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300 â\200\230kitskonstabelsâ\200\231 to boost.

townshipsâ\200\231 po ce presencen â\200\234

Political Correspondent sion. 3"% [o>-] 8 -

CAPE TOWN: Violence iff the strife-: o KOxthe period February 2 to 21 only
torn Pietermaritzburg area has dropped 82 unrc_ast-rela_teg incidents were re-
by 78 percent in the past three weeks ported in the division. Of these 33 were
and the already high level-police pres- murders. Sar R

ence is to be bolstered by 300 â\200\234kitskon- e this with the statistics for
stabelsâ\200\235 next week. : Janpuary when 380 l.lnrest'relâ\200\230ted inci-
o hundred Zulu â\200\234kitskonstabelsâ\200\235, ~ dâ\202¬nts Were reported of which 90 wer
e

including the 300 for Pietermaritzburg, murders - 68 of which were in the Pie-
pass out at Koeberg near here tomor- termaritzburg area. ;

â\200\230row at a special parade to be attended He paid tribute to the members of .

by Minister of Law and Order, Mr the police involved with a particular

Adriaan Vlok. Â¢ : word of _appreciation for Brigadier

| And in a speech in Pietermaritzburg â\200\234Brakkenjanâ\200\235 Viljoen who was de-

today Mr Vlok said stepped-up police tached from police headquarters to

presence had drastically cut the level head the reinforcements. e

of violence. fee Within a week of his arrival at the

Speaking at a ceremony to award begining of the month â\200\234hostilities' came:

the Town Hill police station the prize of to a virtual end and in the first week no

the best kept station in the country, Mr less than 24 suspects were detained in

Vlok said there had been a 78 percent connection with charges of murder,

drop-off in the number of unrest relat public violence and various criminal

ed incidents in the Natal inland divi- ac ki

& NATAL,

W7 NE g

Let KwaZulu
police black
areas â\200\224 call

Witness Reporter
THE KwaZulu Legisla-
tive Assembly has called
for all black areas and
black people in Natal to
fall under its jurisdie-
tion and be policed by
the KwaZulu Police
Force. #

A statement to this ef-
fect was released hours
after the United Demo-
cratic Front and 16 other
organisations - were
effectively 'banned by
the government on Wed-
nesday.

The assembly resolved
to: â\200\234Call on the South
African government to
pass enabling legislation

rms 573

'to make it possible to ex-

tend the jurisdiction of
the KwaZulu govern-
ment to include all the
areas in the Kwa-
Zulu/Natal region in
which blacks. . . live.â\200\235
Black organisations

were asked to recognise

the value this extension

- would have â\200\234in the strug-

gle for liberationâ\200\235.

The â\200\234vast majority of
blacksâ\200\235 would welcome
the protective presence
of the KwaZulu police,
the statement added.

It called on the SA gov-
ernment â\200\234to take all the
steps necessary to give
the KwaZulu police ju-

2 Feb

BUTHELEZI . . . <
chief minister
jurisdiction over the strife-
torn black areas in the
greater Pietermaritz-

burg regionâ\200\235.

Professor Colin
Gardner, chairperson of
Natal Universityâ\200\231s Joint
Academic Staff Associa-
tion said most of the
black people he knew â\200\224
â\200\234a number of whom are
now in detentionâ\200\235 â\200\224 did
not hold the KwaZulu As-
semblyâ\200\231s view. :

&

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4 â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224mâ\200\224â\200\224

P o woapro oo

AMNGLICAN Archbishop Desmond Tutu and
patron of the UDF, Dy Allan Boesak, have
come out strongly against this weekâ\200\231s efamp-
down.

The move was an â\200\234mematipated disasterâ\204¢ for-
South Africa, ot sabd e 2 stadensen).â\200\235

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

â\200\234f see it as a vicious and provocative act by a
government, which finds now become a serious
threat to Sowthern Africa.

â\200\234Et be seen now that within Southern Africa,
its only plan is for the most blatant forms of
oppression.

The government has declared war ~ Tutu

â\200\234i-â\202'u.-re is now at the W msi-â\201le
.Mm that its ideas of reforms 15 for ammeh 2
tive possible political now in the .
mq.mmlmmmentllawfd.m-â\201
to rub with (ke fackboot,â\200\235â\204¢ be said.

The Archbishop said the organisations if at
were effectively killed were all dedicated to
peaceful means â\200\234of opposing the brutality of.

The message from a weekâ\200\231s silence was -
clear: â\200\234Peaceful plans of change are being

-ched off by those who don't like wanting Total
change are being discouraged by the govern-
mentâ\200\231s actions to be of violence.

â\200\234This government wants to find a way to

T 0Wu%i-â\202&i-â\201mhdudemai-â\201m

ltumw,miberephmdhlm, ;
nos-racial government,â\200\235 Totu said. g
Boesak said in a statement: â\200\234I myself will
continue to fight the government as every
single opportunity. The days of white domina-
tion are over. This is what these organisations
have been telling the government.â\200\235 ;i
[ie said he would not obey the restrictions --
even if they restrained him.
â\200\234Iâ\200\231ui-â\201nlmhike&râ\200\234op'lâ\200\230i-â\201lad[' ,
call on people to continue with peaceful pro-

M e

tests, they mmst throw ws in jail. They will have
te take sction sgaimst 25" e said. - R 5

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SOUTH Africa will be faced with disastrous social problems if the present rate of unemployment estimated at between four and six million was not drastically reduced, Dr Alex Borrairie said yesterday.

Dr Borrairie, who is the executive director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa, said the problem will also have serious political implications such as disturbances in black townships.

He was addressing a conference of the Institute of Personnel Management held in Johannesburg. His address was based on "Unemployment: The overriding moral and political issue of our time. The

critical role of the Human Research Profession :

Dr Borrairie said behind the statistics of unemployment were ordinary men and women whom the plight of being jobless had terrifying implications.

He said: "When unemployment comes knocking on the door, it brings with it compan-

ions who are persistent.

ber of jobless

For some, unemployment

means losing their dignity, self-worth, a home because they cannot any longer afford to pay repayments on bonds and rent.

He said unemployment

ment fanned the flames
of anger and resent-
ment. For an example,
in the townships of Uit-

ge, it was estimated
at more than 55 percent.
â\200\234There is an increasing
mass of people with
nothing to do all day
who are alienated, angry
and hungry,â\200\235 he said.

He urged the Govern-
ment to appoint an Em-
ployment Opportunities
Commission which will
put all the best heads to-

- gether in commerce, in-

dustry, trade unions,
universities and govern-
ment, in order to mount

to foster job creation,
Unemployment was a
vast problem which de-
manded urgent and se-
rious consideration by
both the private and

public sector.

He suggested a num-
ber of initiatives which
could be acted on to try
and face â\200\234the challenge
of this time-bomb which

ticks away inexorably.â\200\235
These include:

Â® Moving away from

capital-intensive econ-

omy to a labour-inten-

sive economy.

in their cruel demands. a dynamic programme

people is not cut

Â® Encouraging econ-
omic growth at every
level and developing in-
formal sectors.

Â® The introduction of
social security. *

LONG HISTORY

THE Governmentâ\200\231s ban on political activity by 17 opposition organizations on Wednesday was the most extensive crackdown in 10 years. Here is a chronology of previous Government efforts to restrict political opposition .

In 1955 â\200\224 a National Peopleâ\200\231s Congress is broken up and 156 black leaders, including Nelson

Mandela of the African

. National Congress and Pan-Africanist Congress leader Zeph Mothopeng are charged with treason. All were acquitted after lengthy trials.

March, 21, 1960 â\200\224 the ANC and PAC call for peaceful protests against laws requiring blacks to have passes to enter white areas. Police shoot dead 69 blacks at a rally in Sharpeville.

March 30, 1960 â\200\224 National State of Emergency declared,

granting police wide

powers to prohibit gatherings, search people and premises and resort to force. New powers of detention without trial were introduced and after the emergency ended, many of the new powers became law. -

April, 1960 â\200\224 Parli-ament outlaws the ANC and PAC.

1961 â\200\224 62 â\200\224 ANC and PAC military wings formed. Sabotage campaign begins.

August 5, 1962 â\200\224 Nelson Mandela arrested

*and, in 1964, sentenced to life in prison for treason and sabatage.

June 16, 1976 â\200\224 an

estimated 13000 black
students demonstrate in
Soweto to protest a
requirement that lessons
be taught in Afrikaans.
Police shoot to death
. several students, touch-
- ing off riots and boycotts

that sweep South Africa

for more than a year,

How Govt

. 8 ï¬\201 Â¥ it
protest activity.
restrict e
A headquarters of Cong-
oppositio

claiming 575 lives by
official count.

September 12, 1977 â\200\224
Steve Biko, founder of
the black consciousness
movement, dies in police
detention.

October 19, 1977 â\200\224
Government bans 18
organizations plus the
two largest black
newspapers, and detains
47 black leaders.

May, 1978 the
Azanian Peopleâ\200\231s Orga-
nization is formed to
replace the black
consciousness organiza-
tion banned after Bikoâ\200\231s
death.

August 20, 1983 â\200\224
The United Democratic
Front is launched to
organize opposition to a
planned Tri-cameral
Parliament including
representation for all

â\200\230race groups except the

black majority. In next
four years, UDF be-
comes largest legal anti-
apartheid group.

September 1983
riots break out in

Sharpeville, touching off three years of widespread violence claiming 2500 black lives.

February 19, 1985 â\200\224 arrests of UDF leaders on treason charges begin. More than 22 have been arrested and their trials are continuing.

July 720Â« 1985 â\200\224~ President P W Botha declares a State of

Emergency in 36 black cities and towns, the first such declaration since 1960. The emergency decrees cover about half the country. 1000 activists detained in the first week. Âç >

December, 1985 â\200\224 Congress of South African Trade Unions formed to consolidate labour and political activity of black unions.

March 7, 1986 â\200\224 â\200\230Government lifts State of Emergency, saying conditions have improved.

June 4, 1986 â\200\224 Government bans all meetings related to 10th anniversary of Soweto riots.

June 12, 1986 â\200\224 More than 1000 anti-apartheid activists detained in pre-dawn raids. Botha imposes nationwide state of emergency, with broad Press curbs, wide powers for police and restrictions and many forms of protests and statements. The emergency remains in effect, and an estimated 30000 people have been detained.

October 9, 1986 â\200\224 Government bans UDF from receiving funds from outside the country. All but' three of its executive are in- detention, in hiding or on trial.

November 7, 1986 â\200\224

., new orders issued

restricting activities of
~ white opponents, pro-
| hibiting them from
| participating in certain
organizations, publish-
ing statements or
attending rallies.
December, 1986 â\200\224

Press banned from
reporting many anti-
Government statements
or being within sight of

s of South African
Trade Unions blown up
on election day. Conser-
vative party makes big
gains, becoming the
official parliamentary
opposition on campaign :
against any apartheid
reform. ;

* August 27, 1987 â\200\224
new curbs announced to
suppress anti-Govern-
ment Press, by threaten-
ing shutdown or inhouse
censors. Seven news-
papers warned about
articles Government
considers objectionable.

October, 1987 â\200\224
universities told funds
will be cut if they donâ\200\231t
Stop protests on campus.
ANC leader Govan
Mbeki released after 24
years in prison.

December, 1987 â\200\224
Government restricts
Mbeki to Port Elizabeth,
bans him from talking to
Press or addressing
rallies.

February 24, 1988 â\200\224
Government bans politi-
cal activity of 18
organizations, including,
UDF and Azapo â\200\224

Sapa-AP.

SOWETAN Friday, February 26, 1988

ORI.D OUTGHY

MRS MARGARET
Thatcher . Britai.

PRESIDENT Reagan
. . . America.

3

LONDON â\200\224 South
Africa has been roundly
condemned in the
capitals of Europe for
its clampdown on
extra - parliamentary

i opposition groups,
drawing some of the

harshest criticism ever
from the British
Government.

Most critics have
warned that the move
could lead to more
violence at home â\200\224 and
increased pressure for
comprehensive sanctions
abroad.

Â A â\200\230â\200\230shocked and
saddenedâ\200\231â\200\231 British
Foreign Secretary Sir
Geoffrey Howe declared

~ Pretoriaâ\200\231s action am-
ounted to â\200\234the suppress- .

ion of non-violent
political activityâ\200\235 and
said the clampdown
could lead to frustration,
despair and more
violence.

lGeoffrey Howe

SOWETAN FUREIGN SERVICE
and SAPA-REUTER

due to lead a protest
outside South Africa

' House in Trafalgar
Square yesterday, has
written to Prime Minister
Margaret Thatcher ask-

. ing for wider British trade
sanctlons

Â® The new curbs have

also been condemned by
Commonwealth Secret-
ary-General, Mr Shrid-
ath Ramphal, who urged
the international com-
munity to â\200\230â\200\234â\200\230make it clear
to Pretoria that this

DR PIET Igomhof

~ ambassador.

Sâ\200\224 k

Â® Britainâ\200\231s Trades
Unions Congress said it

| was â\200\230â\200\234â\200\230shockedâ\200\235 atâ\200\231 the
crackdown. â\200\234None of the
(ban ps
fiescrr;;cgj irso\l/li%sief:tm be said, were outraged at the
and there is no Justxi~\201ca Skl ;

tion for this abhorrent Â® The Dutch Foreign

_action,â\200\235 TUC general Office said ~ the new
secretary Mr Norman measures â\200\234place an extra

- Willis wants to meet Sir - stumbling block on the
path to dialogue between
whites and blacks and
means a further deterior-
ation of the political

i climate in South Africa.â\200\235

able as apartheid itself.â\200\235
Countries throughout
the Commonwealth, he

"

to
discuss a British protest.

â\200\230e Anti - Apartheid
Movement leader,
Archbishop Trevor
Huddleston, who was

repression is as intoler-

Dutch anti- apartheidâ\200\230
movements have de- {
manded that the Dutch
Government retaliate by
expelling South African
diplomats from The

~ Hague.

Â® The United States on
Wednesday condemned
South Africaâ\200\231s white
rulers for banning the
activities of 17 leading

anti-apartheid organisa-
tions.

State Department
spokesman Charles

ARCHBISHOP Trevor Huddleston . . . protest

march.
W said South
~.African â\200\234Ambassador
Piet Koornhof was
summoned to the State
Department by Chester

Crocker, Assistant |

Secretary for African 1
Affairs, so the United

States could express its

â\200\234shock and distressâ\200\235 at |

. the South African
Government announce-

ment.

e Draconian new re-
_strictions on anti-
apartheid groups would
further limit peaceful J
legal opposition in South
Africa, the Canadian
Secretary of External
Affairs. Mr Joe Clark

said.

: perfect timing,
would call it. I
have always -

known that the
South African Go-
vernment is very
good at shooting
itself in the foot, but
did not realise that
they are in fact sharp-
shooters at it.

Very few people will
ever forget that day, in
1977, when the Govern-
ment decided, in its
wisdom, to close down
18 black organisations
â\200\224 including two news-
papers. 3 -

That day came to be
known as Black
Wednesday. It was the
day on which black
opposition to the
Government was
virtually wiped out.

At the end of the day,
it seemed that the
Government could sit
back and enjoy them-

selves, indulging in
their petty politics
while the country

continued burning with
no one to sound the
warning signals. It was
a job well done, and fell
just short of being
called Triomf Day.

Resilience
But, as usual,
Government
underestimated the
black peopleâ\200\231s resi-
lience. They had
underestimated the
driving force behind the

the
had

W

resistance. They had thought that there was essentially no desire on to challenge the the draconian measures that were introduced, to fight for a just and democratic society.

A few people, they thought, were responsible, and, in any event, those organisations did not have the support of the majority of the people of this country.

In theory, therefore, if those organisations are silenced, that would be the end of resistance. If the leaders were Jailed, the people would remain without leaders. It would pave the way for: the â\200\234moderatesâ\200\235 that the government wished to speak with to 80 on with the job of the day, and the majority of the people would support them if these â\200\234revolutionaryâ\200\235 organisations are outlawed.

But, as I said, the
Government had its
calculations wrong.
From the dust and
ashes of those organisa-

the part of black people
Government, to -resist -

being

tions emerged not only
Just organisations, but

organisations â\200\234even
stronger â\200\230than -
Government ever

dreamt were possible.

First out of the dust
and ruin of that
demolishing job came
the Azanian Peopleâ\200\231s
Organisation. And then
they came â\200\224 in droves,
too. The Government
was back at the job it is
o good at â\200\224 putting
out fires here, there,
everywhere. They were
burning their fingers all
through this process.

And finally, this
week, it happened once
more. Black Wednes-
day all over again. It
was almost like a replay
of a recording of that
day, almost eight years
ago.

I felt like I was
dreaming when, walk-
ing into the office, the
news flashed on the

telex. I remembered
how I felt that
Wednesday, those

many years ago.

day. I
â\200\224â\200\224

SOWETAN, Friday, February 26, 1988

hy ban hlack organisations

First, you feel the
shock. Then you : feel
nauseated. Then iou
feel angry. And then,

finally, resigned,
almost, you laugh. But
then you realise it is no
laughing matter.

Then you say to
yourself that if you do
not laugh, you will
probably quit the
country and take up
arms, or go out and get
a crash course on
explosives. So you
laugh. That deep,
meaningless laugh that
only blacks are capable
of g

That laugh that says
that you are hurt, but it
does not matter, things
will come right. That
laugh that the white
man has interpreted as
being acceptance of the
status quo, but that
blacks know is a
message â\200\224 a message
of pain, of frustration.

I laughed that same
laugh when my news-
paper was banned on
the first Black Wednes-
laughed that

o] g
21V {eff

same laugh this week.
But then, just like it
happened in 1977, there
will be people whâ\200\231o

cannot muster that
laugh. They are the
people who will resign
themselves to the fact

that all attempts at
peaceful protest are
futile.

They will dis(appear
from the face of South

Africa for g while, and
when next we hear of
them, they will pe
carrying an assortment
of weapons of war,
ThÂ\$y will have stopped
caring how they achjeye
the objective of
transforming this
country into ope in

which we wij all

blacks ang whites,

Indians and coloureds,
all of us â\200\224 share in the
Prosperity that js
beckoning us.

â\200\224_â\200\224

Problem

That is the problem
we are facing. And a
problem that the
Government does not
seem to realise they are
- getting us into. Bu;
then, who cares:
Afterall, it could be tha}t
the Government 1S

â\200\224â\200\224
e e B

simply using this
strong-arm tactic
because there are a few
by-elections coming up.

The right-wing has been accusing the Government of being soft on security. The right wing clearly took the lead from the Government itself, for that is the same tactic the Government used against the Progressive

The PFP could do nothing to dramatically illustrate that they are not soft on security. The Government is capable of doing something, which they duly went ahead and did.

Is that perhaps the reason why organisa-

Federal Party. 1

only?

|

tions like the Afrikaner

R

Page 11

Weerstand Beweging, which has been described as being fascist, is not among those listed? It is that the Government is so scared of the right-wing that they are incapable of acting against it, and they now assume that they can, with impunity, act against black organisations because blacks cannot hit back

through the ballot box? Only history will judge this aspect.

Of course, white South Africans will remain quiet, believing that the Government must know something which we all do not know, for it to have

acted in the manner
they did. But that is an
attitude we are all going
to have to pay dearly
for.

PRETORIA: The Bophuthatswana Government has disbanded the two-year-old National Security Unit, whose members were among those who staged the abortive coup in the territory on February 10.

The commander of the Bophuthatswana Defence Force, Major-General H.S. Turner, told a Press conference at the Molopo military base yesterday that the NSU had been disbanded because most of those involved in the

-coup attempt were mem-

bers of the unit. .

He said between 250 and 280 members were on duty that day and had taken part in the attempted coup.

i

Now it's when

20 J92] FR

It's not if SA
talks to Soviets

A serious debate is taking place on whether or not SA
ought to establish ties with the Soviet Union to make a
deal in Angola and perhaps more. Deputy Editor
NEIL JACOBSON examines the issues

More than 30 years ago, the
official Soviet bloc representation in Pretoria was reality dictates that there is
ended. This year, South Africa's little chance of regional peace undominated world
department of Foreign Affairs has less the Soviets are dealt into the Strauss in fact started
the de-
upgraded its Eastern European hand. But, bringing the message that South
section and established a fact - Despite setbacks, the Soviet view lead

A Mikhail Gorbachev was
time Soviet desk. Union remains in many respects prepared to contemplate a local
That event forms the backdrop to the Angolan, "atver, with influence political solution to the
he war in
to an intense debate in government in Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Angola. But
and academic circles: whether or in Zimbabwe, Zambia and other black In diplomatic parlance, a
win-
a) the SS: should make contact with the States. Now of opportunity had opened to
the Soviet Union aimed at negot; - But there is a question here in SA.
ating a regional settlement for the call though it might seem when - Since then Gorbachev
chev has gone
southern Africa, then SA actually wants a settle- further, saying the Soviet pullout

it bears -
The debate has almost gone for - Ment in southern Africa, from Africa's asrgi-
\201gr%o 'i- \202g.? & \200\230;, esitua-

ther than that, to the point that the Does it not politically suit Pre. P8 on has good reason to

Issue in some quarters is no longer - toria to have weak, destabilised nations -
grk?g::is&gcommitment;

So either SA should deal with the neighbours which are therefore - "S" . r . v apply to Angols
Soviets but on what level the controllable? And while many or - Behind the new attitude is
per-
contact should take place. ordinary people may not be happy estroika, Gorbachev's ambitious

) Soviet society.
o . with South Africa's military adventurism in = Plan to restructure Soviet
ne lobby

â\200\230 though he is the most
states to the north, there are cer- E::?ul Russgihan leader since Sta-

tainly elements within the mili 2y is encounterin
cautious and explorators: dPe | who would leaye Angolan soil 3?11â\200\2313 i~\201ge ot s e
by academics and businrgsâ\200\231smen A With the greatest reluctance. - ests i the Soviet
Union â\200\224 such as
more extreme view is that SA ,, Nevertheless, there are SOMpeL.. . the powerful bureaucracy
â\200\224 in his
| ol oo e it epmes o ey el e bl
with trade in minerals ang st.â\200\230:Zâ\200\230hiâ\200\230S: Any deal would represent a
COITUPMC gestion is that he can no
logy â\200\224 even to the extent of selling flammerblow to both the ANC and longer afford,
firstly, the personal
- : Westers SWapo, for it would inevitably in- energy, and, secondly, the financial
high East clude the closure of their bases in commitment to distant wars in
: G the Frontline states, satellite states

| The limited contact is, of course, . Economically, magnificent P | B -
already established througg De sibilities exist which now cannot

Beers â\200\234and the Central lling ' be pursued because of the instabil-
Organisation. : ity caused by civil wars and terror-

Other business links also exist, ism.

and on the academic front, Stellen- And while the US may have sold

bosch Sovietologist }â\200\231glip Nelfre- - it gl =
became one of the Vi e | its influence in the region, there is
| SovietAlg!ig:ns invited to visit the certainly renewed pressure from
! g Western Europe for a settlement,
| . The question is whether those as manifested in the recent visit by

links should be broadened to the Bavarian premier Franz Josef
point where, even indirectly, inter- Strauss.
gloayemmental exchange can take
place.

1 :
Y N |) ORBACHEY . . new outiook

The financial drain of Russiaâ\200\231s expansionist adventures is a well-documented reality. Countries from Cuba to Vietnam, from Nicaragua to Ethiopia, have been or are bottomless pits into which Moscow pours aid and arms. e

Only Angola, ironically, has paid part of its debt through the Cabinda fields. i

For the rest, Moscow has lost its fascination with the Third World.

Its former policy has meant simply that the poorest countries in the world, and therefore the least able to help the USSR, have become Moscowâ\200\231s allies.

Remaking Russian society, and rebuilding its shattered economy,

oil m

â\200\230but as inte

is a tall order. It seems reasonable to believe that Gorbachev may be anxious to rid himself of foreign headaches.

So what should SA do?

A start is to remember there is no such thing as a free lunch. Before contemplating dealing with the Soviets, SA ought to be very, very carefully not only what it wants to gain, but what such an

step, even talks about talks, is to decide just what SA is prepared to put on the

table.

More questions than answers arise: could a deal on Angola be achieved without a deal on Namibia? Would SA be prepared to sacrifice its present allies, such as Unitaâ\200\231s Jonas Savimbi?

's SA prepared to meet demands for internal change? And is the prospect of trade a reality?

SA must also remember that the US cannot be left out of any equation. The US would obviously wel-

come a settlement in the region,
but would hardly look favourably
on any deeper such as trade

And even though its sphere of
influence in the region may have
been reduced to virtually nothing,
the US still has immense capacity
to hurt SA, through pressure on
Western Europe and Japan, for ex-
ample, by threat of protectionism.

ere is the danger of being
trodden on if one plays with giants.
The global game is between the
Soviet Union and the US, with
Europe as a unit and Japan fast-
growing icipants in the arena.

It would not require very much
to go wrong for SA to find itself
caught between the superpowers.

Nevertheless, there really is a

â\200\234window of opportunityâ\200\235. A
from the Soviet and Wetsyt, Eurg;-t
ans signals, there are encouragin
signs from within Angola itself,
with MPLA sources indicating pri-
vately they would be pre to
deal with Unita, although not with
Jonas Savimbi perso! #

Even Fidel Castro has recentl
dropped his rhetoric that Cuba wiï~\201
stay in Angola until Pretoria falls.

It would be a dreadful waste
were the opportunity to slip by. SA
and the Soviet Union share a tem-
porary common interest â\200\224 ham-
raered at the moment by a mutual

ck of knowledge of each other.

That in itself is a good reason to
start talkinï~\201; not as potential allies

igent adversaries.

ackso

JESSE. The first name alone is sufficient for almost all American voters to identify the Rev Jesse Jackson, the black Democrat running for president. For good or ill, he enjoys phenomenal name recognition.

Jackson is a maverick, as volatile as a lorry-load of nitroglycerine.

His tall frame sleekly tailored, Jackson excites political meetings with the cadences of an evangelist tent-show. "I am," he shouts. "I am," the crowd shouts back. "I am," Jackson yells ... "SOME-BODY!"

His audience joyously repeats the paean of self-esteem. "My mind is a pearl," says Jackson, his voice rising again, and once more the fervent echoes come ringing back.

America has not seen such raw emotion in the political arena since Bobby Kennedy 20 years ago.

The Jackson dilemma was put succinctly by a Democratic chairman in the South, where the pivotal battles will be waged. "We can't win with Jesse . . . and we can't win without him," he said.

Jackson attracts large numbers of blacks, Hispanics and, as I discovered on his campaign swing through Texas, a growing core of

disenchanted poor whites. But he's white conservatives.

His dislike of Jackson is racist in . but it also reflects distrust of his left-wing agenda.

The Southern regional primary
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on, raw

IAN BRODIE in Washington

" on March 8, known as Super Tues-

day, was designed by the conserva-

tives to choose an acceptable

white. To their dismay, Jackson is

turning Super Tuesday to his ad-

vantage. For months he led the

Eggs, outranked only by â\200\234donâ\200\231t
owsâ\200\235.

Jackson hasnâ\200\231t figured much in
the election preliminaries so far,
but by July â\200\224 when Democrats
convene in Atlanta to choose their
White House nominee â\200\224 he ex-
pects between 600 to 1 000 delegate
votes out of 4 160.

With so much clout, the crucial
question becomes: what does Jack-
son want?

â\200\234I want to be president,â\200\235 he told
me. And failing that? â\200\234I want my
party to win.â\200\235

Conditions

Shrewdly, he does not yet name
his price for co-operating with a
candidate.

Vice-president? A cabinet post?
pension
â\200\234to re_

A promise that private
funds will be nationalised
build America?â\200\235 :

As conditions, they would guar-
antee a stampede of anti-Jackson

â\200\230Democrats to the Republicans.

Born 46 years ago to a 17-year-

[0 JACKSON . . . man with a scheme

old high-school student who became pregnant by the married man who lived next door in Greenville, South Carolina, Jesse Louis Jackson has made much of his illegitimacy. His mother soon married a postal worker â\200\224 Charles Jackson â\200\224 who adopted him. Jackson did not grow up in the

poverty he later claimed, but he did feel the sting of racism. Blacks had separate schools, stores and had to sit at the back in a bus.

Talented and ambitious, Jackson developed an excellence for preaching and an anguish over racial prejudice that propelled him into the inner circle of Dr Martin Luther King. Eventually, the civil rights leader clashed with his pushy young lieutenant.

Crushed

Aides remember King rounding on Jackson, who had been questioning tactics for a protest march,

- and castigating him prophetically:

â\200\234Jesse, it may be that youâ\200\231ll carve your own niche in society. But donâ\200\231t you bother me.â\200\235

Jackson was crushed, but stayed.

Five days later â\200\224 on April 4,

1968 â\200\224 King was assassinated. What happened in the ensuing ï\201?n has led other followers of King to brand Jackson a liar.

Jackson quickly claimed he was the last person to whom King spoke and that he cradled the dying leader in his arms on that balcony in Memphis. Others do not remember Jackson being that close, and cannot explain how his

emotion

sweater became smeared with Kingâ\200\231s blood.

ey accuse Jackson of unseemly haste in seeking to assume

;:fâ\200\231s mantle. They scoff that, while King had a dream, Jackson had a scheme.

When I asked Jackson about the

disparities, he reached for a Biblical parallel.

After Jesus was crucified, each book of the Gospels had a different version. Every man remembers what he experienced. I don't challenge their account.

Other controversies swirl around Jackson. Jews still resent his use of an anti-Semitic slur and his embrace of Yassir Arafat. Questions are asked about mis-spent government grants for Jackson's job-training programme PUSH (People United to Serve Humanity).

There have been reports of alleged affairs. They are dismissed ambiguously by his forceful wife

~ Jacqueline, mother of his three sons and two daughters aged from 12 to 24.

But the most sinister threat to Jackson is the potential assassin for, appallingly, he is the target of constant death threats.

In the past year, a dozen people have been arrested for threatening him harm and his US Secret Service bodyguards are never far

away. Every time he goes, Jackson is

displaying courage. —
DAILY TELEGRAPH

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By Jo-Anne Collilige
Twelve church leaders have

| vowed that, regardless of the
consequences, they will continue many of the activities
which have become illegal for
the 17 political organisations to
| pursue.

The group has called on churches
to organise â\200\234major services of witness and protest against the re-

strictions in every area of the coun-

tryâ\200\235 at 3 pm on Sunday.
The clerics, including Cape
- Townâ\200\231s Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, South African Council
of Churches general secretary the
Rev Frank Chikane, SACC president Dr Manas Buthelezi, and the
outgoing general secretary of the
Southern African Catholic Bishopsâ\200\231
Conference, Father Smangaliso
Mkhatshwa, attended an urgent
fineeting in Johannesburg yesterday.

| â\200\234â\200\230Central to Gosg'elâ\200\231

They released a statement declaring: â\200\234The activities which have
been prohibited are central to the
proclamation of the Gospel.

â\200\234We must make it quite clear
that no matter what the consequences, we will continue as a matter of course: 5
@ â\200\234To campaign for the release of
prisoners.

under sentence of death.
@ â\200\234To call for the unbanning of our

@ â\200\234To call for clemency for those
political organisations.

@ â\200\234To call for negotiations involving the true leaders of our country
to bring about a transfer of power
from a minority to all the people of

our country. 3

@ â\200\234To commemorate significant events in the life of our nations and

those who have died in what the

State calls â\200\230riotsâ\200\231. g
@ â\200\234And to call upon the interna-

_tional community to apply

pressure to force the Government to the negotiating table.â\200\235

" The churchmen have also been highly critical of the restriction of the joint presidents of the United Democratic Front, Mrs Albertina Sisulu and Mr Archie Gumede.

Their statement said: â\200\234Mrs Sisulu

has been struggling to bring â\200\230about peace between opposing

groups in KTC, Cape Town. It is widely acknowledged that Mr Gumede has been a key advocate of peace in the fighting in Maritzburg.â\200\235 ;

The other members of the group

are the Rev Khoza Mgojo, a for-

mer head of the Methodist Church; the Rev D N P Luthuli of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in SA; the Rev D S Madisapodi of the African Methodist Episcopal Church; the Rev L Marokoane of the African Catholic Church; four members of the Council of African Independent Churches â\200\224 Archbishop NH Ngada, the Rev P Makhubu, the Rev OT Xulu and the Rev TW Ntongana. .

"~ @ See Page 15.

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â\200\230 !IosAngelea Times

L'ongressmen Angered by Crackdown 2. / 26/2%

Tougher U.S. Curbs on S Afnca Sought

By JOSHGETLIN, T&mesStaï¬\201Wnter B

WASHINGTON-â\200\224Voxcmg out-

rage over the South African gov-

- ernmentâ\200\231s latest crackdown on op-
ponents of apartheid, a bipartisan
. group of House members pledged
+: Thursday to push for legislation

: - mandating tough new US. sanc-

Â« tions against Pretoria that could be
ready for a vote by early April. -

ts

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â\200\234 President Reaganâ\200\231s comment dur-

: ing his Wednesday press confer-

. '3 ence that the South African strug-

= gle focuses on a â\200\234tribal policy more

.s-than . .-. a racial policy,â\200\235 calling
. the remark historically inaccurate
and insulting to black Americans.

. ; - Reaganâ\200\231s statement, which came

- in_response to a question about
" hlocks fighting to end the South
4 African policy of apartheid, or
* racial separation, was â\200\234very insen-
. sitive and really lacking in any
. sense of history,â\200\235 said Rep. Jim
. Leach (R-Iowa).

â\200\230New Lifeâ\200\231 for Campaign

Â« The latest actions by the South

- African government, coupled with
. Reagan's comment, have breathed
" a new life into a campaign for
tougher U.S. sanctions and are
likely to trigger a renewed con-
: gressional debate over the next few
" months, he said. :

Meanwhile, amid mounting con-
~ troversy, White House spokesman
= Marlin Fitzwater declined to elabo-
rate on Reagan's comment. While

The House members also blasted %

the Administration has registered
concern over the South African
situation, it remains firmly opposed
to U.S. sanctions, he said. -

"We do not believe sanctions are

an effective way of doing it [chang-

"ing South African policy], or that

they're effective," Fitzwater said.
Proponents of new sanctions in-
dicated that the legislation they are
putting on a fast track will call
for mandatory divestiture by

_ American corporations of all busi-
ness ties in South Africa and a total
strategic minerals.

. Existing U.S. restrictions against
the South African regime prohibit
imports of certain products, limit

. American investment except in
" black-run businesses and restrict
high-technology exports to the

country. Last year, Congress also
passed a law denying certain tax
advantages to U.S. corporations
doing business in South Africa. .
Leach, who joined 11 colleagues
in a Capitol Hill press conference,

" predicted that there will be Repub-
-lican support for proposed .new

sanctions against South Africa,
adding that "the Reagan Adminis-
tration has to stand up on this issue;
it can't just slough it off."

The issue was reignited by an
announcement Wednesday that
the South African government had
banned political activity by 18
anti-apartheid organizations, in-

L

trade - embargo, exempting only -

cluding the United Democratic Front coalition, and the nation's largest trade union group.

In Washington, State Department spokesman Charles Redman called the action a giant step backward and conveyed the nation's shock and distress to South African Ambassador Piet G.J. Koornhof. But critics said that was not enough and demanded that the Reagan Administration take stronger steps.

This represents just one more step toward the imposition of totalitarian government control over

the nonwhite majority in South

Africa, said Rep. Howard Wolpe (D-Mich.), who chairs the House

- Foreign Affairs subcommittee on

Africa.

We Cannot Do Nothing

'We in Congress cannot watch this repression mount and do nothing. New sanctions are the only means to raise the costs the South African government must bear if it

is to continue

bloody course. -

Sponsors conceded that it may be difficult to impose tougher U.S. sanctions, noting that House members who voted for harsh regulations two years ago were eventually forced to accept a less restrictive proposal approved by the Republican-controlled Senate.

n this tragic and

ScychÃ©llcs NATION

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Friday 26th February 19Ã§Ã©â\200\224P. 8

Shpltz' criticises Israel for lack
of Palestinian self-government

US Secretary of State George
Shultz criticised Israel
. yesterday for not allowing
self-government in occupied
Palestinian land but said US-
Israeli ties remained close.

Speaking as he travelled to
Jerusalem at the start of a Mid-
dle East peace mission, Mr
Shultz said the situation in the
occupied West Bank and Gaza
Strip was inherently unstable.

â\200\234There is arf underlying
problem consisting of a large
number of peopleinan occupied
arca who do not have the basic
right of government,â\200\235 he told re-
â\200\230porters aboard his plane.

Â« _ That instability expres-
ses itselfl from time to time . . . it
may very well be that the people
who live in the West Bank and
Gaza are concluding that they
have to assert themselves,â\200\235 he
said.

. Isracli forces have killed more
than 60 Palcstinians since un-
rest flared in the occupicd lands
in early December. It has been
the most sustained period of dis-

turbances since Isracl captured
the territories from Jordan and
Egypt in the 1967 Middle Eastâ\200\231
War. '

~ MrShultzsaid he thought the
anger of the Palestinians in the

ferritories was causing most of
the violence, but he agreed with

President Reagan that there had

been some involvement by out-

side forces. Mr Reagan made his

remarks in a news conferenceâ\200\231

Wednesday evening. -

The United States has rebuked Israel for excessive use of force in quelling the protests, but Mr Shultz said he had not changed his view of the importance of close US-Israeli ties.

As far as the United States and Israel are concerned, it is a very strong, firm relationship,

he said.

Mr Shultz said he was taking new ideas with him for a Middle East settlement, but the basis for a stable peace had to be United Nations Security Council resolution 242.

The resolution calls for the return of the occupied territories in exchange for Arab recognition of Israel's right to exist within secure borders.

Mr Shultz said he wanted to use his trip, which will take him to Jordan, Egypt and Syria as well as Israel, to discuss what form a final peace settlement should take.

He has acknowledged there is widespread scepticism in Arab countries that he will succeed in convincing hardline Israeli leaders of the need for compromise to secure peace.

Palestinian activists reject the new US initiative, which centres on an interim period of self-government for the occupied land followed by Arab-Israeli talks on a final peace accord, because it does not envisage the creation of a Palestinian state.

Arab countries also differ from the United States in that they want an international peace conference to set the tone

for the settlement.

~ Roh Tae-Woo takes over South Korean presidency

MR Roh Tae-Woo took over as South Korea's new President yesterday and told the nation an era of strongman rule was past, but students didn't believe him.

Just hours after Mr Roh took the oath of office in Seoul, police

in the capital battled 2,000 students who attempted a street protest against alleged rigging of the December vote that brought him to power. :

Students = shouting - â\200\234down with the dictatorâ\200\235 hurled hundreds of rocks and petrol bombs at police who hit back with repeated volleys of tear gas,

Unlike pro-democracy ~demonstrations last year, how-

\ever, when passers-by joined in-

taunting police, holiday crowds in Seoul yesterday gave no support to the protestors and some shouted at them to disperse. -

Fighting wasâ\200\231 intense and spcctacula} for a briefl period in the narrow streets around the capitalâ\200\231s Catholic cathedral, but life in the rest of the city was quite normal.

Mr Roh, 55, who entered the presidential Blue House mansion after the inauguration ceremonies at the National Assem-

Japanese Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita and President Reaganâ\200\231s special envoy, uUs Treasury ~ Secretary ~James Baker.

Outgoing head of state Chun Doo Hwan, meanwhile, took up residence ip a spacious villa in north-west Seoul after briefly meeting neighbours. He has earlier accompanied Mr Roh at the swearing-in.

Security around the former strongman remained very tight. South Korean photographers accredited to cover a visit to his house by Mr Takeshita were

Congressmen prepare for showdown

S oâ\200\230r_llâ\200\235_mnbn,jvlv_ethalm_contrâ\200\235'd

_ THE US Housc of Representatives, heading for showdown on aid for Nicara-

guaâ\200\231s contra rebels, is being as-.

ked to choose between two diffe-
rent non-military packages â\200\224 .

one Democratic, one
Republican.

The Democratic-led House,
which three weeks ago narrowly
rejected President Reaganâ\200\231s
new 36.25-million-dollar re-
quest because it contained mili-
tary aid, planned to vote yester-
day on both alternatives in what
should be a contentious debate.

Mr. Reagan, at a news con-'
ferenced Wednesday, gave a
lukewarm endorsement to the
Democratsâ\200\231 plan to provide the
rebels with 30.5 million dollars. '

â\200\234Anything that will keep the |
frcedom fighters as pressure on
the Sandinistas is worth doing,â\200\235
the President said, adding he
hoped to get new military aid
later. g2

Mr Reagan.. who has made
support for the contras a corner-
stone ol his foreign policy, gavea
pessimistic appraisal of the
Nicaraguan Governmentâ\200\231s_ef-
forts to comply with a five-
nation Central American peace
plan. :

The Democratsâ\200\231 plan would
give eight million dollars in
food, clothing and medicine,
eight million in delivery oostÃ©
and 14.5 million dollars to help
wounded Nicaraguan children.

Mr Reagan said he objected
. to the Democratic plan to de-
liver the aid via the Dcl'cr"\ 'm
another.

'liver aid to the contras.

Dcpax:.tmcnt, rather than the
Central: Intelligence Agency
(CIA).

â\200\234I think involving our milit-
ary when thereâ\200\231s no need to is
very rash and foolish because
you would be putting our milit-
ary in a combat sitiition and

this is what we have been trying
to avoid in Central America, he said. e

Mr Reagan did not specifically address the Republican counter-proposal, which would allow the CIA to continue to de-

Earlier, Wednesday, House Republican leader Bob Michel said the Republicans intended to offer Mr Reagan's rejected package, minus the 3.6 million

s for arms and ammunition.

Mr Michel said the plan would bar delivery of a small amount of military aid still in the pipeline from Mr Reagan's 100-million-dollar package that expired last September 30.

About 15 million dollars in stop-gap, non-lethal aid approved by Congress since then

runs out next week.

eventually dispersing the bly, later held talks there with turned away by plainclothes crowd. ; visiting dignitaries including police.

Iran launches offensive

= -

in Iraqi Kurdistan

IRANIAN irregular forces statement from the revolutionary (Victory-6).

operating in northern Iraq launched a three-pronged attack near the major oil centre at Kirkuk in Iraqi Kurdistan, Tehran Radio reported yesterday. " ;

The radio said the operation was mounted Wednesday
Iranian forces in

ninth badr brigade at Sangaw, near Kirkuk which lies 240 km

(150 miles) north of Baghdad.

Iran's national news agency IRNA, received in Cyprus at least 500 Iraqi troops I fat been killed or wounded in the action. '

Many more had been captured, of whom some 70 had been moved back behind the battle lines, the agency reported. :

Tehran Radio, interrupting

normal programmes to announce the attack, quoted a

nary guardsâ\200\235 irregular warfare headquarters as saying: .

â\200\234The combatants - = of Islam... attacked from three axes in Sangaw region east ofâ\200\231 Kirkuk and imposed another defeat on the Iraqi army.â\200\235 'F

The radio said the operation

was codenamed- . LZafar-6â\200\235

The Iranian force, attacking across mountain terrain, had seized control of five heights in one battle, it added.

The â\200\234Imam Khomeini forcesâ\200\235 have fought in previous Iranian operations in northern Iraq and include Iraqi nationals opposed to the Baghdad Government.

WAR-torn Mozambique, which limped through 1987 thanks to massive international aid, will need the emergency help again this year.

. But the Government and the United Nations are trying to shift the emphasis from handing out free food to repairing the results of havoc and chaos.

USSR begins removing missiles from Czechoslovakia '

THE Soviet Union began withdrawing its nâ\200\230urlem; missiles from Czechoslovakia yesterday, loading them on trains bound for destruction depots, the offi-

_cial . CETEKA news agency

said.

Removal of Soviet missiles in the German Democratic Republic (GDR), was also due to start yesterday.-

Both"Warsa_h; Pact states say the move is a goodwill gesture aimed at speeding ratification of the US.-Soviet treaty to eliminate intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF).

CETEKA said the first trainload of missiles from Czechoslovakia would leave the northern Moravian town of Hranice later in the day for destruction in the Soviet Union. It said the weapons had been moved from military bases to a

- railway station and were being loaded on wagons.

A total of 39 S5-12 missiles have been based in Czechoslovakia. The GDR is the only other Warsaw Pact ally to have Soviet nuclear arms stationed on its soil.

About 60 journalists watched .

the operation to withdraw the SS-12s, to be abolished under the treaty signed by US President Ronald Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev at

their Washington summit in

December. The treaty still has

" to be ratified by both countries.

CETEKA said: "The withdrawal of the missiles before the ratification of the Soviet-US treaty is another . proof of the

sincerity and concrete and con-

structive characters - of the Soviet approach to nuclear disarmament and the creation of a more secure world".

The destruction is caused by rebels, who strike mostly at civilian and economic targets.

The Government. insists the blame at the door of South

factors. ; UN officials and government

a new appeal for aid, Mr Charles Lamouniere; UN director for emergencies in Africa, said in an interview. 2 !

. The appeal will cover 230 items not normally included

building of rural dispensaries, schools and water supplies. .

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* The package is now not just

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same . amount of -

Africa. The UN speaks more,

directly of a man-made
emergency caused by external,
pa

planners are this week finalising .

in

emergency aid, such as the re:,

Mozambique prepares fresh
appeal for emergency aid

keeping people alive but enabling
them to be productive, Mr
Lamouniere explained.

Despite the shift in emphasis
towards rehabilitation, there is
no end in sight to the conflict
which has ravaged the country-
side in each of Mozambique's 10
provinces.

You can't do anything. We.
could sit on our hands and waste
10 years. Meanwhile the
Mozambicans are suffering
enormously, Mr Lamouniere

said.

Donor governments, which
pledged 276 million dollars in
emergency relief to Mozambi-
que last year, will be invited to
Maputo on April 19 and 20 to
make more pledges for 1988.

said
ended

. 'Mr ' Lamouniere
Mozambique would

around the same quantity of
- food aid as in 1987, when donors
* pledged 600,000 tonnes of ce-

recalls for the year beginning May

A

1988. Much of the aid will be for one

A :â\200\230mmi'o'n people lisplaced by the
* wat and two nillion others left

destitute.

Focus

SECOND ARTICLE

New Style\200\235

"IN THE Seychelles NATION .

South Africa

Soe

THE year 1987 closed with a charac

tering ones. The principal

shifted from the townships to the factory
union federations, COSATU and NACTU,
filiates a series of strikes unparalleled in the history of the South
" African labour movement. By August, 1987 that is just before the
largest trade union, vnamely the Mine Workers Union (NUM), was to
come out, it was estimated by the monitoring

man-days had been lifted

A feature of the strikes was that
they were of a long duration. Thus, -
OK Bazaars went on for 10 weeks;
SATS (South African Transport
Services) for 12 weeks; and the Pos-
tal Workers also for 12 weeks.

The strike wave embraced all sec-

. tions of the population. Agricultural
workers came out at Tongaat Sugar
Mills and, Magwa Tea Estates.
Some of the strikes affected entire
plants like the 12,000 workers of the
Industrial and Chemical Workers
Union which involved 12 factories.

The strike wave culminated in the

- walk-out of 340,000 mine workers.

Such was the tenacity of the workers
that it lasted three weeks.

Solidarity amongst mine workers
was seldom seen. The mine workers,

when threatened with dismissal if they did not report for work, chose just that, rather than break the strike. And dismissal for them meant not just losing their jobs, but being cleared out of the compounds and being bundled out to the barren reserves and Bantustans. Summing

up, one correspondent wrote: b (78

was the resilience of the migrant workers, who form the backbone of union membership, that gave an epic character 'to the , labour performance.

Poverty in the rural areas de-

vastated by the eight successive years of drought, and wages that

have fallen up to 20 per cent in real terms since 1976, drove these workers to express their frustrations in a series of strikes whose duration and ferocity officialâ\200\231â\200\231. , :

The SATSâ\200\231 strike was an example of this. The workers held out when the entire executive was detained. . And the surprise was that side by

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Booseb oD, 13)

i : ;
teristics distinct from its two pre-difference was that the centre of struggle

surprised Â« even ~union -

floor. The two giant trade staggered through their,af: -

group that 5.5. million

e

side with the legal strike, they conducted armed struggle by putting to flame coaches simultaneously in a coordinated action that sent shivers down the spines of the enemy.

The strikes were limited in that the demands were basically economic. Also these were legal in that they were conducted after all

avenues to avert such a strike had been exhausted. COSATU was not

" able to call a sympathy strike when

the mine bosses dismissed workers who had been on a perfectly legal

strike.

Even so, the collective action of the workers, their strength and resilience has alarmed the rulers. A Labour Relations Amendment Bill is in the offing and it is aimed at taking back some of the victories and gains won by the workers. Amongst some of the features are: sympathy strikes will be illegal even if the strike is legal.

- Trade Union officials will be li-

able to claim compensation for losses sustained by the bosses during an illegal strike.

Boycotts will be defined as unfair practices and bosses could claim

damages.

No time limit will be given for conciliation boards to resolve the dispute and thus no strike can take place. . 5

" All this cannot but drive the union:contrary; the years 1985 and 1986 showed great activity by the .

oppressed in the townships, particu-

larly in Soweto, Alexandra Town-

ship, 'and Eastern Cape. The policy

of non-collaboration was applied with deadly effect. In Eastern Cape it was admitted by the establish-

ment that only 18 out of 45 town councils were functioning. The

From our special Southern Africa correspondent:

the year 1987 in retrospect

3

- his release led to

Mr Mbeki:

speculation that time for negotiations was near but as far as Mr Botha is concerned, it could only be within the framework of structures he has laid down

people used armed struggle against collaborator side by the side with social boycott. This type of struggle reached its peak when 27 puppet quislings from Soweto townships fled from Soweto and had to be housed by the police. The Emergency foisted in June 1986 was aimed at just this leadership in the townships. Thousands were arrested and such are the provisions of the Emergency laws that one can be detained for the rest of one's life with charge. And one who was lucky after his release, there was no processing, no interrogation just isolation.

" And it is the activists, whether they be from the trade unions or are the youth called the comrades, the young lions or the shock troops, who have been the targets of detentions and trials. One had to just call for a boycott and one could be charged with treason. As one paper said: Indictments in treason trials were no longer concerned with grand conspiracy theories day to day political activities were sufficient for a charge of high treason. The one major exception was the trial of.

trade union leader Moses Mayekiso who, with others, is accused of set-

ting up people's courts and people's committees.

- However, despite extreme repres-

3

Black miners: dismissal for them meant losing jobs, being cleared out of compounds and bulldozed out

"to barren reserves and Bantustans."

sion, organisations continue to work, although the pace might not be that fast. AZAPO was able to hold its Congress in 1987 with 1,000 delegates. Its publicity secretary said: "Our organisation has proved that it can survive and consolidate under conditions of clampdown." Racing against time, the Botha regime has evolved new constitutional changes in order to perpetuate apartheid. The National Statutory Council will consist of 30 of which 15 will be Africans. The Regional Service Councils will also have African representation. But side by side, the regime has also created sinister structures like the Joint Management Councils (JMCs), which are not responsible to any elected bodies. The head of a

JMC will be a security chief, It is

estimated that almost 2,000 are already working in the whole of the country. Their function is two-fold: to flush out the activists and those engaged in armed struggle and at the same time engage in reformist work like building homes, improving roads and providing better lighting facilities as well as building schools. In this way they hope to drive a wedge between the leaders and the people. The two major trials - in Cape Town involving trained armed men, 13 of whom have already been convicted for 12 years to life, were the result of information that the local JMCs obtained from their contacts within the coloured community. The rulers believe that they have broken up the underground in the Western Cape.

Another structure which the Botha regime has created to fight

the township militants are the *kits* -

konstabels (special police). It is from them that the vigilantes originate.

"Their job is unsavoury. for it is not

only to protect the local puppets in

the town councils, but also to kill those opposed to the apartheid system. The *kitskonstabels* have already

earned notoriety for their

reign of terror, through assaults,
shootings, intimidation and harass- . . -
- ment of the people, The people see -

them as crude and uncouth, more
often than not pointing guns at
people while drunk. They are all un-

der the commands of 4 white police *
officer who could be the town's pro-

secutor and a representative of the

'A (the director - Gcnc 'i' a the town, the case of

Elezweni Township in East Cape.

" 'However, like modern Franks-

teins, these special police have

turned against their own creators.
The following can be cited: in
November 1986, the entire force at
Kagiso township went on strike for
better pay and were joined by other
workers. .

At Katlehong, about the same

time, they also discriminated and

115 were arrested under emergency
regulations. . S A

" Strikes were also recorded by kits-
konstabels in * Soweto, Thokosa,

Tembisa and Potchefstroom.

However, it is the defiance of
1,000 of these at Lekoa on De-

- cember 9, 1987 that shook the rul-

3 e ; the town. > the town;
Ct B bly
riha TR By 4G

" but having roads outside of de-
Niaais Rt 18 out of A - tions with the Botha regime within

TR T

5

ers: Not only did they disobey their
white officer Major J.J. Bruyns, but
tried to run him down as he fled for
his life. They then broke into an
armoury, took out guns and then
fought with the South African
police. In this encounter eight were
injured. i

Lekoa is part of the Vaal Triangle
and harbours the industrial working

class of the Witwatersrand. It is here that the new wave of armed struggle began in 1985 when houses of puppet councillors were gutted and they had to flee for their lives after some of them were dealt with by the people.

So the effect of the December 9 incident is not lost on the rulers, for they see that these constables have gone from strike to what is described

the taste of the Bantustans like Kwa Zulu which have not opted for independence. Under this, the province : of Natal, which has a white and Indian population would be included. It would still have an African majority. On a regional level, political management will be in the hands of the Africans while real power; namely economic power, will be in the hands of whites.

But there is a rising anti-negotiation mood among the oppressed. The only class that stands to benefit is the middle class, whom the Botha regime is bending backwards to accommodate. Money, is being spent to build houses which Africans can now own. In Durban

as a result of the 1985 riots: it can give the result

ers much comfort that their own crelâ\200\235
.atures are fighting them like the re_sl
oftheppressed iy g -
" TH& â\200\234Botha Fegime lÂ\$ - facing
mutiny not only in Lekoa, but also

rebelled.â\200\231
reports emanating from _Lesotho,
over 30 officers are facing court mar-
tial for refusing to i-\201ghtlwith_ South
Africain Angola;. 510 1) w0
- The release of Comrade Govan .
-Mbeki led to speculation that the
time for negotiation was now far offi |
But there is widespread opposition
to negotiation because as far as
Botha is concerned, it could only be -
within * the * framework of - the:
strictures he has laid down. What
the racist President wants liberation
. movements to accept is 10 or 12 re-
gional bodies which could be con-
trolled â\200\230either byâ\200\231 whites or blacks,
fence, finance and foreign affairs.
â\200\231Such â\200\230!'.trl,l'Â@tlulri:s already exist in

[; TR LR

in Ahgâ\200\230Ã@la,"ii-\202hcrc a whole battalion |
l{nd if we arÃ@ to believe '

\â\200\231mdge i East London, those who

cannot pay the deposit for a house
wiâ\200\234l bÃ@ expelled from the township.

17 7â\200\230i_nâ\200\230 (high way, the rulers are bringing

â\200\230Ã@laÂ\$Â\$_. divisions right into the

'towï-\201sâ\200\230hips.

LB L

â\200\230 oAt s

il prÃ@vent middle class leaders
being thrust on the people from
above, there is serious thinking in

~certain sections that all leaders of
_the people should have 2 consti-

tuency. In other words, they would
begin with the grass root level and
then move upwards. This is to pre-
vent any leader built up by the
monopolist mass media and certain
white establishment institutions

from negotiating . as their
:l'eprf:scntativc. '

In the coming period then, inter-
nally based organisations allowed to
â\200\230'operate will have to take a stand asâ\200\231
to â\200\230whether they stand for negotia-

the framework " of his renovated
apartheid institutions.

â\200\231

ANC Vows to Step Up Fight

In Response to Clampdown

By William Claiborne
Washington Post Service

JOHANNESBURG â\200\224 The African National Congress guerrilla movement vowed Thursday to step up its armed struggle against white minority rule in South Africa in response to the government clampdown on leading anti-apartheid organizations.

As the outlawed ANC, the main guerrilla force seeking to overthrow the government in Pretoria, issued its warning, several anti-apartheid campaigners in South Africa went into hiding to avoid being served with orders restricting their movements and political activities.

Security police served restriction notices Wednesday on seven black - nationalist leaders, including the co-presidents of the United Democratic Front, an anti-apartheid coalition, and said banning orders would be served on at least 11 more persons.

The individual banning orders were issued after the government

said it would prohibit all but routine â\200\234administrativeâ\204¢ activities of 17 leading anti-apartheid groups and announced that the countryâ\200\231s largest trade union federation, the Congress of South African Trade Unions, would be prevented from engaging in any political activities.

President Pieter W. Botha, in-

The European Community condemned the restrictions imposed by Pretoria. Page 5.

voking emergency powers, gave the law and order minister, Adriaan Vlok, the authority to prohibit â\200\234any activities or acts whatsoeverâ\200\235 by any organization he named. Mr. Viok used the power immediately to curb the 17 groups.

Thabo Mbeki, the ANC director of information and a senior member of its national executive com-

mittee, said that the guerrilla movement now had no recourse except to step up military action within South Africa.

â\200\234The regime, in practice, is saying that peaceful, political struggle is impermissible,â\200\235 Mr. Mbeki said - in a telephone interview from London. â\200\234This pushes people to the position, given the continuation of apartheid, where the only way to do it is to take up arms.â\200\235

Mr. Mbeki, who is visiting London from the ANC headquarters in Lusaka, Zambia, added, â\200\234I'm certain that individuals who have been involved and active in the struggle are not going to sit there and do nothing. People will want to continue, and armed struggle becomes the only possibility.â\200\235

While the ANC has never abandoned violence as a strategy since the organization was outlawed and forced into exile in 1960, recently it has shifted its emphasis toward achieving diplomatic recognition internationally, while at the same time trying to broaden its following/

See ANC, Page 5

ANC:

Renewed Threat
(Continued from Page 1)

Among liberal whites within South Africa.

According to government statistics, the number of ANC attacks in South Africa and cross-border infiltrations from neighboring states has declined sharply in the past year.

The government said Thursday that it would not release the names of the anti-apartheid activists who had been personally restricted, although it is known that orders had been served on the co-presidents of the United Democratic Front, Archie Gumede and Albertina Sisulu. They are banned from working for the front, writing articles, giving speeches or granting interviews.

The other activists restricted include Jabu Ngwenya, an official of an organization seeking the release

of the imprisoned ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, and Simon Gubule, a member of the front and vice president of the South African Council of Churches.

Anti-government demonstrations were held on several campuses, including the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, whose vice chancellor, Robert Charlton, said the orders "violate a number of basic freedoms, more particularly the freedoms of association and expression."

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By Barry James
International Herald Tribune

PARIS â\200\224 The European Community condemned South Africa on Thursday for effectively banning the political activity of anti-apartheid organizations and called on the government in Pretoria to lift the restrictions immediately.

In a statement issued on behalf of the 12-nation bloc, West Germany, which holds the EC presidency, said the EC nations â\200\234vigorously condemnâ\200\235 the â\200\234new manifestation of political suppressionâ\200\235 carried out by the South African authorities.

The South African law and order minister, Adriaan Vlok, announced the crackdown Wednesday. It affects 17 anti-apartheid organizations and the countryâ\200\231s largest black trade union. The organizations include the largest anti-apartheid coalition, the United Democratic Front.

â\200\234This prohibition will considerably exacerbate the tension within South Africa, leading to further confrontation and domestic polarization," the EC statement said. it said the EC nations â\200\234urge the South African government most strongly to repeal the imposed measures without delay. They are convinced that a constructive na-

tional dialogue with all political

EC Condemns Crackdown

groups, across the lines of color, politics and religion, is essentialâ\200\235 to insure a peaceful solution in South Africa,

The French Foreign ministry said in a statement that the proscribed organizations had as their aim the removal of apartheid by peaceful means. It said the new restrictions were an obstacle to dialogue, which it said is indispensable for installing a democratic society in South Africa,

In London, Sir Geoffrey Howe, the foreign secretary, said he was shocked and saddened by the bans, and added that the British government was totally opposed to repressive measures of this kind.

Sir Geoffrey said London was particularly concerned that the black opposition in South Africa should not lose hope of peaceful, fundamental change and warned that frustration and despair breed violence.

Lynda Chalker, a minister at the Foreign Office, said Britain would not retaliate against South Africa through economic sanctions,

Danish officials said the police were trying to locate airline passengers believed to be headed for safari vacations in South Africa, in an attempt to tighten the government's trade boycott of Pretoria.

In Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, a foreign ministers' meeting of the Organization of African Unity condemned Pretoria's action and called on the UN Security Council to adopt mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa.

Johnny Makatini, a spokesman for the main South African black liberation group, the banned African National Congress, said the measures would end the possibility of solving the country's problems peacefully.

They will serve as a prescription for full-scale armed attacks the only language the regime is likely to understand, he said.

In South Africa, some newspapers, business leaders and politicians criticized the government on

Thursday, saying the restrictions could provoke violence and make negotiated solutions more difficult.

Â® New Look at Sanctions

Advocates of economic sanctions against South Africa in the U.S. Congress predicted that the restrictions by Pretoria would lend strong momentum to a drive for further sanctions this spring, The New York Times reported.

IU's hard to understand why at

this particular moment they would

by Pretoria

slap such severe restrictions on any type of opposition gathering,â\200\235 said Senator Nancy Landon Kassebaum of Kansas, the ranking Republican on the Senate Foreign Relations Committeeâ\200\231s subcommittee on Africa. â\200\234It is a major disappointment for anyone who has had

ope for even small steps forward in South Africa.â\200\235

â\200\234What the South African government is doing is an open invitation to greater violence and bloodshed,â\200\235 said Representative Howard E. Wolpe, Democrat of Michigan and chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committeeâ\200\231s subcommittee on Africa,

â\200\234It is absolutely critical that the United States, by its own actions, strip away the Afrikaner fantasy that somehow they can hold on to their monopoly of power without fundamental economic cost and growing isolation from the international community,â\200\235 said Mr, Wolpe, who is expected to hold hearings on new sanctions proposals next month.

State Department officials said the Reagan administration had not relaxed its opposition to new sanctions. Charles E. Redman, the department spokesman, said sanctions â\200\234do not accomplish what we're trying to accomplish â\200\224 bringing an end to apartheid.â\200\235

Date set |
| for bid to|

cut off

South
Africa

By Alan D

WASHINGTON â\200\224 South Afri-
can Government foes on Capitol

Hill have set March 15 as the
date for an assault against
_apartheid. They hope to cut al-
most all trade links and to iso-

" late South Africa globally.

~ ment had now erased â\200\234all non-
violent, middle-ground optionsâ\200\235 -

~ open to blacks, 11 members of
__the House of Representatives
yesterday announced a series of
hearings on South Africa. â\200\230
_ They said they wanted to pro-
â\200\230*?duce legislation imposing a
â\200\230near-total block on trade with

South Africa and ordering

â\200\230American companies out of the
_country within six months. ,
The congressmen made the

* announcement at a news confer--

" ence called at short notice to

express outrage at this weekâ\200\231s
_elampdown on organisations

â\200\234and individuals. While express-
ing their horror at the move,
they and anti-apartheid groups

.. believed itâ\200\231s timing would pro-
mote their campaign.

PUBLICITY

1 Mr Howard
e House's panel on

â\200\230sanctions against Soutl

and-onm"wi&tiohg{f{: Â¥
media in the country.

Tough measures, i-\\201i-\\201heri-\\201han
" those in effect, are likely to
emerge from the House.

In the Senate, which has so
far shown more reserve in act-
ing against South Africa, moder-
ate senators who have in the
past been prepared at least to

hear the Government's argu-
ments were yesterday infuriat-
ed at the latest restrictions.

Mr Wolpe said President
Botha's regime had to be shaken

from its fantasy. He pledged to
respond to Archbishop Desmond

Tutu's call for tighter sanctions,
and urged the Reagan Adminis-

tration to agree to the steps he
and his colleagues contemplat-
ed. :

The Star Bureau =~
erous television reports.

olpe, chairman.
Africa,

PARIAHS
~ On NBC television's national
Today show, Archbishop Tutu
yesterday expressed the hope
that the West would sever diplo-
matic relations with South Afri-

' ca: Make this government and

its supporters know clearly that
they are pariahs, and that they
are totally unacceptable in their
conduct and in decent society.
Senator Paul Simon, presiden-

| tial candidate and chairman of

the Senate's panel on Africa,

| said: Essentially, the South

African Government wants these organisations to be blind, deaf and dumb, and otherwise non-existent. The South African Government has made a grave mistake. In attempting to bury dissent, these restrictions will only consolidate and strengthen dissent.â\200\235 ;
Congressman Ron Dellums of California, author of the Bill to end almost all trade ties with

South Africa, said the anti-â\200\230apartheid campaign in Congress

â\200\230his year was a â\200\234quantum leapâ\200\235 head of campaigns in previous years. His Bill was now the |
rarting point, the base from hich the House would work. It

d previously been the outer
\it, he said.
. @ See Pages 3 and 15.

STRE, FNJJAJ

FEARAARY b ~

198â\202¬

PFP aims to destroy
the tricameral system

The reasoning behind the partyâ\200\231s new strategy is
explained by The Starâ\200\231s Political Correspondent
â\200\230David Braun, reporting from Cape Town.

The scrappxng of the â\200\234most visible
symbol of apartheidâ\200\235, the trica-
meral Parliament, lies behind the
Progressive Federal Part{s new
. strategy to broaden its involvement
in the system.

The partyâ\200\231s federal council took
the decision to become involved in
all three chambers of Parliament,
and not just the House of Assembly,

, as part of a strategy to firm-up the
alliance of political forces against
_apartheid.

The PFPâ\200\231s view is that the struc-
tures of the system must be used at
every level, and where possible on a
nonracial basxs, to collapse the sys-

* tem from within.

Apart from taking part in every
House of Parliament, it will also
participate in this yearâ\200\231s local gov-

ernment elections for the various

~ population groups, where this is
considered appropriate. '
â\200\234Taking partâ\200\235 in the system in its

' various racial compartments and atvj,â\200\230\
| its various levels does not necessar-

become

ily mean the PFP will itself
[vwmateveryop rtunity

jAccording to PFP

- Colin Eglin,
lemented in combmatlons of three

ic ways:

- @ The PFP will field candidates
in elections.

@ The party will accept pubhc

ives currently servmg as
members of other parties.

. @ The PFP will form close working alliances with other parties and groups which share its commitment to the removal of apartheid.

In the process, Mr Eglin said in an interview, it was not

say just what the i .

on existing parties _n Â«nnd out of

. Parliament.

' The PFP leader is aware the strategy;, has both an â\200\234upside and a downsideâ\200\235, in that the decision to take part in the House of Representatives and the House of Representatives may well incur the wrath of those outside rliamentary litics committed to the destruction of these

| two chambers.

But, he said, the PFP was just as implacably opposed to racial chambers of Parliament and it was dedicated to the scrapping of the system.

He said: â\200\234I have no doubt the tricameral Parliament was the catalyst for the crisis we have in South Africa today, precisely because it deliberately excluded blacks.

â\200\234If I thought our going in to those

| Houses in any way interrupted or propped up the system, I would resign from the leadership of the

- PFP. That is not our motive for

e strategy will be im-

- Eglin . . . question of

;going in â\200\230We are going in in order to

P " 7syÂSem.vItisanevil sys-

t0 adopt the new

has* apparently not been

: in depï-\202: with any of the structures.

The PFP co s at Durban in

1985 decided the issne of the partyâ\200\231s

involvement in the other two

Houses of Parliament should be left for the lead council to decide.

Mr Eglin and the council believes
the effect of the state of emergency
on opposit

has increasingly made participation

hip and the federal â\200\235the

on to the Government

in system structum more relevant,
and possibly the only effective way
of reforming the system.

" There were signs of a general re-
consideration of tactics by all the
major actors in the South African
gohtlcal system, and as such the the

FP had to make quite sure it was
relevant.

â\200\234Our decision now to participate
- not only puts us in as one of the
actors in an evolving situation, but
may even precipitate that evolu-

. tionary action,â\200\235 Mr Eglin said.

If the strategy of both realign-
ment and more involvement
worked, he said, it might well devel- |
op into a potent factor for getting
rid of the tricameral Parliament
and getting something else in its
place. reajal â\200\230

l\ltllll;lEbgelxrll said he sus thtgi
. WO egi te suspicion: 8
the PFP was tf'Â»Ã©â\200\234&mmg more part |
of the sgstem and a co-optee in
apartheid structures.

But very few people wene able
criticise Mrs Helen Suzmanâ\200\231s use of
tem, he ad p
e can there wxll be
'some scepticism, but everything

- will depend on how well we perform |

and use the system to attain our ob- |
jectives. â\200\230

SHE AL FR11AY

WHAT brought on the latest
wave of repression? Lately the
public has grown used to hear-
ing two conflicting official
voices on security one re-
assuring them insurgency is
well under control, the other

revolution is still very much
alive. Still, the timing of this
week's crackdown on major
extra-parliamentary oppo-
nents, at a time of relative

reappraisals of anti-apartheid
strategies are in progress, is
puzzling. It can only be ex-
plained in terms of Pretoria's
own electoral needs.

One concerns the white by-
elections. Battling against the
far right in three platteland
seats, the Government needs
to display a tough law-and-
order stance. Getting tough
with internal dissentients, as
with neighbouring states, could
be a way to attract some votes
cynical and shortsighted
though it may be.

- A second aim may be to
emasculate radical opposition
to the October municipal elec-

. black voters might, for the
first time, achieve a base from
which Pretoria could launch
its long-stalled plans for a

ing with blacks.
So the quasn-banned bodies

to launch an anti-Aids cam-
paign is a welcome indication

been recogmsed locally as a
> threat.

and Europe have made the
running in attempts to stem

time for this part of the world
to follow suit (though it would
be as well to avoid the more
extreme examples such as
Denmark, which has even en-
listed the assistance of Hans
Christian Andersen in its sex
lessons to the young).

City councillor Mrs Mary
- Kopel seems to be on the right
track, first in calling for Aids
" to be declared a notifiable dis-
ease. There can be little

ongoing chameleon game last
- year. The permutations of cha-
. meleonisation are consider-
- able, with at least eight theo-
- retical colour shades to choose
- from. Some applicants were
- allowed to become darker,
some lighter; just short of 200
- were deemed to be colour fast.

F&fx(uw 2, 19858

Che Star
Short-term gain,
long-term â\200\230damage

,agaxnst elections. Still, the
maintaining the climate of

calm and while certain .

â\200\230ing has come from quarters

â\200\234not being â\200\234round the cornerâ\200\235.

â\200\230tions. A respectable turnout of -

" meetings, giving interviews or

National Council for negotiat- -

Joining the battle

JOHANNESBURGâ\200\231S decision
that the disease has at last
ntil now the UnitedStates

this modern-day scourge. It is

Colour code

' MORE THAN 700 South Afri-
- cans successfully played the

they are not merely an exer-

are forbldden to campaign

signs point to the crackdown
not achieving its intended aim.
Opposition, or apathy, towards
â\200\234puppetâ\200\235 local authorities runs
deep in the townships and
hardly needs organisations to
whip it up. Rather, the bans
and the anger they engender
seem likely to alienate more
moderates and stifle ideas of
â\200\234working within the systemâ\200\235.

Take the case of UDF co-president Mr Archie Gumede, one of the 18 individuals banned. Last year, intriguingly, he began to voice some thoughts about the UDF taking part in the next tricameral elections. Other UDF leaders shot down his heresy, but the speculation continued. And more recently, similar think-

which include the ANC leader- - ship itself as it comes to grips with the reality of revolution

Whatever was going to become of such moves, their prospects now look a lot less promising. The influential Mr Gumede is now banned from

litical activity, addressing

writing for publication. So are others who just might have followed his lead. Once again the Government seems to have shot itself in the foot.

progress in the battle until this is done, meaning that the guarantee of confidentiality for = sufferers must be widely and stronl y publicised. ast equally important is

the plan for sex education. The ; message must be hammered home not only to youngsters as they become sexually aware, but to promiscuous adults, especially those who, astomsh ingly, continue to patronise the cityâ\200\231s thriving escort agencies.

Wisely, the suggestion is not that these establishments be closed down â\200\224 thus driving them underground â\200\224 but that their employees should be. test- ed for Aids. :
- That the council unanimous- ly approved Mrs Kopelâ\200\231s sug- gestions is a healthy start .

!

The bottom line of these annual statistics of changes in race classification, released in-

Parliament this week, is that

cise in the absurd: they add up
to the insanity of apartheid

the ideology that can give a
new direction to someone's life
through the stroke of a pen,
cratic pen.

A SR R