

25/2/88

New measures restrict 17 organisations

CAPE TOWN. —

Regulations allowing the government to restrict the activities of organisations and individuals, without banning them completely, were published yesterday under the signatures of the State President, Mr P W Botha, and the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok.

The new regulations, under the 1953 Public Safety Act, enable the Minister to prohibit any specific organisation from performing:

- Any activities or Act whatsoever;
- An activity or act specified in the order; or,
- Activities or acts of a nature, class or kind specified.

Mr Vlok immediately applied the ban on "any activities or act whatsoever" to the United Democratic Front, 14 of its affiliates and to the Azanian People's Organisation and Azanian Youth Organisation.

The UDF affiliates affected include the Detainees Parents Support Committee, the Durban-based Detainees Support Committee, the National Education Crisis Committee, Release Mandela Committee, Cape Youth Congress, SA Youth Congress, SA National Students Congress, National Education Union of SA, and some local bodies.

These are the Cradock Residents Association, Soweto Civic Association, Soweto Youth Congress, Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation, Vaal Civic Organisation, and Western Cape Civic Association.

A Law and Order spokesman said the new regulations specifically contained a clause to protect the rights of those affected to seek legal redress or undertake court actions.

The regulations allow

the Minister to "restrict" an organisation "without prior notice to any person and without hearing any person", if he is of the opinion that "it is necessary for the safety of the public, the maintenance of public order or the termination of the state of emergency".

An order restricting an organisation applies until rescinded or until the state of emergency ceases.

The proclamation of a state of emergency automatically expires at the end of a year — the present proclamation 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:

● "On 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 prohibited by the said order from carrying on or performing, or

● "Participate in any activity or act of that organisation which the organisation is carrying on or performing in contravention of the said order".

However, the order "shall not be construed" as prohibiting the organisation from preserving its assets, carrying on its administrative functions, complying with any obligation imposed on it by law or by a court, or taking legal advice or judicial steps.

In addition an organisa-

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

The same regulations contain a section empowering the 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,

● carrying on activities or performing acts of a nature, class or kind specified in the order,

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

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 certain things.

"No 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."

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

Banned groups usually go underground: Sash

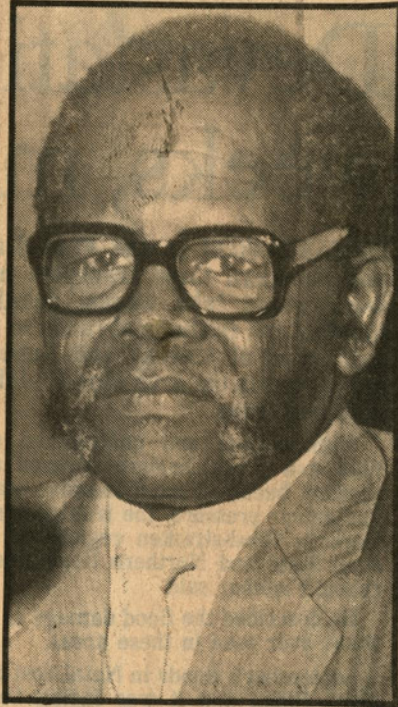
WHAT the government bans usually goes underground to surface in another guise or changes its tactics, the Black Sash said yesterday in response to the effective banning of 17 organisations.

It seems that the only way the government can "maintain the order it seeks is by evading the law and ruling by proclamation, harshly restricting all opposition and any organisation it views as an absolute threat to its autonomy," a Sash statement said.

"It never learns that what it bans goes underground, to surface again in another guise or to change its tactics to cope with the illegality which is thrust upon it.

"Instead of facing the fact that its policies are unacceptable to the vast majority of the people, the government stupidly seeks to stamp out all opposition as though it is possible to keep the lid on the steaming kettle indefinitely."

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□ TAMBO ... 'underground'

Tambo quoted on 'ANC links'

MINISTER of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok yesterday authorised the quoting of ANC leader Oliver Tambo to demonstrate the ANC's alleged links with some of the organisations served with restriction orders yesterday.

Chief of the Security Police Lt-General Johan van der Merwe issued a statement quoting Tambo at length. The quotations included:

"We 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" (January, 1986).

"We also seize this occasion especially to welcome most warmly the formation of the Congress of South African Trade Unions .." (January, 1986).

'Mighty arm'

"Organisationally, that enhanced level of unity has found expression in the growth of that mighty arm of the workers of our country, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and its affiliates" (January, 1988).

Practice had more than amply demonstrated that "the struggling masses of our country need the UDF as an instrument to maintain, advance and deepen our united action".

The "National Liberation Alliance," headed by the ANC, would be able to guide the UDF only "if we have our underground structures within the UDF" (January, 1987).

On education, Tambo was quoted as saying, in January 1987: "The school, the college, the university is for us more than a place of formal education. It is also our assembly point, the location from which we marshal our forces, organise them and take the opportunity to give the order of the day."

The system of people's education had to be introduced as a "decisive element" in the future of the country. — Sapa

Terro leader lists his revolutionary allies

By Brian Stuart and Sapa

CAPE TOWN. — Oliver Tambo, president of the ANC, has described the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), United Democratic Front (UDF) and other bodies as revolutionary allies of the ANC.

This and other speeches of Tambo were released for publication yesterday, as part of a statement by the SA Police security chief, Lt-Genl Johan van der Merwe, giving background to the new emergency regulations issued yesterday.

He said revolutionaries realised that armed confrontation and violent revolution could not be successfully implemented, and therefore applied other strategies in an attempt to achieve their goals.

These included boycotts and coercive measures, destroying government structures and replacing them with "alternative" structures, and violence, intimidation and damage to property.

Gen van der Merwe said it was important to bear in mind that the creation of so-called "mass democratic organisations" formed part of the revolutionary onslaught of the ANC and the SA Communist Party (SACP).

Tambo stated: "In many parts of our country we have already made important advances towards the creation of these mass revolutionary bases.

"We have destroyed many of the enemy's organs of apartheid rule. The masses of the people have played a central role in this process as active participants in the struggle for their own liberation.

"We 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 Committee) and their affiliates and other democratic formations," said Tambo.

In another speech last year Tambo called for all unorganised workers to "unite under the umbrella of Cosatu".

Last month (January, 1988) Tambo stated "Organisationally, that enhanced level of unity has found expression in the growth of that mighty arm of the workers of our country, Cosatu and its affiliates."

Regarding the UDF, Tambo said this organisation was needed as an "Instrument" to maintain ANC's action in the country.

"The national liberation 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 statement 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 possible 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 international isolation of SA.

Gen van der Merwe said the additional emergency regulations, promulgated yesterday, would enable the security forces to ensure the safety of the public and to maintain law and order more efficiently.

Turning to quotes on education, Gen Van der Merwe again referred to statements by Tambo made in January 1987 and 1988:

The school, the college, the university is for us more than a place of formal education. It is also our assembly point, the location from which we marshal our forces, organise them and take the opportunity to give the order of the day. "The system of peoples education had to be introduced as '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 perspective in this theatre of action requires, among other things, that the educators themselves, the teachers at schools, universities and other institutions of higher learning should be organised into democratic formations that consciously and systematically pursue the objective of a people's education in the full meaning of the word."

What they say . . .

● THE effective ban announced by Government was 'insidious' the National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU) said. The bans were "tantamount to preventing them (the organisations) from operating".

"By 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."

● The Muslim youth movement of South Africa condemning yesterday's effective ban saying "the latest restrictions are yet another futile attempt on the government's part to strangle the legitimate political and economic aspirations of the majority of South Africans."

● Kangwane Chief Minister Enos J Mabuza noted yesterday's central government effective banning of 17 organisations with "profound regret."

Mr Mabuza and his government "cannot but assume 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," a statement said.

— Sapa.

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By Bert van Hees
and Sapa

Restrictions a disaster, says Tutu

THE restrictions placed on 17 organisations, including the United Democratic Front, were described yesterday by Archbishop Desmond Tutu as an "unmitigated disaster for South Africa".

At a Press conference yesterday, which he shared with Dr Alan Boesak 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: "I see it as a vicious and provocative act by a government which has now become a serious threat to Southern Africa. We have seen its bully-boy tactics at their most vicious 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."

Archbishop Tutu said there was not the slightest doubt that its idea of reform was to smash all effective possible political opposition in the country, "no matter how peaceful or lawful, and to rule with the jackboot".

He said the organisations the government was suppressing were all dedicated to peaceful means of opposing the brutality of apartheid.

"If they had not been, we would have seen them in court long before now, facing serious charges under the government's draconian laws, he said.

Archbishop Tutu said the government's message was clear — peaceful paths to change are being closed off one by one, and those wanting real change are being encouraged by the government's actions to turn to violence.

Archbishop Tutu said White South Africans had to realise that they are at the crossroads — "If they don't stop this government soon (and there's not much hope that they

will), we are heading for war".

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 "seems to have nothing to offer South Africa but violence and bloodshed".

"It must go, and be replaced by a democratic, non-racial government which represents all the country's people, Black and White."

Archbishop Tutu said he still desperately wanted a negotiated solution to the country's 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 "bannings," 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 government's door, he said.

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

"It must have been a very unpleasant surprise to see that opposition in our communities has not only survived, but grown."

Dr Boesak claimed the government had no interest in peaceful change, or non-violent solutions to the problems they had created for the country.

South African Council of Churches general secretary, the Rev Frank Chikane, reacted to government's effective ban on 17 organisations by

calling on the international community to act against the "apartheid regime".

He also expressed fears South Africans would "see force as the only way of ending apartheid".

"I am alarmed by the effective banning of 17 organisations and the restrictions imposed on Cosatu," said Mr Chikane.

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

"Once more the Nationalist government has revealed what really lies beneath its reform policy — total control of the people of South Africa by a White minority and outright repression of dissenting voices of the majority..."

"The argument by the Minister of Law and Order that the order does not prohibit the organisations from preserving their assets, keeping up to date their books and records and performing administrative functions, is an attempt to... mislead the international community that this action does not amount to closing down the organisations..."

The bannings were in fact directed at the "fundamental aims and objectives of these organisations — that is, to protest and work for the end of apartheid..."

The End Conscription Campaign said it was "sickened and angered" by the latest move.

"These are organisations that represent and campaign around the legitimate aspirations of many South Africans," the ECC statement said.

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

"By further restricting the space in which non-violent protest can take place, a negotiated settlement to our problems seems ever remote."

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'Curbs in interest of public safety'

By Brian Stuart

CAPE TOWN. — Announcing restrictions on Cosatu, 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.

"It 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.

"There are organisations and people in the Republic of South Africa who persist in establishing, maintaining and

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 certain extent.

"Revolutionaries 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.

"These 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.

"Activities of these organisations and people not only threaten the safety of the public or the maintenance of public order but also hamper the termination of the state of emergency."

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.

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

"Notwithstanding 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;

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

- Take legal advice or legal steps.

"The 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 termination of the state of emergency," Mr Vlok added.

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

"Finally, 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 Republic of South Africa."

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Tambo quotes to demonstrate links of ANC

CAPE TOWN—The 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 ANC's 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 'these mass revolutionary bases'.

Welcome

He continues with Mr Tambo: 'We 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'.

From January, 1986: 'We also seize this occasion especially to welcome most warmly the formation of the Congress of South African Trade Unions...'

From January, 1988: 'Organisationally, that enhanced level of unity has found expression in the growth of that mighty arm of the workers of our country, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and its affiliates.'

Of the UDF, Mr Tambo had said 'that outstanding product of the creative initiative of the masses of our struggling people, the UDF, has borne the brunt of the futile terrorist onslaught of the Botha/Malan/Coetzee regime to defeat our mass offensive and to suppress our demo-

cratic organisations.

'To this day the threat of prohibition hangs over the UDF...'

He was confident the UDF — 'having more than survived the assassination and imprisonment of its leaders, the cold-blooded murder of its followers, banning of its meetings' — would overcome all attempts by 'the enemy to wipe it out of existence'.

Practice had more than amply demonstrated 'the struggling masses of our country need the UDF as an instrument to maintain, advance and deepen our united action'. Mr Tambo said in the quotation of January, 1987.

He continues to say the 'National Liberation Alliance' headed by the ANC, would be able to guide the UDF only 'if we have our underground structures within the UDF'. — (Sapa)

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Order on UDF chief

THE president of the United Democratic Front, Mr Archie Gumede, and a Release Mandela Committee office bearer, Mr Jabu Ngwenya, were served with a restriction order following the clampdown under Public Safety Act yesterday, their legal representatives have confirmed.

The details of Mr Ngwenya's order were sketchy but they are believed to be the same as Mr Gumede's with different organisations being quoted.

Mr Gumede is no longer allowed to take part "in any manner whatsoever" the activities of the United Democratic Front, Natal Indian Congress, Release Mandela Committee, Durban Housing Action Committee, Friends of the UDF and the Association of Durban Democrats.

He also may not "without the written consent of the Commissioner of the South African Police or the Divisional Commissioner of the SAP for the Port Natal division" address any gathering at which

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Order on UDF chief

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, compile or transmit "in 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 —

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 — 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 effective upon the person's release, the sources said.

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

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THE CITIZEN COMMENT

Clampdown

THE virtual banning of 17 organisations and the restraints put on the Congress of South 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 government through violence and has had to turn to other means of achieving its objectives.

One of these is to use seemingly democratic movements to mobilise the Black masses against the existing order — through the schools, with people's education, through the townships, with street committees and alternative structures, and through the trade unions, using them as powerful political tools.

At the same time the ANC has been sharpening its campaign to isolate South Africa economically, through disinvestment and sanctions, and to present itself as the sole representative 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 "mass democratic organisations" 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: "In many parts of the country we have already made important advances towards the creation of these mass revolutionary bases."

"We have destroyed many of the enemy's organs of apartheid rule. The masses of the people have played a central role in this process as active participants in the struggle for their own liberation."

"We 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 Committee) and their affiliates and other democratic formations."

We have pointed out on several occasions that the creation of so-called democratic organisations 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 — the ANC, the Congress of Democrats, and the Coloured People's Congress — were banned.

The government has not gone so far as to ban the 17 organisations it has listed yesterday.

"Endanger safety"

However, although the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, says he is prohibiting only those activities that "endanger the safety of the public, the maintenance of law and order or the termination of the state of emergency," 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 '76 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 country's 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.

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Court may view orders differently

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 legal opinion may interpret the orders differently.

The intention, he said, was to shift the emphasis away from detaining people and rather returning them to society while curbing their subversive activities.

In respect of organisations the restrictions would affect only the actions of its officers and members but not affiliate organisations.

"We have no official legal position, we are not a law firm, but I can only say how we understand the regulations and orders," he said.

The restriction orders served on individuals were varied and tailored to each individual case to allow the person to continue working but restricting his after-hours movements.

"Effectively they will be restricted to their homes for certain times of the day."

The Minister's Press liaison officer, in elaborating on the effect of the restrictions Brigadier Leon Mellet and the legal advisor, who as an advocate could not be identified, said the orders were not bannings as such and had to be distinguished from the legal banning of the ANC and PAC which became illegal and had their assets liquidated and seized.

The legal advisor pointed 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.

Cosatu restricted to trade union activities

By Brian Stuart

CAPE TOWN. — Regulations 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 political activities.

Cosatu is specifically prohibited from encouraging or inciting, "by way of publicity campaigns", boycotts or commemorations of banned or affected organisations, the deaths of people or security prisoners or detainees.

The special regulation applies only to Cosatu. Separate regulations were published in regard to other organisations, together with a list of such organisations.

The Cosatu regulations define a "publicity campaign" as any public statement, Press interview, 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 support 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 campaigns, any opposition to Internal Security

Act detentions or regulations, the system of local government or negotiations towards a new constitutional dispensation.

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

Cosatu is further barred from publicity campaigns aimed at observing any particular day to commemorate or celebrate events in banned organisations or affected organisations.

It may not by way of publicity encourage people to observe a particular day to "commemorate or celebrate an incident of riot, public violence or unrest, or a pro-

test gathering or protest march which has taken place at some time or other in the Republic".

Other clauses prohibit it from encouraging or inciting disinvestment, trade boycotts, economic or other punitive measures, the severing or restricting of diplomatic relations 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 its normal functions as a trade union body, while preventing it from external political activities.

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Clampdown on 18 groups

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and to carry on their administrative functions.

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

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.

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 Mandela Committee, Detainee Parents Support Committee, Azanian People's Organisation and various others are clearly covered by being prevented from "any activities or acts whatsoever".

The United States government said in a statement released in Pretoria that it is appalled that the South African government has effectively outlawed the activities of a large number of organisations. It described the move as a "giant step backwards" for the country.

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's problems.

"The affected organisations represent the aspirations of a broad cross-section of the Black community."

"By 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 Africa's problems. This is a giant step backwards for South Africa."

The statement added that the US Assistant Secretary of State (for African Affairs), Dr Chester Crocker, had called South Africa's ambassador to the US to register "our shock and distress at these inexplicable actions by this government."

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 "totally opposed to repressive meas-

ures of this kind.

"We do not see how the suppression of non-violent political activity can possibly contribute to a peaceful solution to South Africa's problems."

"We are particularly concerned that the Black opposition in South Africa should not lose hope of peaceful fundamental change."

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 "a black day for democracy in South Africa".

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

He said many of the political activities banned in the imposition of restrictions on Cosatu were "perfectly legal peaceful democratic activities".

These included calls for the release of detainees, opposition to detention

without trial, opposition to the present system of local government, opposition to the National Council, and pleas for disinvestment.

"They are banned because the government believes they create a revolutionary climate. The fact is that a revolutionary climate does exist — it exists because of the government's untenable constitutional system and of the obvious unwillingness to replace it with fully democratic dispensation."

"These new actions seem to suggest that the government has very little interest in achieving legitimacy through fundamental political change, but has clearly opted for more and more repressive control," said Mr Van der Merwe.

Restrictive steps the government took in terms of the emergency regulations, against 18 organisations were "not enough", the Conservative Party commented after details were announced.

"In the present atmosphere in the country, these steps against the organisations come too late and their effectiveness is doubtful," the CP's Law and Order spokesman Dr Chris de Jager said.

"An impossible load is

being placed on police to differentiate between legal and illegal activities under these regulations," Mr De Jager 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."

"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."

Politics

The banning of 18 organisations and individuals in extra parliamentary politics amounted to a "declaration of war" on Black politics, the National Democratic Movement (NDM), said.

"The bannings sabotage the chances of South Africans reaching a political accord."

"It 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."

The State's 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.

CLAMPDOWN ON 18 GROUPS RAISES

THE president of the United Democratic Front, Mr Archie Gumede, and a Release Mandela Committee office bearer, Mr Jabu Ngwenya, were served with a restriction order following the clampdown under Public Safety Act yesterday, their legal representatives have confirmed.

The details of Mr Ngwenya's order were sketchy but they are believed to be the same as Mr Gumede's with different organisations being quoted.

Mr Gumede is no longer allowed to take part "in any manner whatsoever" the activities of the United Democratic Front, Natal Indian Congress, Release Mandela Committee, 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 Commissioner of the South African Police or the Divisional Commissioner of the SAP for the Port Natal division" address any gathering at which

STORM

By Brian Stuart and Sapa

THE government's long-expected 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 "appalling", "shocking", "horrific" and "disturbing". The Conservative Party, however, criticised the government for not banning the 18 organisations outright.

New regulations were promulgated yesterday to create special circumstances in which Mr Adriaan Vlok, Minister of Law and Order, could restrict public activities of the organisations, but it stopped short of banning the organisations.

Cosatu is effectively limited to running its affairs as a trade union, but

Order on
UDF
chief

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

will test the regulations in court. Judgments in such cases are expected to reveal more clearly the confines within which the organisations must function.

In terms of the restrictions, they are barred from "any activities or acts whatsoever", although specifically permitted to continue in existence as legal entities, to look after their assets,

which allows the Minister to add other organisations or individuals to the list.

If any of these organisations should change their names in order to avoid the effect of the restricting order, the new name or names could be added to the list by way of notice in the Government Gazette.

These bodies are entitled to take the issue to court. The regulations specifically protect their rights to "take legal advice or judicial steps".

The government clearly anticipates that some or all of these organisations and to carry on their administrative functions.

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

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.

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

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's problems.

"The affected organisations represent the aspirations of a broad cross-section of the Black community.

"By 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 Africa's problems. This is a giant step backwards for South Africa."

The statement added that the US Assistant Secretary of State (for African Affairs), Dr Chester Crocker, had called South

Africa's ambassador to the US to register "our shock and distress at these inexplicable actions by this government."

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 "totally opposed to repressive meas-

ures of this kind.

"We do not see how the suppression of non-violent political activity can possibly contribute to a peaceful solution to South Africa's problems.

"We are particularly concerned that the Black opposition in South Africa should not lose hope of peaceful fundamental change."

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 "a black day for democracy in South Africa".

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

He said many of the political activities banned in the imposition of restrictions on Cosatu were "perfectly legal peaceful democratic activities".

These included calls for the release of detainees, opposition to detention

without trial, opposition to the present system of local government, opposition to the National Council, and pleas for disinvestment.

"They are banned because the government believes they create a revolutionary climate. The fact is that a revolutionary climate does exist — it exists because of the government's untenable constitutional system and of the obvious unwillingness to replace it with fully democratic dispensation.

"These new actions seem to suggest that the government has very little interest in achieving legitimacy through fundamental political change, but has clearly opted for more and more repressive control," said Mr Van der Merwe.

Restrictive steps the government took in terms of the emergency regulations, against 18 organisations were "not enough", the Conservative Party commented after details were announced.

"In the present atmosphere in the country, these steps against the organisations come too late and their effectiveness is doubtful," the CP's Law and Order spokesman Dr Chris de Jager said.

"An impossible load is

being placed on police to differentiate between legal and illegal activities under these regulations," Mr De Jager 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."

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Ukhetha iphela emasini Ndlela

NGISACELA ukuba nami kengibekwe ngalokhu osekwenzeka manje lapha eSobantu, engathi indaba ayisenjengoba umphakathi waseSobantu ufisa.

Thina mphakathi asikhethe nhlango ngalokhu esikushoyo. Lokhu okuqhanyukiswa ngusihlalo weSobantu Residents Association (SRA) ephepheni (*Echo* February 11) asiyazi. Thina mphakathi esikwaziyo ukuthi lezizingane ezaletwa imikhuba yazo ezayenza emalokishini lapho zihlala khona zisishiye — kungaba ziyi-UDF noma i-Azapo.

Thina esihlala ngenhla eSobantu sazi kahle ngokwenzekayo. Ngo January i-UDF wena Ndlela oyithandayo yavimba amakhumbi ukuba angayi e-Dark City. Ayelaphi amaZimzimu na? Abantu base-Dark City babekhuphuka ngezinyawo bezothatha amakhumbi ehlo kodwa abantu abafana nawe Ndlela abazange baphumele obala ngokuvimba lesenzo.

WITNESS ECHO
28/02/88
Yini ungakwazi ukumela iqiniso Ndlela? Ufunani kulelikomiti uma wena uzwana neyodwa yalezizinhlangano? Ngabantu abanjengawe esingabafuni ngoba thina asihlangene nalezi zinhlangano. Yini wena usho okusuka kuwe hhayi emphakathini?

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

Wena usuwenza sengathi sonke siyilinhlangano oiyona kanti sifuna kulunge loludaba kuphela. Isikhulumi se-Azasm sikubeka obala ukuthi sebexolelene, nathi siyakubona lokho, kodwa singeke siyeke ukuthi laba abafika ngalezizinhlangano besuswa wudlame emakubo abagoduke ngoba kuningi esifuna ukukulungisa lapha eSobantu. Okunye kwakho ukukhetha ikomidi elisha elizoqhubeka lapho kwacina khona iDazini.

Esifuna ikomidi likaNdlela likwazi ukuthi asifune kusayida nanhlango. Phuma moya wokukhetha kuNdlela kungene umoya wokudala uxolo ezinganeni.

**ONGAKHETHI,
Sobantu**

• 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.

Cosatu to challenge restrictions

Natal witness
25/4/88

JOHANNESBURG — The Congress of South African Trade Unions is to fight the order restricting it to trade union activities on the grounds that it is "full of loopholes", one of its legal representatives confirmed yesterday.

The Detainees Parents' Support Committee said yesterday it believed the restrictions were illegal and the government was not empowered to issue them.

It said it was "baffled" as to how the DPSC could be a threat to public safety since no organisation had worked harder to terminate the state of emergency. "The major part of our work is geared towards the welfare of detainees and their families, whose dire circumstances are directly caused by (Law and Order Minister) Mr Vlok and his political police."

The move would have repercussions in Pietermaritzburg and Cape Town, according to Cosatu's general secretary Mr Jay Naidoo.

Peace initiatives taken by the United Democratic Front to resolve the violence in Pietermaritzburg and in Cape squatter camps would be hampered, he said. "There 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."

The UDF's national treasurer, Mr Azhar Cachalia, warned the steps would increase the tendency to violence.

"For the government to act against organisations like the UDF and Azapo, 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."

- Two protest meetings against the restrictions are to be held in the city today. The University of Natal's 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 at the city hall.

REACTION

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 AWB, BBB on list?

THE AWB and the Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging 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 opposition" 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 forms of oppression." — Sapa.

Clamps 'have dashed peace hopes'

by WYNDHAM HARTLEY

GOVERNMENT action against the UDF has "killed" the Pietermaritzburg peace initiatives, and has come as a "massive blow" to many people involved in the process.

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

Mr Musa Zondi, National Chairman of Inkatha Youth and leader of the Inkatha delegation to the talks, said the restrictions "dash all hopes for the peace talks. The UDF is a crucial element in the search for peace. Who is there now for us to talk to?"

The chamber of commerce, conveners of the talks, said in a statement yesterday: "Obviously, if one of the parties to the talks is not able to be present the talks cannot continue."

The chamber noted that the UDF could apply for permission to continue certain activities but questioned whether "UDF/Cosatu would be prepared to and can effectively continue under these circumstances".

"The chamber, as part of the ongoing process,

Turn to page 2

SEE PAGE 2

Armed groups clash in city centre

by STRINI MOODLEY

ARMED groups attacked each other in the city centre last night and police made a number of arrests.

According to witnesses, the attack "appeared to have been between supporters of Inkatha and the United Democratic Front (UDF)".

However, a spokesman for the South African Police, while confirming the assaults, said it could not be confirmed whether the attack had been between Inkatha

and the UDF.

"We know that the assaults did take place in Commercial Road involving a group of about 15 people but we cannot confirm the involvement of any organisation," the S.A.P. spokesman said.

He confirmed that a number of arrests had been made and that, except for a few minor injuries, there were no deaths as a result of the attacks.

In another incident in the city yesterday morning, a former motocross racer, Mr Richard Borain,

who manages a roof thatching firm in the city, was stabbed in Victoria Road.

Mr Borain was rushed to Grey's Hospital. He was in a satisfactory condition, according to a hospital spokesman.

Police were unable to confirm the incident which apparently occurred after Mr Borain's truck was involved in a "near accident" with another truck.

Because of the near accident, words were exchanged and Mr Borain was stabbed.

Crackdown 'a massive blow to peace effort'

From page 1
already has an appointment with (Law and Order) Minister (Adriaan) Vlok this Friday, and perhaps we will receive some clarification," the statement added.

Despite a clause in the order that organisations may apply to Mr Vlok for permission to continue certain activities, observers believe it will be impossible for the UDF to continue in the

talks.

"Should the UDF make such application, it would tend to legitimise what the government has done," one observer said.

National Democratic Movement (NDM) MP for Greytown Mr Pierre Cronje said: "This... is a massive blow to people in Pietermaritzburg who have spent much energy on the peace effort."

He added that the apparent willingness of UDF/Cosatu to negotiate "does not suit the government's propaganda of a total onslaught which is dependent on the mass organisations being seen as subversive".

"Because 80% of people are excluded from Parliament, to ban extra-parliamentary organisations is in fact a declaration of war on black politics," he said, adding this gave the lie to the government's stated commitment to negotiation.

President of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa, Dr Khoza Mgojo, said it was a "nightmare".

"We have been doing our best even after the recent detentions but this has brought the peace initiatives into a total cul-de-sac."

When approached, Independent Mediation Services of South Africa (Imssa) mediators Phillip Glaser and John Radford said: "(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.

"Firstly, it denies 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.

"Secondly, it has become clear that the state has, and will continue to have, a direct influence on the peace initiatives."

• 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 to 'prove a point'

THE NATAL WITNESS
25/05/88

CAPE TOWN — The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, has authorised the selective quoting of ANC leader, Mr Oliver Tambo, to demonstrate the organisation's links with some of the bodies served with restriction orders yesterday.

The Chief of the Security Police, 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.

"It 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," 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 "these mass revolutionary bases".

He continued quoting Mr Tambo:

"We 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."

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.

NEWS

Exodus from Maritzburg as pupils search for classrooms

MOST pupils who are stranded without classrooms have vanished. Some parents and guardians have noted an exodus of pupils leaving Pietermaritzburg in search of educational institutions in rural areas and other parts of the country.

Violence has been cited by most parents as another contributing factor to the exodus. Students were insecure in their former schools, which were disturbed by confrontations between the rival groups in and outside school premises.

Echo was previously flooded by worried parents complaining that all schools were full and that the shortage of schools was depriving their children of the opportunity 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 admission to secondary schools at Imbali had been accepted because the schools are full.

Parents had also complained about the shortage of schools in black areas, and they added that the situation was aggravated by the fact that the DET is not taking

more than 31 pupils for each class.

A snap survey conducted by *Echo* has revealed 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, Chancelle, 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."



On the Ekerold Yamaha motor bike during 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:

United Democratic Front;
Azanian People's Organisation;
Azanian Youth Organisation;
Detainees Parents' Support Committee;
Detainees Support Committee;
Release Mandela Committee;
National Education Crisis Committee;
National Education Union of South Africa;
South African National Students' Congress;
Cape Youth Congress;
Soweto Youth Congress;
South African Youth Congress;
Soweto Civic Association;
Cradock Residents' Association;
Port Elizabeth Black Civic Association;
Vaal Civic Association;
Western Cape Civic Association.

Cosatu to challenge restrictions

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ECHO 25/2/88

ECHO 25/2/88

Viva Varara! Viva Zimzimu!

MUZI omdala ongenamakhansela, ongenankathazo sithi halala thina bathandi bomzabalazo womuntu omnyama uma sizwa ukuthi intsha yethu eyithemba loMgungundlovu isixolelene.

Azapo/Azasm nawe UDF/Soyo ngicela bafowethu nithandane njengakuqala, njengoba sengishilo bafowethu ngathi nilithemba lethu.

Nginethemba Sobantu ukuthi lokukugwazwa kwabantu edolobheni begwazwa izitha zomzabalazo eziphethwe umholi wabasebenzi kodwa ongakaze asebenze, kuzonciphisa uma kuke kwaxolelwana.

Bafana bakaGumede nabakaMolala anike nidumaze izitha zomzabalazo. Nibambe kuthule umoya, kuphele ukuthi ubani iVarara ubani iZimzimu. Kuphela nje umfowethu nomfowethu.

Bantu base Sobantu asike sifuze U-Percy Peter Qoboza owayeyi-Azapo, eyi-UDF aphinde abe i-Cosatu (sic).

Asikubeke eceleni okwezinhlangano sibambane thina balezinhlangano engizibale ngenhla. Abaholi bethu abakhuluma iqiniso abahlezi beboshwa singabaqedi uthando lomzabalazo.

Viva UDF, Azapo and Cosatu.

N.Z. MNDAWENI

• ENGLISH SUMMARY:

We, the lovers of the black man's struggle for liberation, appreciate that the Sobantu rival youths have reconciled. Brothers in Azapo/Azasm 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 constantly being detained for speaking the truth.

UP W Botha wehlulekile kusho Inkosi Buthelezi

Ekhuluma emhlanganweni abenawo nalentsha ufundele intsha izinhloso zomthetho-sivinywa owashaywa ngo-1986 iNational Council Draft Bill. Uthe ngesikhathi kuchazwa ngezinhloso zalomthetho-sisekelo kwathiwa kuhlangozwa ukuba kube khona ukubambisana phakathi kwezinhlanga ngenhloso yokwakha umthetho-sisekelo omusha, kanye nokunikeza abaNyama ithuba lokuba nezwi kuHulumeni ikakhulukazi kulezozinto ezibathintayo.

Uthe okanye okuqukethwe yilomthethosivinywa wukudala uzwana, ukuhlonishwa kwamalungelo obuntu kanye nenkululeko yazozonke izinhlanga zakulelizwe.

Unxuse intsha yamaBhunu ukuba keyicubungule ukuthi usenzi uMnuz Botha ukuhlangabezana nezinhloso eziqokethwenyumthetho-sisekelo.

Wathi yena namanje uzimisele ukuba abambe iqhaza ezingxoxweni ngekusasa lalelizwe wathi nokho kuze kube manje akukho kubonisana kweqiniso osekuke kwenzeka kulelizwe. Uthe asekwenzile nje uHulumeni ukuqoka labo afisa ukuxoxisana nabo, wathi akukho luhla oselukhishiwe lalokho okungakhulunywa ngakho njengamanje.

Uthe ngenxa yokubambeleka kwezingxoxo phakathi kwezinhlanga kuleli, sekudale ukuba ukungqubuzana phakathi kwezinhlanga kuye ngokuya kujula. Wathi nombusazwe waba-Nyama uya ngokuya ushuba njengoba kubonakala endaweni yase-Mgungundlovu lapho lawomaqembu angahambisani nokuxazululwa kwezinkinga ngendlela yokuthula bebhekene ngqo nalabo abazinikele embusweni wokubonisana.

VUSI SOSIBO

ETHEKWINI.— UNDunankulu wa-KwaZulu, Inkosi uMangosuthu Buthelezi, utshele intsha yamaBhunu eNyuvesi yasePitoli ukuthi uMongameli wakulelizwe uMnuz. P.W. Botha wehlulekile ukufeza izethembiso zakhe maqondana noguquko kulelizwe.

Uthe ngesikhathi uMnuz Botha ehluleka ukuletha izinguquko kuleli amaqembu asemazweni angaphandle abangabangane bakuleli nalabo abayizitha zalo baya ngokuya ngokuya belifulathela elaseSouth Africa.

Uthe intuthuko ezinguqukweni kufanele kube yintuthuko engahlangene nombusazwe wokutshela abanye ukuthi kufanele benzeni, wathi uHulumeni wezwe usaqhubeka nokuthatha

izinqumo ezithinta abaNyama ngaphandle kokuthintana nabo. Ulinganise ngomthetho wokuqeda ohulumeni bezifunda (Provincial Administration) wathi lokhu kwenzeka ngaphandle kokuthintwa kwabaNyama phezu kokuba kwaziwa ukuthi nabo bayathinteka kuloluguquko.

Another perspective on the Bophuthatswana coup

SIR — 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

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-

vitch was arrested in England. This arrest came as a shock to all of us involved in Bophuthatswana because up to November when he was dismissed by the

Bophuthatswana government we had had no idea of his shady dealings.

I can assure you that his bail was most certainly *not* paid by Bophuthatswana. Indeed the mere thought is absurd as the government 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 in that a car which he used to flee Bophuthatswana 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 system. 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 peace or prosperity for their own people.

It is only too easy to be derisive of men and women who seek the peaceful and constructive 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 reminded to provide their names and addresses, even if they want pseudonyms used.

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



PRES Mangope

THE NATAL MERCURY, 25 FEBRUARY 1988

Shift in Govt's detention policy

CAPE TOWN—New restriction orders on individuals announced in the security crack-down yesterday could lead to the release of detainees.

Government sources indicated that the orders, which can confine an individual to certain places at certain times, were a 'definite shift away from detentions'.



Ormande Pollok
Political Correspondent

It is understood that about 20 restriction orders were to be served yesterday but that some of the people involved 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 could 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 orders are UDF co-presidents Archie Gumede and Albertina Sisulu and UDF Natal Midlands chairman A S Chetty.

In Pietermaritzburg, former Methodist Church president Rev Simon Qgubule received a restriction order.

Mr Gumede's order prohibits him from taking part 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.

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

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

However, two other legs of the order specify that an individual could be prohibited from 'being, at any time or during the hours specified in the order, outside the boundaries of an area likewise specified' and from 'being, during the hours specified in the order, outside the boundaries of the premises where he lives'.

This means that in future detainees could be released with orders restricting them, for example, from participating in politics or addressing meetings, and restricting them to their homes at certain times.

They could also apply for the consent of the Commissioner of Police to do certain things mentioned in the order.

The new restrictions have effectively excluded the UDF from the Pietermaritzburg peace talks, but it can apply to the Minister of Law and Order for special consent to participate in them.

In terms of the order issued yesterday the UDF is prohibited 'from carrying on or performing any activities or acts whatsoever'.

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 performing such acts as the minister may have consented to'.

The Mercury's Pietermaritzburg Bureau reports that the Chamber of Commerce is to meet Mr Vlok during his visit to the capital tomorrow.

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

Mass condemnation Natal Mercury, 25/7/88 greet Govt bannings

Mercury Correspondent

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

It was a 'black day for democracy', the PFP's 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 Town, warned that many would see the latest clampdown as a 'declaration of war' by the Government.

'I see it as a vicious and provocative act by a government now become a serious threat to southern Africa.'

'There is now not the slightest doubt that its idea of reform is to smash effective possible political opposition in the country, no matter how peaceful or lawful and to rule with the jackboot.'

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

'So the message coming out of the Government's action is clear: Peaceful paths to change are being closed off one by one and those wanting real change are being encouraged by the Government's actions to turn to violence.'

Dr Boesak, speaking in his

personal capacity, said the Government's 'desperate action to break the back of democratic opposition in South Africa' was driving increasing numbers of people underground 'and violence then becomes the only option'.

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

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

'The UDF is a symbol of determination to oppose the Government until it is no more — the idea the UDF stands for will continue to live,' he said.

The PFP's Mr van der Merwe said that the Government by its action had treated Parliament with contempt and had 'further obstructed peaceful political activity and peaceful change'.

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

'Parliament will further also suffer by the disastrous clampdown on political debate outside Parliament where views on constitutional and other important issues are formulated amongst the

voteless communities.'

The action, Mr van der Merwe said, was also a blow against peaceful political 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 reduction of the sentences of prisoners, opposition to detention without trial, meddling with the affairs of a local authority and the commemoration of certain political events.

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

'Not enough'

'The fact is that a revolutionary climate does exist — it exists because of the Government's untenable constitutional system and of their obvious unwillingness to replace it with a fully democratic dispensation.'

The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) and Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging (BBB) were 'conspicuous by their absence' from the list of 17 organisations effectively banned by the Government yesterday, PFP spokesman on law and order Helen Suzman noted.

The Conservative Party commented that the steps the Government took yesterday

were 'not enough'.

'In the present atmosphere in the country, these steps against the organisations come too late and their effectiveness is doubtful,' the CP's law and order spokesman Dr Chris de Jager said.

'This 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.'

Dr Alex Boraine, executive director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA said the State's action was further evidence of its total obsession and determination 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 restricting all opposition and any organisation it views as a threat to its autonomy'.

BUSINESS DAY

25 FEBR. 1988

The banned seventeen

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.

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.

The organisations listed under the regulations are:

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT: Formed in response to government's 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, women's and students' organisations, and is led by a national executive including Albertina Sisulu, wife of jailed ANC leader Walter Sisulu, Natal lawyer Archie Gumede and Johannesburg lawyer Azhar Cachalia.

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

In 4½ 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 "affected organisation" in August, 1986.

AZANIAN PEOPLE'S 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 ORGANISATION (Pebco)** — Formed in 1979, it had a meteoric rise, led by Thozamile Botha, a key figure in PE's labour upheavals at that time. He was detained with other Pebco leaders in 1980

DIANNA GAMES

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

In 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 Motlana.

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 young educated 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.

DETAINEES 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' 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 "progressive" 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 release of political prisoners, the unbanning of political 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 orientated 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.

BUSINESS DAY 25 FEBR. 1988

GOVERNMENT moved against leading anti-apartheid activists yesterday, slapping restriction orders on at least five senior UDF office holders.

The restrictions were issued in terms of new emergency regulations issued by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, who said 18 people, some of whom were in detention, would be restricted.

UDF co-presidents Archie Gumede and Albertina Sisulu and UDF Natal Midlands chairman A S Chetty received restriction orders late yesterday afternoon. In Maritzburg former Methodist Church president Simon Qgubule received 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.

Gumede's order prohibits him from taking part in UDF activities, talking to the Press, addressing gatherings of more than 10 people and preparing material for publication as defined by the Internal Security Act.

Lawyers acting for the affected organisations were yesterday studying the restrictions and said they would be

Restrictions slapped on UDF leaders

SIPHO NGCOBO and
PATRICK BULGER

mounting a legal challenge in the near future.

Police swooped on the Johannesburg offices of the Azanian National Youth Unity (Azanyu) — not one of the listed groupings — and removed documents yesterday. Although the offices were locked, 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 photo-copying machine, boxes of literature and 600 T-shirts printed for this week's 10th anniversary of the death of PAC founder Robert Sobukwe.

Black opposition in disarray

Tough curbs hit anti-govt groups hard

BUSINESS DAY
25 FEBR. 1988

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

ly curtail the political activities of the UDF and the Azanian People's Organisation (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 restrictions on Cosatu — less severe and apparently designed to limit its activity to purely bread-and-butter trade union matters — follow recent ministerial and police statements about its political activities.

PATRICK BULGER
and ALAN FINE

Cosatu's plans for campaigns against the October municipal elections and for the release from custody of Moses Mayekiso — general secretary of its second-largest affiliate — now appear doomed.

However, lawyers said most facets of Cosatu's "living wage" campaign as well as its campaign against the pending Labour Relations Amendment Bill are unaffected by the restrictions.

The curbs do not apply to Cosatu's individual affiliates.

The orders also threaten to scuttle talks aimed at ending the Maritzburg conflict. Two of the key participants in the talks, UDF leaders Archie Gumede and A S Chetty, were served with restriction orders prohibiting, among other things, any involvement in UDF activity without the permission of the SA Commissioner of Police.

And Cosatu media officer Frank Meintjies said Cosatu would be prohibited from calling for the release from detention of participants in the peace

● To Page 2

talks and from organising in the community.

The orders could also jeopardise the October municipal elections, according to Soweto Civic Association executive Sam Pholopo.

"As far as we are concerned the government is declaring war on the people of SA. We are not going to take this sitting down," UDF co-president Albertina Sisulu said. She was later served with a restriction order.

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

A labour lawyer said certain aspects of the restrictions against Cosatu appeared improper and could possibly be successfully challenged in court.

NUM general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa said his union — Cosatu's largest affiliate — would be considering action against the restrictions, including an approach to the Chamber of Mines, over the next few days.

"It is clear our members will not ac-

cept it. There will be massive opposition," he said.

Naidoo said the restrictions were intended to destroy the last vestiges 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-floor and in broader society.

He added government had been encouraged to opt for the path of increased

● From Page 1

repression through support it had received from employers and the right-wing UK, US and West German governments.

A spokesman for the Chamber of Mines said it was regrettable that the situation in SA had evidently deteriorated to the extent that government considered it necessary to further erode fundamental pillars of democracy in order to preserve stability.

"The chamber's perception is that threats to law and order posed by these organisations could be adequately addressed through due process of existing law," he said. He added the long-term solution clearly lay in addressing the fundamental problem of full political participation for all.

Seifsa director Brian Angus said the organisation still had to take a close look at the restrictions. There would be concern if they prevented unions from performing their union activities.

Seifsa would probably discuss its views on the curbs on Cosatu's political activities at a board of management meeting soon, he added.

Other key employer groups were expected to respond to the clampdown today.

Nactu, which is not affected by the restrictions, called on other unaffected organisations to show solidarity with the 18 affected groups, including assistance in court challenges to the "draconian order".

Our Prague spring

BUSINESS DAY - 25/02/1988

comes to its end

THE 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 Botha's latest resort to brute force. It does not make his actions less ugly. It does not even make his actions wise. 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 people's 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 population 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 method, 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.

IN 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 bannings (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 campus," 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

HOW THE NEW BANNINGS WILL WORK



□ VLOK . . . approachable

At the Minister's pleasure

PATRICK BULGER

endanger the safety of the public, the maintenance of law and order or the termination of the state of emergency".

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 certain activities which do not endanger the safety of the public".

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

The new regulations prohibit Cosatu from campaigning for the unbanning 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 disinvestment and sanctions against SA.

Cosatu may also not organise commemorations or celebrations of riots, public violence or unrest in the past, or in honour of a prisoner, "whether he be alive or dead".

In addition to the clamps on organisations, individuals may be restricted 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.

No names were given.

Security Police Chief Lt-Gen Johan van der Merwe said "revolutionaries and activists, realising that armed confrontation and violent revolution cannot be successfully implemented in the SA, apply various other strategies in an attempt to achieve their goals".

These included mobilising the masses, rendering the country ungovernable, making impossible demands on government, destroying existing structures and instituting boycotts.

Lawyers acting for the 17 organisations have said they intend taking whatever legal action was possible against the orders.

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But, it could also carry on with 'such activities or performing such acts as the minister may have consented to'.

The Mercury's Pietermaritzburg Bureau reports that the Chamber of Commerce is to meet Mr Vlok during his visit to the capital tomorrow.

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

Crackdown 'a massive blow to peace effort'

From page 1

already has an appointment with (Law and Order) Minister (Adriaan) Vlok this Friday, and perhaps we will receive some clarification," the statement added.

Despite a clause in the order that organisations may apply to Mr Vlok for permission to continue certain activities, observers believe it will be impossible for the UDF to continue in the

talks.

"Should the UDF make such application, it would tend to legitimise what the government has done," one observer said.

National Democratic Movement (NDM) MP for Greytown Mr Pierre Cronje said: "This... is a massive blow to people in Pietermaritzburg who have spent much energy on the peace effort."

He added that the apparent willingness of UDF/Cosatu to negotiate "does not suit the government's propaganda of a total onslaught which is dependent on the mass organisations being seen as subversive".

"Because 80% of people are excluded from Parliament, to ban extra-parliamentary organisations is in fact a declaration of war on black politics," he

said, adding this gave the lie to the government's stated commitment to negotiation.

President of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa, Dr Khoza Mgojo, said it was a "nightmare".

"We have been doing our best even after the recent detentions but this has brought the peace initiatives into a total cul-de-sac."

When approached, Independent Mediation Services of South Africa (Imssa) mediators Phillip Glaser and John Radford said: "(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.

"Firstly, it denies 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.

"Secondly, it has become clear that the state has, and will continue to have, a direct influence on the peace initiatives."

• Two women, one an adult and the other a teenager, were injured and their house extensively damaged at Mpumalanga near Hammarsdale when a petrol-bomb was hurled at the dwelling, police said in their overnight unrest report.

Steps to end carnage in Maritzburg

TENTATIVE moves to end the vicious power struggle among blacks in Natal have been disclosed.

And in a second glimmer of hope, the daily police 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 fighting between Inkatha and the UDF.

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 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 his organisation had been finalised.

"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 involved, we will do likewise subject 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 refused to disclose details.

Inkatha spokesman Musa Zondi said his organisation had not been contacted about the meeting, but the move was welcome.

"It is necessary for us to grow above ideological differences for the sake of peace. The bloodshed in Maritzburg is a disgrace," he said.

Police said a youth was shot dead in Soweto when blacks attacked a municipal policeman.

But around Maritzburg only isolated stone-throwing and arson incidents were reported. For almost the first time this year there were no deaths. But lulls in the violence have occurred before. — Sapa-Reuter.

Pretoria bans UDF in new crackdown

Patrick Laurence
in Johannesburg

THE South African Government yesterday moved 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 — in the words of Archbishop Desmond Tutu — as a "declaration of war."

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 "shocked and saddened" British Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, said: "The British Government are totally opposed to repressive measures of 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."

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 "from carrying out or performing any activities or acts whatsoever."

The giant Congress of Trade Unions, meanwhile, may now 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 — established clandestinely after the declaration of national emergency — and the Detainee Parents Support Committee — 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 — 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 byelections 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."

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.

Pretoria gets even tougher in stifling anti-apartheid movement

SA groups pay high price of success

South Africa

Patrick Laurence and
Victoria Brittain

THE success of the Detainees Parents Support Committee and the National Education Crisis Committee in bypassing censorship is one of the main reasons for their inclusion in Pretoria's draconian action yesterday against anti-apartheid organisations.

"The South African government realises that without international news coverage of events in South Africa, international 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 attack from the Government in recent months and their banning 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 publicising the detention of children under the state of emergency — 8,800 were detained during the 1986 emergency, including children 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.

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

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 Cooperation 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.

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 detention, seeking to prevent a situation where people simply disappeared. People came to the DPSC offices to tell the organisations about detentions, often enabling it to give precise information to families or lawyers.

The new Minister of Law and

Order, Adriaan Vlok, adopting an even more critical stance towards the DPSC than his predecessor, Louis Le Grange, has accused it of conducting a campaign of vilification against the police and of denigrating South Africa. Neither the DPSC, nor any of its senior members have ever been charged in open court, let alone convicted.

The National Education Crisis Committee or NECC, another of the 17 organisations effectively banned by Vlok, first moved to the centre of the political stage late in 1985. The NECC was the national arm of dozens of local crisis committees which sprung up during the turmoil in the black townships of 1984-85. The rejection of apartheid education has been one of the main factors in mobilising resistance.

The NECC campaigned for a conditional return to school after the boycotts of 1986 and for the introduction of "people's education" at black schools. It tried to bargain with the authorities for the withdrawal of troops from black townships and, more particularly, 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 consolidate and move ahead cautiously to "people's power".

Sisulu, the editor of the alternative 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, Ihrom Rensberg and the Rev Molefe Tsele. They all remain in detention.

Botha shows that he has run out of ideas

A SPOKESMAN for the United Democratic Front, one of 17 radical organisations effectively banned by the South African government yesterday, accused Pretoria 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 rebellion, Mr Botha manifestly had no need of still more emergency measures to muzzle radical dissent. 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 "soft" 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

From Tony Allen-Mills in Pietermaritzburg

the focal point for black political activity this year — the municipal elections due in October.

In the past, radical groups have successfully organised extensive boycotts of elections for local black councils regarded as Pretoria's puppets. During the unrest of the early 1980s those blacks who dared to accept councillors' posts became prime targets for attack by the radical "comrades". A black councillor was considered a "sell-out", and the punishment for forbidden collaboration was on occasion the dreaded "necklace" — death by burning petrol-filled tyre.

In most townships the directly-elected councils collapsed or were replaced by Pretoria's 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 — which was almost certain to call for a boycott of the elections — 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 Pretoria's weakness.

A third conclusion invited by yesterday's 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

were kept in the dark about Mr Botha's plans until it was too late 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 Force's recent exploits in Angola had already suggested that Mr Botha has come to rely heavily on the advice he receives from his security chiefs. Yesterday's 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 government's new strictures, there is 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 Africa's 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 yesterday's upheavals was the evidence it provided that negotiation with Pretoria does not work. "Peace gets you nowhere" was a common refrain in radical responses to the crackdown.

"Every single peaceful action we can take has now been criminalised," 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. "The government's idea is to smash effective political opposition, no matter how peaceful, and to rule with the jackboot... We are heading for war," Archbishop Desmond Tutu said.

A statement by the Black Sash women's pressure group, which escaped the crackdown, concluded: "The government should have nightmares while it ponders the result of what it is doing to our country".

THE FOLLOWING are the groups restricted under the edict: Azanian People's Organisation, Azanian Youth Organisation, Cape Youth Congress, Cradock Residents' Association, Detainees' Parents Support Committee, Detainees' 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 "from carrying on, or performing, any activities or acts whatsoever". 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 "which has taken place at some time or other in the Republic".

Defiance in Pretoria - Independent 25/2/88

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 desperation. 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.

Pretoria Shuts Off Its Critics

Botha Restricts Political Work by Foes of Apartheid

By William Claiborne

Washington Post Service

JOHANNESBURG — In its harshest state-of-emergency crackdown, South Africa effectively banned 17 leading anti-apartheid organizations on Wednesday, including the United Democratic Front coalition, and prohibited the country's largest trade union federation from engaging in political activities.

At the same time, the government announced it would release from detention some of the opposition groups' leaders, but under individual banning orders that include house arrest after working hours.

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

The ban was the most sweeping since groups opposing white-minority rule were outlawed in a clampdown in 1977 after the Soweto riots.

The emergency order, signed by President Pieter W. Botha, will limit the 800,000 member Congress of South African Trade Unions to labor activities, thereby effectively silencing one of the country's most potent voices of black majority opposition to the apartheid system of racial separation.

The decree, announced by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, says that the United Democratic Front and the other restricted groups may continue to exist and will not be prohibited from keeping financial records or performing "administrative functions."

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. Vlok said he was convinced that the new regulations would "contribute to a climate of stability, peaceful 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 lights 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 Association, the Soweto Youth Congress and the South African National Students Congress.

Among those served with individual restrictions were Archie Gumede, co-president of the United Democratic Front, who was taken from his Durban office by the police, served with an order and released.

Mr. Vlok said that despite emergency regulations already in effect, some opposition groups "persisted in establishing, maintaining and promoting a revolutionary climate." The new regulations, he said, would make it possible to restrict the activities of 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 "legal radical organizations" 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 National Congress.

On Wednesday, Mr. van der Merwe, in a statement, quoted Oliver Tambo, president of the African National Congress, as calling for the creation of "mass democratic organizations" as part of what the police chief called "the revolutionary onslaught."

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 organizational vacuum created by the detention of most of the United Democratic Front's national and regional leaders, is now prohibited from campaigning for the legalization of outlawed organizations such as the African National Congress, from urging the release of detainees, from promoting boycotts of local black elections, and from making calls for disinvestment 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, Pieter 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

THE immediate target of yesterday'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. Several of the 16 other organisations ordered to suspend all protest activity are affiliated to the UDF, a multiracial umbrella organisation which now boasts more than 700 affiliates and three million members and is committed to the non-violent pursuit of the aims of the banned African 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 opposition in place of the moderate Progressive Federal Party. This forced a change of front upon President Botha, 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 increasingly divided while the far Right has successfully mobilised the fears of less prosperous whites behind its campaign to restore apartheid 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 appeasement altogether in favour of repression.

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 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: prohibition 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 Africans 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.

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