



KwaZulu, Bop set

to join us - ANCH

By IKE MOTSAPI

QUESTIONS were raised yesterday when the African National Congress claimed that the

governments of KwaZulu and Bophuthatswana

were to join the organisation.

Mr Wilton Mkwazi, a veteran ANC member, told a cheering crowd at a rally held at the Jabulani Amphitheatre, Soweto, that the two homeland governments were ready to throw in their lot with the organisation.

The rally was held to mark the start of the organisation's defiance campaign.

The ANC has been at loggerheads with the KwaZulu and Bophuthatswana governments in the past.

- Many lives have been lost in fights between the ANC and supporters of the two governments because of clashes of interests.

By late yesterday neither the KwaZulu and Bophuthatswana leaders, Chief Mangosuthu

Some of the people who attended the ANC rally at the Jabulani

tively could be contacted for comment. E  
The ANC, under the leadership of deputy president Nelson Mandela, and Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party are due to meet on January 29.

Mkwazi told the crowd: "The ANC has been working hard to get all forces that are against apartheid to come together.

Black unity

"I am happy to say that the KwaZulu government and that of Bophuthatswana have indicated that they are ready to join us.

"This is good news because black unity would be restored.

"The important thing is that we, as united blacks, would fight our cause without fearing division," he added.

Mrs Joan Fubbs,  
regional deputy chairman  
the ANC Women's  
League, told the rally that  
| the fight against apartheid  
laws would be carried out  
in the streets of Johannes-  
burg this year. 2  
She said: "The fight  
against domination is be-  
ginning. :  
"We the women of  
South Africa, who num-  
ber about 53 percent of  
the population, are going  
to fight to the bitter end. |  
"We have waited too  
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but to no avail. The ANC  
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Mr Parks Tau, an offi-  
cial of the Soweto ANC  
Youth League branch,

"e said the time of waiting  
to FW De Klerk's tacti-  
cal games has come to .

end.

"Enough is enough,"  
he added.

"We cannot wait any.  
longer. The fight to end  
apartheid has started,"  
he |  
added..

Amphitheatre in Soweto yesterday. Pic: MOFFAT ZUNGU

ANC on black unity

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.The meeting on January 20 goes  
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S e v T t e S N R

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Enough

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"We cannot wait any

ended the ANC rally at the Jabulani  
yesterday, Pic: MOFFAT ZUNGU

in black unity

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added.

ANC internal leader  
Mr Walter Sisulu said  
violence in South Africa  
would not end until the  
country's majority had  
taken over power and  
were able to regulate  
government forces prop-  
erly, reports Sapa.

Sisulu renewed the  
ANC's commitment to  
mass action and also

called for greater discipline among the youth.

Sisulu said mass action would intensify from February 1, the opening

tion period - away | from ' the

out for a guru, whose wisdom and -  
experience of world affairs sheds -  
light across the hazardous path  
along which South Africans are .  
struggling in their search for the '

; There are Siread: signs that  
Professor Donald \* Horowitz of

date for this role since his impor-  
tant work, â\200\234A Democratic South  
Africa? Constitutional Engineer-:  
ing in a Divided Societyâ\200\235, is based '  
tt)ln his study of multiracial socie-

e Â®

A r Sparksâ\200\231s recent book in a:  
~review in â\200\234New Republicâ\200\235 (Wash-  
ington) â\200\224 deserves to be taken  
|: seriously, his' conclusions about

. what can be learnt from the ex-  
â\200\230perience of divided societies 'is  
seriously flawed in several major  
respects, and shows a lack of un-y  
derstanding of South African po-: !

is his presumption :that political Â«  
parties in the post-apartheid era  
. will divide' more or less clearly  
\* along racial lines, and his breath-

# to heal st 40

mistake of many political com-  
mentators â\200\224 such as Professor  
Herman Gilliomee ;â\200\224.-that.race .  
â\200\234and ethnicity: are â\200\230theâ\200\231 major ele-'

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tyâ\200\230llke ours, still  
painfully trapped in a transi- .

known to the unknown, there |  
is an irresistible desire to reach -

Valhalla of a non-racial democra- 1

Duke University (USA) is a candi-%, ,

e Horowitz â\200\224 who savaged i

litical realities. His biggest error

| taking prediction that racial divi- -



"sions will take at least 100 years :

Horowitzâ\200\231 does not make theâ\200\230

ments to be considered in consti-. -

tntron-makxng Yet, despite lus

" disavowal of such a view, he nev- -

ertheless concludes that South -

- Africa risks ending -up under-a :

- 'system of undiluted black majori-

ty rule unless the new constitution

- makes such an outcome rmpossr- -

ble.

Ethnicity is undeniably - one .

major cause of societal disharmo- \*

ny, as we well know from our own

history and for which we hardly

need to learn from the experience

" of countries like Sri Lanka and

Malaysia, or from :the current

\* controversies. in the Soviet Union

and East European countries. But

in most countries 'â\200\224 even those -

without serious ethnic problems

â\200\224 conflict is rife and -has to do .

mostly with the inequitable divi-- Â¢

â\200\230sion of political and economic

. power. And even in countries with "

\* 1â\200\231 lanis, Yorubas and Ibos. Nigeria,â\200\230

" from . post-indepen

on;yv

achieving greater equi

has overcome the earller struggle

for power between the Hausa-Fu- ty. This is

more than any other country, has'\*. negotiating process and what will

much to teach South Africa.â\200\235=7

If there are two lessons to be

learnt from history and especially

dence - Third -

World countries, they are that ef- - tween competing interest groups

fective regional autonomy is a- for power witin a parliamentary

sine qua non for the achievement dzst.em Thus, a proper analysis of

of more harmony in multi-ethnic ' pohtlcal future of South Africa

societies, and that an inequitable : ' req

distribution of power at the centre make-up of its competing: interest

i3 a sure recipe for. severe politi-"5: groups. This country | dlf%

cal cqnflct.

of a post-apartheid society. :

racial discriznination, it is already

a pluralist political society made

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stitution, - our | ethnic : problems -

established interest groups.â\200\231:  
 Â© Some of these! groups are .  
 centred in the white society which  
  
 . severe ethnic problems, systems  
  
 of government have been devised' .  
  
 to bridge these: divisions and to'. 3  
  
 . allow time to-achieve a sense oi  
  
 national consciousness.â\200\235'  
 .Just two examples should suf-  
 ; fice to support view. In Tan-  
  
 .. zania â\200\224 a country with 156 tribes  
  
 . which include fÃ©ur dominant com-:  
  
 . munities' â\200\224 ethnic problems have  
  
 . played noâ\200\231 sigmĩ-\202cant part in its  
  
 . post-independence = development;  
  
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 causes. An even more striking ex-:  
 . ample is that of Nigeria"where  
  
 4 ethnic conflict resulted in a civil  
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 tions.. -  
 A federal system based on 23  
  
 - regional units and which makes it  
 \* impossible: forâ\200\231 purely ethnic par- --  
  
 ties, to contest national electlons  
  
 { that, despite the bitter experience '  
 \_â\200\230 of centurles of racialism, there is  
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 are dlffering lntemts (for exam:  
 ple, between businessâ\200\231 and rur:  
  
 : communities, as. well as over the '  
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 al of the Boerevolk). -  
  
 Among the: Engllsh-speakxn  
  
 One of these major realitles is  
  
 - hostility in: this country.â\200\235 All' the  
 â\200\230\_major black ' nationalist': -parties  
 and. movements favour a shared  
 society based on an equitable dis-  
 tribution of polltical and econom- |  
  
 ferent business = interests. The  
 black community is similarly non  
 i homogenous and is composed 0!  
  
 ic {4 | diverse ' interest ' groups. which:

. range from the urbanised workers  
and those defending the vested in

" terests of the bureaucracies in the -  
' homelands, to the still small but  
ot â\200\230uninfluential /black middle

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arepresentative leaders of /.  
the black community: fully â\200\230accept .  
the need for an inter-relationship '  
between ;themselves{â\200\231and . the .|  
â\200\234whites to ensure the countrÿâ\200\231s fu- 5  
ture economic development; their class.  
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lishment is not over. maintaining ' Zulu interest group, which is itself -  
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but over. the means ' for

what is L&runarily involved in the -  
determine the political dmstons\_  
' Democratic politics can â\200\230be de-

ined as.the free interplay be-.-  
" ple, there is a community of inter-

uires an understanding of the  
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:Provided these two lessso are . in that, despite our long history of

up of a wide diversity of well-es- 5  
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- which leads to the conclusion that

community, there are mainly dif-

traditionalists and the urbanisedâ\200\235|

. workers spread across the coun- |  
" try; but its leader, Chief Buthelezi,  
' and the restructured UDF. ' |  
. WhichetÂ@r of these alliances  
should win the elections, based on

sees Inkatha as part of the mder  
political spectrum. i :  
While some of these mtermt  
groups are ethnically based, most '  
cut across ethnic lines, For exam-

est between Afrikaner and Eng-  
lish-s; g busigess people

- which has bridged the old Boer-

Briton cleavage â\200\224 and across the  
colour line, for example between

/: white and black business people, -  
. andâ\200\231 between those with differing . !

ideas about the shape of a non-ra-}.

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\*South Africa s pohtxcs are

;ready largely dommted by these ' !  
ps,|| tremists among; both the white  
- and black communities. What is

eterogenous ' / interest  
e future political struggle will

fbe among them rather than be-  
tween ethnically centred parties.

The predictable future, there-  
ore, is not, of â\200\230â\200\234race politicsâ\200\235

â\200\234(which assumes homogenous black  
â\200\230andâ\200\230 white parties),â\200\235 but between ' |  
-alliances of. interest' groups that  
â\200\230cut across the racial divide.' . |

.The National Party will increasingly rely: on " attracting allies from among the coloured and Indian middle classes (those .

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rrepresented in the tricameral par-:
"liament); possibly

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some bomeland leaders like Chief

â\200\230Mangope; the right wing of the :

- Democratic Party; and probably

â\200\230 even a breakaway of the Conser-  
" vative Party.

The ANC alliance will attract .

â\200\235 Cosatu; the Communist Party (at -  
~least; during a transition period,

Inkatha . andâ\200\231 '

une

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but probably not thereafter); most  
of the homeland leaders; the left  
wing of the Democratic Party;

a universal franchise and proportional representation, it will be multiracial in its make-up.

Such an analysis precludes the  
idea of straightforward "black"

' dominationâ\200\235. Each of the alliances

will perforce have to take account

| of the need to win snpport across  
i the colour line.â200\231 -

There are bound to be serious difficulties in the way of reaching

| an acceptable, constitution, with  
| recurrent crises and threats of (or |

even actual) violence: b;,om ex-

still seriously lacking in the pres-

\_ ent phase of the negotiating pro-  
! cess is â\200\230the development of a  
| â\200\234democratic ' cultureâ\200\235  
' chews violence and encourages

which -es-

: tolerance of opposing views, |  
{1â\200\231 A â\200\234democratic cultureâ\200\235 cannot

| be achieved overnight â\200\224 as is cur-

â\200\230rently witnessed in Eastern Eu-

â\200\230rope and in many parts of Africa;

it requires strong political leader-  
. iship to cultivate: what.iJulius  
Nyerere once aptly. dacribed as  
' â\200\234the habit of democracyâ\200\235. |

Colin Legun is'a South Afri-  
an journalist who has spent the

;pmmyunln&lghndwherehe  
\* | was an associate editor of The Qb-  
:server and'is currently editor: of

Third World Reports. He is also

.. the editor of the Africa Contem-

porray Record. and author of a

â\200\230score of books on the Third World

and international affairs.0. !

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JOHN RYAN, Africa Service

LUSAKA: Both the internal and external wings of the African National Congress came under glaring international scrutiny here this week. But even more important was the opportunity the first meeting between the two wings gave the ANC to scrutinise itself.

Via the media, the international public saw a rather motley collection of activists of various colours, ages and intensity, most of them sartorially laid back. The natty Walter Sisulu was a striking exception.

ANC will decide on negotiations today

John Ryan

LUSAKA: The joint leadership of the African National Congress ended a three-day meeting in the Zambian capital last night to decide on a strategy for possible negotiations with the South African Government.

Also high on the agenda of discussions between the visiting South African leaders, the national executive committee and the ANC's military wing was the role Mr Nelson Mandela should play in the organisation after his release.

However, no official communique was available at the end of the meeting.

ANC officials said a statement will probably be issued today after the leadership has reported back to its members in Lusaka.

Mr Mandela himself will be in touch with Lusaka today to discover what decisions were taken. So will ANC president Oliver Tambo, now recuperating in Sweden after a brain spasm last August.

Apart from the problems of accommodating Mr Mandela, Walter Sisulu and other recently released leaders in the hierarchy without laying them open to being rebanned, the ANC is concerned that it might be caught tactically wrong-footed should President FW de Klerk suddenly agree to meet the demands of last year's Harare declaration.

These include the release of Mr Mandela and other jailed members, the unbanning of the ANC and other organisations, the return of members of political par-



ties in exile, the lifting of the state of emergency and the withdrawal of troops from the townships.

The ANC is concerned that Mr De Klerk may seize the initiative if its leaders have not formulated a detailed plan for negotiations by the time those demands are met.

Mr Sisulu and other members of the ANC will attend a summit of the frontline states tomorrow.

Angloâ\200\231s secret document

Patrick Bulger

THE Anglo American Corporation has submitted a secret draft on future constitutional options to the African National Congress and the South African Government â\200\224 but the man in the street will have to wait up to two months to see it.

Anglo executives â\200\224 public affairs and industrial relations director Bobby Godsell and chairman Gavin Rellyâ\200\231s personal assistant Michael Spicer â\200\224 flew to Lusaka last weekend to hand the 85-page draft to exiled ANC leaders.

Mr Godsell has conceded that the South African,

Government already has the document.

The document is in the possession of the Minister of Constitutional Development and National Education, Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

Otherwise the ANC leaders might have been a crowd in the arrivals hall of any African airport.

But there were also the ANC schoolchildren, uniformly dressed in yellow and brown outfits and party scarves, solemnly exuberant youngsters mainly born in exile.

The one white face in the school contingent was Frannie Rabkin, the 13-year-old daughter of David and Susan Rabkin. She was born inside a South African jail, where her mother was in detention.

The meetings took place during the Zambian capitalâ\200\231s depressing summer rains. Lusaka is not at its best when its streets are flooded.

But few observers could have failed to notice the extent of the ANCâ\200\231s presence and its influence

here.

ANC cadres met visiting journalists at the airport and escorted them with little formality through the often daunting customs and immigration procedures. ANC cadres personally arranged journalists' Zambian Press accreditation.

The ANC commended the five-star Paramountzi Hotel for the duration. The tomato sauce was even called Rivonia although the brand is in general use in Zambia and the derivation of its name is obscure.

A London reporter was moved to remark that the ANC would have no trouble running South Africa if it came to power.

It runs Zambia pretty well, he said.

During the familiarisation procedure, the media tactic was to latch on to a friendly ANC official to grab a terrorist, as some

WALTER Sisulu (right) raises a clenched fist after meeting his son Max (left) shortly after the arrival of the ANC leaders in Lusaka.

There were some surprising policy differences among top leaders on certain issues

might put it.

Talking to individual officials, journalists became aware of a certain diversity of opinion within the leadership on some issues.

Many were surprised, considering the evident solidarity shown by the ANC at the week's functions, to find that some leaders had different opinions about negotiating with South Africa.

But pessimism or optimism appeared to be at the heart of that matter. Some leaders believed that President FW de Klerk would respond positively, and soon, to the demands contained in the ANC's Harare Declaration.

Others were convinced he would not, that he would continue to keep holding some cards like the release of Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of the ANC itself close to his chest.

Others appeared to fear that if Mr De Klerk did respond positively and soon he might catch the ANC unprepared about its own strategy.

One figure who re-

ceived special attention during the week was Joe Slovo, general secretary of the South African Communist Party and, among white South Africans, arguably the most politically reviled ANC member.

Mr Slovo produced a discussion paper about world socialism in relation to the events in Eastern Europe.

South African journalists concluded that the SA Communist Party would be prepared to entertain a multi-party system in the country and hailed it as local perestroika.

But it was claimed that this was nothing new, that the party had long ago rejected 'the (until recently) rigid position of the Eastern European governments.

Considering how long the ANC has waited for a significant place in South Africa's political sun, the alarm evinced by some leaders at the

thought that Mr De Klerk might be prepared to negotiate soon was astonishing.

The acting ANC president Alfred Nzo indicated

the alarm at the opening of the three-day meeting of the National Executive Committee.

It seemed -he was concerned that the South African President would move speedily to wrong foot the ANC and so keep the initiative.

But since that initiative belonged to the ANC when it formulated the Harare Declaration last August â\200\224 and had it accepted by several world bodies as a sort of Resolution 435 truism â\200\224 why was no following strategy worked out? If the ANC had intended to put the ball in the Governmentâ\200\231s court, it should have been prepared for a return volley.

Mr Nzo became alarmist once more about the ANC'â\200\231s lack of capacity to intensify the armed struggle in any meaningful way.

The acting presidentâ\200\231s speech must have electrified discussions during the closed meeting. Certainly there was an atmosphere of grim purpose among the participants at the end of it.

World watches AN

pâ\200\224

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unbanning  
the ANC

David Breier

THE Government this week strongly hinted at

â\200\230the possibility of unban-

ning the African National Congress amid indications that the ban had become virtually impossible to enforce.

Some attorney-generals confirmed privately that an increasing number of charges against people for promoting the aims and objects of the banned ANC were being withdrawn.

They said they were taking their cue from recent Supreme Court judgments, while lawyers representing people facing charges were now more inclined to discuss the withdrawal of charges compared to the more confrontational approach of a few years ago.

These charges relate to petty charges such as possessing ANC pamphlets and not charges involving violence.

â\200\234The ANC is effectively unbanned,â\200\235 said Democratic Party chairman and spokesman on law and order, Mr Tiaan van der Merwe.

â\200\230â\200\234â\200\234The Government should bring the law into line with the new political realities,â\200\235 he said, referring to recent mass marches.

Conservative Party spokesman on justice, Mr Chris de Jager, said the Government was putting courts in an impossible position, expecting them to sentence people for promoting the ANC while the Government was talking to its leader, Mr Nelson Mandela.

â\200\234If you talk to them, how can you charge people for possessing their pamphlets?â\200\235 he asked.

This week the Minister

of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, gave the strongest hint yet that the Government was reconsidering the position of banned organisations such as the ANC as well as restricted bodies like the United Democratic Front.

He did so when approached for comment on the UDF announce-

O Tiaan  
van der Merwe

O Kobie  
Coetsee

ment this week that it had â\200\234unbannedâ\200\235 itself. The UDF was severely restricted in 1988 in terms of the State of Emergency, along with a number of other anti-Government bodies.

Mr.Coetsee said the Government was considering the position of restricted organisations. He said such as exercise was in the pipeline.

Asked about the position of organisations such as the ANC and SA Communist Party which are banned in terms of the Internal Security Act, Mr Coetsee said the Government was adopting â\200\234a more comprehensive approachâ\200\235.

Mr Coetsee also said that the list of banned persons was being reviewed as well as policy, adding that the matter could be taken further.

This has been interpreted as a hint that the Internal Security Act could be amended to scrap the provisions for listing people who may not be quoted or attend gatherings.

However, other attorney-generals maintain that there had been no

change in approach and  
no decision of any slow-  
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