to impress by-election voters. Pretoria also seems to be looking ahead to what is likely to become

the focal point for black political activity this year â\200\224 the municipal elections due in October.

In the past, radical groups have successfully organised extensive boycotts of elections for local black councils regarded as Pretoriaâ\200\231s puppets. During the unrest of the early 1980s those blacks who dared to accept councillorsâ\200\231 posts became prime targets for attack by the radical â\200\234comradesâ\200\235. A black councillor was considered a â\200\234sell-outâ\200\235, and the punishment for forbidden collaboration was on occasion the dreaded â\200\234necklaceâ\200\235 â\200\224 death by burning petrol-filled tyre.

In most townships the directly-elected councils collapsed or were replaced by Pretoriaâ\200\231s appointees. But since the unrest subsided with the imposition of the state of emergency two years ago, Pretoria has been devoting substantial resources to upgrading impoverished black communities in the hope of removing many of the day-to-day grievances that fuelled the political unrest.

Over the past two years, expensive construction programmes have changed the face of long-neglected townships. New schools, leisure facilities, tarred roads, fresh water supplies and proper sewerage systems are being installed at a prodigious rate. It is a way of impressing conservative township dwellers that obedience has its rewards.

Pretoria simultaneously appears determined to upgrade its

local black municipal authorities. In the new security climate, ministers believe it will be possible for black councils to function without fear of retribution. If elections can be held in October without too much radical disruption, these councils may acquire a legitimacy they have not hitherto enjoyed. By clamping down now on groups like the United Democratic Front â\200\224 which was almost certain to call for a boycott of the elections â\200\224 Pretoria may be preparing the way for a carefully-edited exhibition of what it will doubtless describe as black democracy in action.

There is another facet to the municipal polls. They are being held simultaneously with white municipal elections, and the CP is fighting for control of National Party-dominated town halls for the first time. The right-wing stands to make sweeping gains, especially in the Transvaal. The last thing the government needs as it struggles to contain this potentially demoralising threat is further trouble in the townships. The Conservatives would be quick to exploit a fresh outbreak of unrest as conclusive evidence of Pretoriaâ\200\231s weakness.

A third conclusion invited by yesterdayâ\200\231s developments is that the security hawks in the South African government are fast taking a decisive hand in policy-making. There was evidence last night that some of the more enlightened members of the government

THE FOLLOWING are the groups restricted under the edict: Azanian Peopleâ\200\231s Organisation, Azanian Youth Organisation, Cape Youth Congress, Cradock Residentsâ\200\231 Association, Detaineesâ\200\231 Parents Support Committee, Detaineesâ\200\231 Support Committee, National Education Crisis Committee, National Education Union of South Africa, Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation, Release Mandela Campaign, Soweto Civic Association, Soweto Youth Congress, South African National Students Congress, South African

Youth Congress,

United Democratic

Front, Vaal Civic

Organisation, Western Cape Civic Association. Under the new regulations, the above organisations are prohibited â\200\234from carrying on, or performing, any activities or acts whatsoeverâ\200\235. In a separate

clause, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) was allowed to continue trade union activities, but barred from political activities, including: calling for the release of prisoners from detention; calling for restoration of unlawful organisations, such as the ANC; calling for election boycotts or any other anti-government publicity campaigns; commemorating the anniversary of any incident or riot, public violence or unrest â\200\234which has taken place at some time or other

in the Republicâ\200\235.

for them to register a protest,

It is no secret in South Africa that a vigorous power struggle is developing to succeed President Botha. The South African Defence Forceâ\200\231s recent exploits in Angola had already suggested that Mr Botha has come to rely heavily on the advice he receives from his security chiefs. Yesterdayâ\200\231s crackdown on radicals further indicated that the hawks are in the ascendancy.

Their obvious presidential candidate is Magnus Malan, a dour army general who is minister of defence. General Malan has never given anyone the impression that he is devoted to apartheid reform.

For the anti-apartheid radicals on the receiving end of the governmentâ\200\231s new strictures, thereâ\200\231s little to look forward to other than a long period of reorganising and readjustment. Inevitably, much will have to be accomplished underground.

The notion that the radical resistance can be killed off by measures like these is patently ludicrous. If South Africaâ\200\231s history of the past 30 years is any guide, opposition will dissolve, regroup and eventually re-emerge in a different, probably more dangerous form.

The saddest aspect of yesterdayâ\200\231s upheavals was the evidence it provided that negotiation with Pretoria does not work. â\200\234Peace gets you nowhereâ\200\235 was a common refrain in radical responses to the crackdown. :

â\200\234Every single peaceful action we can take has now been criminalised,â\200\235 said Allan Boesak, the Coloured Reform Church leader. He warned that the anti-apartheid resistance would sooner accept strategies of violence than be

forced into no resistance at all.  
â\200\234The governmentâ\200\231s idea is to  
smash effective political opposi-  
tion, no matter how peaceful, and  
to rule with the jackboot ... We  
are heading for war,â\200\235 Archbishop  
Desmond Tutu said.

A statement by the Black Sash  
women'â\200\231s pressure I%roup, which  
escaped the crackdown, con-

" cluded: â\200\234The government should  
" have nightmares while it ponders

the result of what it is doing to ourâ\200\231  
countryâ\200\235.

## THE INDEPENDENT

Defiance in Pretoria - /fuefa. s +  
25 /2 /28

THE immediate reason for the Draconian and unwarranted restrictions imposed by the South African authorities on the peaceful political activities of 17 moderate and multi-racial protest groups is that two by-elections are to take place shortly in the Afrikaner heartland of the Transvaal. The opposition Conservative Party is hoping to increase its majority in all three seats and so demonstrate that Afrikaner opinion has moved away from any interest in even marginal amelioration of apartheid. President Botha, in response, is signalling that his government is not dominated by revisionists and neither is it soft on dissent.

It is a sign of the current mood in South Africa that such a brutally repressive regime still feels itself to be more vulnerable, politically, to right-wing white criticism than to the censure of its traditional, liberal opponents. That mood was also reflected in the president's recent address to Parliament in which he chose largely to ignore the crying need for fundamental political and constitutional reform.

But, if the timing of yesterday's banning orders was dictated by immediate electoral considerations, their purpose has more to do with nationwide municipal elections, black as well as white, to be held this autumn. Having defeated, at least for the present, militant unrest in the townships, it is important for the next step in the government's strategy that a new generation of moderate black leaders emerges. Many of the newly banned groups had intended to obstruct that artificial exercise. Had they succeeded in reducing black townships to chaos once again,

while white elections were taking place, the

" knock-on effect would, almost certainly,

have involved a series of defeats for President Botha's supporters.

The new restrictions are, in addition, a further indication of the growing influence of hardliners within the cabinet and their military allies. That influence first became apparent in the aftermath of the release last November of Govan Mbeki, a veteran leader of the African National Congress, who had served more than 23 years in prison. At the time it was suggested that his release was merely the initial part of a continuing process of review of sentences. The suggestion was that, if he behaved with circumspection, further releases, eventually including that of Nelson Mandela, could follow. Mr Mbeki has been circumspect to the point of invisibility but government policy was reversed

and no further significant releases have ensued.

The bans and proscriptions can more easily be seen as a sign of confidence and a considered gesture of defiance to decent opinion abroad than as an act of desecration. South Africa has suppressed township riots and survived the impact of partial sanctions. International interest has moved on, as it always does. (In the early 1980s Poland struck a popular chord. Now it is Gaza.) Lynda Chalker, the Foreign Office minister, yesterday roundly condemned the latest restrictions on political activity in South Africa. But she went on to confirm that the British attitude to the country remains unchanged. The calculation in Pretoria is that Britain's reaction will prove typical.



INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE

; Pretoria  
Shuts Off  
Ats Critics |

â\200\230Botha Restricts "  
- Political Work by  
Foes of Apartheid

By William Claiborne  
Washington Post Service

JOHANNESBURG â\200\224 In its  
harshest state-of-emergency crack- -  
.down, South Africa effectively  
banned 17 lcadin%â\200\230vanli-aparlhcid  
organizations on Wednesday, in-  
cluding the United Democratic  
Front coalition, and prohibited the  
country's largest trade union feder-  
ation from engaging in political ac-  
tivities.

At the same time, the govern-  
ment announced it would release  
from detention some of the opposi-  
tion groups' leaders, but under in-

dividual banning orders that in- " .  
clude house arrest after' working 3  
%

hours. .

Some officials of the United  
Democratic Front were banned  
from workinF for the organization,  
writing articles, giving speeches or  
granting intervicsw.

The ban was the most sweeping  
since groups opposing white-mi-  
nority rule were outlawed in a  
clampdown in 1977 aflter the  
Sowelo riots.

The emergency order, signed by  
President Pictet W. Botha, will lim-  
it the 800,000 member Congress of \*  
South African Trade Unions to la-  
bor activities, thereby effectively si-  
lencing one of the countryâ\200\231s most  
potent voices of black majority op-  
position to the apartheid system of  
racial scparation. :

The decree, announced by Law  
and Order Minister Adriaan Viok,  
says that the United Democratic  
. Front and the other restricted  
groups may continue to exist and  
- will not be prohibited from keeping .  
< linancial records or performing  
â\200\234administrative functions.â\200\235

In an apparently unintentionally

wry clause, the decree specifically says that nothing in the new restrictions will prohibit the affected groups from complying with an obligation imposed on it by or under any law or court of law.

But they will have to obtain the minister's permission to engage in any other activities, and those activities must not endanger public safety or law and order. :

Some of the affected organizations said they would challenge the restrictions in court.

Mr. Viok said he was convinced

that the new regulations would

contribute to a climate of stability, mutual coexistence and good neighborliness among all population groups in the republic. However, anti-apartheid leaders predicted that the decree, which is not subject to parliamentary approval, will trigger a renewal of the kind of violence that led to the imposition of a nationwide state of

emergency 20 months ago. The li

ghts are finally going out in South Africa on the last vestiges of freedom to criticize or resist in any way the suffocating tentacles of apartheid, declared the Detainees' Parents, Support Committee, one of the groups effectively banned.

The public at large must now surely realize that all pretense of South Africa being a Western-style parliamentary democracy has now gone out the window, the group added in a statement.

Archbishop Desmond M. Tutu, the 1984 Nobel Peace laureate, called the decree an unmitigated disaster and said that the government's idea of reform was to smash all possible political opposition in the country, no matter how peaceful or lawful, and to rule with the jackboot.

. In addition to the United Democratic Front, a coalition of more

than 700 anti-apartheid groups, and the Detainees' Parents Support Committee, the list of organizations effectively banned includes: the Azanian People's Organization,

the Release Mandela Committee,  
the South African Youth Congress,  
the National Education Crisis  
\_Committee, the Soweto Civic Asso-  
ciation, the Soweto Youth Con-  
gress and the South African Na-  
tional Students Congress,

Among those served with indi-  
vidual restrictions were Archie Gu-  
mede, co-president of the United  
Democratic Front, who was taken  
from his Durban office by the po-  
lice, served with an order and re-  
leased.

Mr. Vlok said that despite emer-  
gency regulations already in effect,  
some o sgosilion groups â\200\234persisted  
in establishing, maintaining and

promoti\_r;\g a revolutionary cli-

mate.â\200\235 The new regulations, he  
said, would make it possible to re-  
strict the activities ofâ\200\231 those groups.

In November, the chief of the  
security police, Johann van der  
Merwe, signaled the possibility of  
such a crackdown when he said  
that â\200\234legal radical organizationsâ\200\235  
such as the United Democratic  
Front and the Congress of South  
African Trade Unions are of more  
concern to the police than illegal  
groups such as the African Nation-  
al Congress.

!

. On Wednesday, Mr. van der  
Merwe, in a statement, quoted Olg-  
ver Tambo, president of the Afri-  
can National Congress, as calling  
for the creation of â\200\234â\200\234mass democrat-  
ic organizationsâ\200\235 as part of what  
the police chief called â\200\234the revolu-  
tionary onslaught.â\200\235

Mr. Tambo, Mr. van der Merwe  
said, specifically named the United  
Democratic Front and the trade  
unions congress as examples.

The trade unions organization,  
which had begun to fill the organi-  
zational vacuum created by the de-  
tention of most of the United Dem-  
ocratic Front's national and  
regional leaders, is now prohibited  
from campaigning for the legaliza-  
tion of outlawed organizations  
such as the African National Con-  
gress, from urging the release of  
detainees, from promoting boy-  
cotts of local black elections, and  
from making calls for disinvest-  
ment or sanctions against South

Africa.

It also is prohibited from stirring up opposition to proposed negotiations between moderate black leaders and the government over constitutional reform.

Since its formation in 1985, the trade unions congress has become increasingly politicized, and it recently emerged as one of the main anti-apartheid forces in South Africa, in addition to becoming the

focal point of the black labor movement.

At a national convention last year, its president, Elijah Barayi, declared, "This intransigent government will not hand over power. The black majority will have to seize power from the intransigent government.",

Archbishop Tutu, in a news conference, called on Western nations to respond to the new restrictions by stepping up sanctions against Pretoria.

"This government seems to have nothing to offer South Africa but violence and bloodshed," he said.

The Reverend Allan Boesak, a founder of the United Democratic Front, said, "Every single peaceful action we can take has now been criminalized."

Ⓐ Condemnation by U.S,

The United States condemned the South African order on Wednesday. A State Department spokesman said "we are appalled" that Pretoria "is effectively outlawing the activities of a large number of organizations," Reuters reported from Washington.

The South African ambassador, Pictor G.J. Koornhof, was summoned to the State Department so that the U.S. could express its "shock and distress" over the South

- African action, the spokesman said.

Pretoria  
plays tough

HE immediate target of yester-

day's sweeping crackdown on !

anti-apartheid organisations by the  
South African Government is the  
United Democratic Front, which has  
gone from strength to strength since  
its foundation in August 1983. Sev-

eral of the 16 other organisations or- !  
\* dered to suspend all protest activity

are affiliated to the UDF, a multira-

cial umbrella organisation which

now boasts more than 700 affiliates

and three million members and is  
. committed to the non-violent pur-  
| suit of the aims of the banned Afri-  
. can National Congress. The new  
| | restrictions have been imposed long  
/ | after generalised protest in the  
townships declined to what Pretoria  
seems to regard as a tolerable and  
containable level and the focus of  
international interest moved  
elsewhere. .

This can only mean that the real  
target is the white electorate in  
three Transvaal constituencies

where by-elections are due next |

week. The ruling National Party  
hopes to win back voters who have  
deserted in droves to the ultra-Right  
Conservatives, making them the  
second-largest party in the white  
chamber at last year's whites-only  
' election and thus the official opposi-  
' tion in place of the moderate Pro-  
~ gressive Federal Party. This forced a  
change of front upon President Bo-  
| tha, who now finds himself resisting  
, pressure to revert to full-blown  
! apartheid instead of demands to  
moderate it by limited reform. White  
liberals are on the defensive and in-  
creasingly divided while the far  
Right has successfully mobilised the  
fears of less prosperous whites be-  
hind its campaign to restore apart-  
" heid as defined by Dr Verwoerd. In  
his anxiety to prove himself. as  
tough as anyone in confronting  
black dissent, Mr Botha has  
reverted to type by abandoning ap-  
peasement altogether in favour of

But it is precisely this kind of vacillation which has encouraged the rise of the new Right inside and outside the white political structure. By stealing the new opposition's clothes he risks encouraging white voters to choose the real thing; why should they return to the ranks of a party which seems to them to have lost its way after 40 years in power and plunged the country into crisis ? In harsh South African terms the latest

i drive against black resistance is in

any case little more than cosmetic. All but three of the UDF's executive are on trial, gaoled without charge or on the run; some two dozen of its most prominent members have been embroiled in treason cases for two years; 15 months ago it was banned from receiving funds from abroad. Now it is allowed to do nothing except run its own finances, administration and legal affairs. ;

But the UDF is still a legal entity. White hardliners and observers alike are bound to wonder why Pretoria still has not gone all the way and banned it like the ANC: prohibi-

' tion at a stroke would surely have

been more convincing as a display of resolve. The only major UDF activity reported in recent months has been the bloody struggle for influence in the townships of Natal against Inkatha, the Zulu movement led by Chief Buthelezi. Inkatha has not been restricted, presumably because Mr Botha still fondly imagines he can win over the highly sceptical Chief to his consultative council for

blacks, a reform which Alrane spurn even more strongly than the white Right. Mr Botha long since lost his credibility with all but the most subservient blacks. Next Wednesday will show how much he retains among whites in the Afrikaner heartland. The result could well strengthen the impression that he is losing his grip.