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AN, Tuesday, June 30, 19 Telephone (011) 673-4160

E wonder what would happen if a black group took on
a racist stance and declared

~ that all whites should be driven into the sea, as used to be the case in the past.

For this is the kind of insulting sentiment we have to stomach from one or the other radical Afrikaner group that comes out of the cupboard.

These groups have the audacity to claim South Africa is their country, — something that is historically sheer $a\geq 0$ 0 and a=00. Then they wish to make us believe that blacks are a hindrance to white development or fulfilment. Which is crazier.

South Africa is as much a black country, in fact more of a black country than a white one. People will perhaps wonder why we make so muchnoise about people who belong to the lunatic fringe of radicalism.

We cannot turn a blind eye to such

- sentiments particularly when Afrikanerdom, politically and in its churches, is being torn apart because of their antiquated racist feelings.

What the Afrikaners, and we hate to make such generalisations, must know is, blacks do not have any wish to live with them, in the same cities and even in the same country if we had our way. But we are adult enough to realise that there are Afrikaners who are not of the radical stripe. We are â\200\234also of the responsible view, we hope, that is always articulated by black political organisations including those who do -

not wish to fight the struggle with whites. N

These groups have always maintained that South Africa is for South Africans and that colour was a handicap introduced by colonialists and imperialists. o

- We are frankly getting tired of these insults, inconsequential as they might seem to others. We think the Government owes us the protection and law and order that it is so eager to provide when radicalism comes from
 sectors of the population that are
- black. 4

SAC(; PieSidcnt Bishop Buthelezi advises delegates: $a\200\224$, z SR $a\200\224$ 30 Jung /7 o urch should not take returned to South Africa last night from Mozambique, was one of || the expected delegates but did not turn up. His predecessor, } Rebels continue the bush war Archbishop Philip Russell, was present.. $\hat{a}200\224-\hat{a}200\224$ _ $-\hat{a}200\224$, $5\hat{A}$ S ' 2 : h Addressing about 200 people, Bishop Buthelezi said the church _ He cited Angola rebels â $\200\234$ continue the bush war as should play a healing role in the conflict among anti-apartheid, if nothing happenec WHEH w as granted independence . extra-parliamentary forces. f Bishop Buthelezi said if the church in South Afmâ\200\230:â $200\230a$ bacl,t,ed a Most of the conflicts â\200\234obviously derive from the system itself, certain political f ormation, it would cease to be a wholeâ\200\235 and but others derive from the very nature of party formations. would become just a â\200\234pa rtâ\200\235. & P Parties, by their very nature, divide the community.â\200\235 Churches had to divorce thems elves from _psi¬\202mal groups It took great sensitivity to maintain a healthy and delicate bal- gagx::e g:ét vsvze go;;g os tll; \hat{a} 200\230eg g:m:: be well positioned to act as a parti i i i i 5 : ::1:serzgg nrglzgggt. AT he s e Bishop Buthelezi said it had often been assgrted the church , even \hat{a} 200\234In our situation the sense of co-existence has been lost. We must the SACC, did no t represent the grasgroots of its membership.; remember that in independent Africa there are at present ... pre- â\200\2340ne can of cours e argue a case in defence of the church or the independence political formations which chose not to disband at SACC. (However) this would serve 1o useful pu Y Idhave the attainment of independence, â\200\235 said Bishop Buthelezi. learnt a lesson that it is cognter-productve to try to defend your-' self against all manner of criticisms. : :

coqnter-production to try to defend your'self against all manner of criticisms.::

\[\frac{a}{200}{234} \] If you know in your heart that a particular c::itlcism is wrongly \]

\[\text{applied to you, listen to it nevertheless. ut it in your outer coat} \]

\[\text{pocket. Like a good emergency aspirin you may need it some day,} \]

\[\text{even though you may not have to swallow it now.} \frac{a}{200}{235}: \]

Conference delegates watched a play, \(\frac{a}{200}{234A} \) Step in the Dark\(\frac{a}{200}{235}, \) performed by St Barnabas pupils, depicting everyday crises.

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j By Sol Makgabutlane . B 3
| The outgoing president of the South African Council of
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Churches, Bishop Manas Buthelezi, has advised churches to

be cautious in siding with specific anti-apartheid groups.:
Bishop Buthelezi was speaking at the opening session of the five- |
day SACC conference at St Barnabas College, in Bosmont, Johan- |

nesburg, last night.

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By Carina le Grange, ;
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"Religion Reporter:/
The 1987 national conferen
of the South African Council of
Churches was calm and reflective in comparison with the
two preceding conferences, despite taking unusually controversial and far-reaching decisions regarding violence and
civil disobedience as legitimate
action and protest against the
present government.

Two years ago the conference was frequently $lntempt-a^200^230$

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< SACC aÃ@cepts tisa ff to end
. CC S USC Of for C\hat{a}\202 10 en oppression \hat{A}\hat{t}
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rsing civil disobedience. was the adoption of the Lusaka fine compels the move-
za on the East el%and after an to ;xkceu:he: :If ltâ\200\2301;ey o not gt This included the
tion Statement drawn up at a meet- | gnents 'tb.the nsg of force.â\200\235
explosion in which some youths The 1987 o o rent boycotts as a valid ing of South African d
elegates Most delegates had no doubt
died and several were m, alimed i\hat{a}\200\231 ţ . conference ad- form of protest, the refusa
1 to and freedom movements in Lu. the adoption of the statement
t year the state of emer. sll::;e'm' escedl:;;ion; 208 Sock . dediies money from wages for
gqyq earlier this year. would mean the Church en-
gency gave rise to closed ses. opy :f had tak as though the rent g js Proposed in a gover
n- It recognises the a\200\234unques- dorged violence. For many this
sion discussions as the confer. to rcak :. Be it it wamclBA8 ment Bill and e refusal to de
- fionable right of the people of posed no problem
ence grappled with the restric- do :,pe t:aul; koA duct tax i om Wages or sa- South Africa
and Namibia to a\200\234If there is a j';St war, there
â\200\234mlmm. MllCh ï¬\202me was Deo:.ei 'lh'eak' / laries of blICkl on the blli! secure p
Peace and ju't]ce must also be ajnst revolâ\200\231â\200\234tion â\200\235
SRRt o arguing: did the \hat{A}¢ actcl :no:: r: l:::le\hat{a}200\230:io\hat{a}7\202d n:::l.: lt\hat{a}200\2311ln:
:tw tiat:::ito:e:m::a lt)::\hat{a}\200\231rl:nlssi- tlnlmghl liberation movements\hat{a}\200\235, one d
elegate said. 3
s t also \hat{a}200\234 recognises that the Without wanting to diminish
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church ynve $Ia\200\230$ rlshi to speak of them lmplying or actively The most controversial is sue nature of the South African e e Teictanns s Lisatn

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choice was involved in opting for violence \hat{a} 200\224 as implied. by

the use of the word $a\200\234$ compel $a\200\235$, The Lusaka Statement was adopted by an overwhelming majority for reference to member churches and regional

i_lence. o

ge had to fight $$\operatorname{men}$$ to cars waiting outside. He will

conference ~today atâ\200\224 the SACC conference in Johannesburg.

e o
Tutu message is one
|of love, no

4 In The Star of June 23, Ms Avril Budd -of Bryanston writes in strongly derogatory terms of â\200\234Des-mond Tutu and his croniesâ\200\235. Ve

Perhaps, if she had ever met the i archbishop and listened, really listened, to what he had to say, she might realise that he is not a man

~otherwise. '

reconciliation, while warning what will probably occur if we continue to harden our hearts towards our fellow South Africans.

Seldom have I seen such an arrogant statement as her final paragraph, in which she says that $\hat{a}\geq 00\geq 34$ South Africa will survive because with God as our partner we cannot fail $\hat{a}\geq 00\geq 35$,

I can only wonder which South Africa she is writing about $\hat{a}\200\224$ cer-

SEE LETTERS
Page 8 Metro
;â\200\234

who expresses hatred, vitriolic or,

He has always preached love and

t hatred
S B :
READERSâ\200\231

VIEWS

tainly not that of the majority of the inhabitants of our great land. $\mbox{H V Goodwin}$

Springs

* * *

' Let us reward Archbishop Tutu with

the oblivion he so richly deserves. This cacophonous $\hat{a}200\234$ priest $\hat{a}200\235$ has surely done enough harm to our country, to race relations, the economy, the church $\hat{a}200\224$ you name it, he has had something revolutionary to say

about it.

Cannot the media simply please ignore him? Why must we newspaper readers continue to be subjected to his diatribes?

Makes Me Sick Pretoria âγa

e $\hat{a}200\230By$ Alan Dunn, The Star Bureau WASHINGTON $\hat{a}200\224$ A move on Capitol Hill jeopardi – R100 million in American aid to southern African states by linking it to $\hat{a}200\234$ necklace $\hat{a}200\235$ killing in South Africa has had its teeth pulled. $\hat{a}200\231$ O,

Legislators have agreed on a diluted amendment, loosely tying United States funds to the Southern Africa Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) countries to necklacing.

The original amendment, introduced by Senator Larry Pressler of South Dakota, hinged American assistance on states renouncing â\200\230necklacing; recipients giving assurances they were acting to smoth- er those in their areas who did not renounce terrorism and coun-

tries actually frying to prevent terrorist groups operating in their areas. :

The Pressler Amendment was supported 77-15 in the Senate late last month. Sfahes LA $4\,$

A softer version referring to individuals instead $a\200\230$ terrorist groups has now been agreed in a Senate-House of Representatives conference to marry the Chambers $a\200\231$ different versions of the Bill. It has also dropped a vague, wide-ranging reference to $a\200\234$ terrorism $a\200\235$.

It stipulates that United States aid dollars may. not be given countries until the US President certifies they have $a\geq 00\geq 34$ not advocated necklacing $200\geq 35$; provided assurances they have acted against any person found to have necklaced someone and $200\geq 34$ not knowingly allowed terrorists practising necklacing to operate in their territories $200\geq 35$.

Repugnance

A Capitol Hill observer said the amendment, although watered down and almost meaningless in effect, still remained an important symbol to demonstrate US repugnance at necklacing.

Both Senate and the House of Representatives will have to consider the change, but conference bargains such as this are rarely

rejected.

The compromise can be seen as a victory for the Reagan Administration which baulked at the Pressler Amendment, saying it $a\200\234$ would make it virtually impossible to provide assistance to any

country in southern Africaâ\200\235.

State Department officials and several senators lobbied hard against the Pressler Amendment

It is understood the present conference has adopted an amendment from conservative Senator Jesse Helms of North Carolina. _

Jâ\200\224

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\230:7'53?â\200\230 i â\200\230o
Invit\tilde{A} @ \ 4 \ Paris \ par \ Jacques \ Chirac \ qu'il \ rencontrera \ aujourd \hat{a} \ 200 \ 231 hui,
le chef zoulou Mangosuthu Gathsa: Buthelezi prÃ@ne
_ des «rÃ@formes radicales » mais sans violences.
cains, mais pacifiquement. Wï¬\202"»&gï¬\201};â\200\230{nl ».gg,mï¬\201% mdmmm nime
« D'aprés un sondageâ\200\231 rémt'et"â\200\230g"mâ\200\230hc@jmmaï¬\201u en AWâ\200\231
\frac{200}{230} \frac{200}{230} \frac{200}{230} \frac{200}{230} \frac{200}{230} \frac{200}{230} \frac{200}{230}
objectit, affirme M. Buthelezi, :11879. M3 Buthelezi a- Ã@tÃ@: Ã@ievÃ@. .8 Alrique uf;sL; â
\200\230Dans letÃ@m_
74'% des Noirs de mon pays sont le: kraak: » de: sorÂ¥. oncie; Je- Wmm leliz'ays dis-
contre la violence. » Et d'gjouter : \hat{a}00\230Solomon, .avant: d'étudier: \hat{m}200\230z 3%
M "i¬\201f Câ\200\230gms
s e peuvem : uoi- Ronald -Reagan; Margaret
pas y renoncer, ils se sont trop o bowed it iy _
engaqÃOs dans la voie d'un chan- natcl tmv Y m . ;ac m-v
Encors B e P ;
msseâ\200\231 pari accorder; un- pouvoir
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gement radical. » Cette prise de ;. berk-Sobuke: |1 adhÃ@ra & 'ANC; et

: et d'hdpitaux dans les townships; â\200\234gouverriement â\200\230attribuait'a: & 3

 \hat{A} « tionner leg: destructions d' \tilde{A} ©coles . terres pour; =

laient.._ Neison' Mandela*iot Ro

. économiques occidentales, valent * & M. Buthelezi sa réputation chez - |

Jamais :

\200\230 I'idÃ@n %nt :

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position, le refus du chef de cau- hef trit
.réet A celi qui-réclame. « des
ngements radicaux, sans la
sa condamnation des sanctions fr\tilde{\text{A}}@res\hat{\text{a}}\200\231(\hat{\text{I}}A@s: bantoustans):
\hat{A}« Je'parle \hat{a}\200\230pour le peuple les jeunes: Noirs, qui le-traitent r\hat{A}©s \hat{A}» et \hat{A}« radi
caux » devint san- :
noir \hat{A}». Le chet Mangosuthu. . volontiers d'\hat{A}« oncle Tom \hat{A}» ou de. . giante.ic: to TG 4 Gathsz hButhelezi, \hat{a}200\230invit\hat{A}© par Jac- \hat{A}« poup\hat{A}©e de Pretorias. ~ = Fort-de son audie
nce -
. ques Chirac a Paris - les deux it : M: Buthelezi peut rassembier
.hon;r,rt\\hat{a}\200\231e\hat{A}$ se renlc':ontrderont\hat{a}\200\230aq- gth\hat{a}\200\230;as:";zl,ez\hat{a}\200\230:nz
mr, a\200\230:.as:' ozt personnes & Soweto, i\201e:
jourdâ\200\231hui â\200\224 est I'un es princi- parti. La tribu, ce sont les Zoy-- QUi enra
ger ses rivaux \hat{a}\200\224 le .
paux acteurs de I'histoire lous; six millions de personnes; le: ~chet.zoulou. affirme. : «
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contemporange sud-afncame. groupe de Noirs le: plus puissant 2(&23 le- pasaÃ@k les Blancsâ

Face au pouvoir blanc, il incame . en Afrique-du Sud: Le- parti, Fins ; 918 aussi- ouverts

 $a\200\234a\200\234$ devend; Chet tribal; dénonca:s les:

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e du :
'une des deux sensibilités des kmha' que. ses: promoteurs: p(&' dâ\200\231w Le mmâ\200\230
: c'est )
Noirs sud-africains, celle du dia- senent plutét comme un « ras- Que leurs leaders sont
mÃ@diocres.
logue. Il se trouve aujourd'hui en - semblement culturel s, compterait -~ L@ PrÃ@sident Bot
ha'n'a pas la
opposition ouverte;: et- souvent - entre: 750 000 et 1,2 million- m "mâ\200\230:';_mâ\200
\234,' cawhyâ\200\230w
violente,: avec les sympathisants g-adhã@rents, concentrã@s: surtout:. Y7 dâ\200\234"QIâ
\200\230\text{må}\200\230\text{å}\200\234 , \200\230\text{mmfm} g
de Nelsan Mandela et I'ANC. (1& gans je: Natai; autour de Durban, . e i econs sorb N
Congrés: national atricain), qui g rÃ@gion-ol se retrouvent la â\200\230;'lrtd"â\200\230 m
ois, Blancs, %'fS. tis et
pronent la: lutte armée. avec Pre- iqris des Zoulous. s indiens:se sont mis-d'accord sur
toria. et'la d\tilde{\text{A}}Osorganisation de la , i = une constitution: multi-raciale et
soci\tilde{\mathbb{A}}© sud-africaine- cemme Des leaders \tilde{\mathbb{A}}©galitaire. \hat{\mathbb{A}}» Ce combat pour \hat{\mathbb{A}}« un .
.seuls moyens dâ\200\231en finir avec - homme, un.vate, un parlement et | :
* I'apartheid. Lorsque donc le che P 2 â\200\234constitution. pour- tous-»,â\200\231 L
- Buthelezi dit : « Je parle pour le Buthelezi I'estime- possible.
peuple nair \hat{A}», il exprime le point < n.cadre d\tilde{A}©mocratique.:
de vue d'une grande paneie de . gan <code>i¬\2011'</code>dâ\200\231.'es'tm unâ\200\230homme: « sur
$8s compatriotes, qui.rÃ@vent ; "-p'rlncmâ\200\234 : QUs rasoir » quereceyait:
d'étre fiers de se sentir sud-afri* m;égzxgmw â\200\234 Chirac;: mais-a- coup sor: Pun.
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s Lt o st b v

AFRIQUEDU suo i

Mangosuthu Gét'sï¬\201a Buthelezlâ\200\234 hief ,â\200\230inist du.p ant groupe ethnique s ud-africair , "â\202¬té par Reagan et Thatcher. Prénant 3 Ia fois *

| 1 opposition a | "apartheid et le dialogueavec-P a, dirigeant noir evolue sur Ie ï¬\2011-du raso:

â\200\230La pohce sud-africaine a dispersé hier'a coups de gaz lacrvmogem et de chevrotines des étudiants noirs et -blancs de I'université du Cap qui protestaient contre le raid sud-africain en Zambie.

Deux étudiants ont été blessés

ipar les plombs tirés pour

1 premiére fois sur des Blancs, - - Dâ\200\231aumpart,lepresdemdehCour

- saprÃ@me du Natal a dÃ@clarÃ@ hier | mcoastitutionnelle I'interdiction | d"appeler i la libÃ@ration des dÃ@tenus, -| Clest le deuxiÃ@me revers en cing
- ' jours du gmmrmmdevm la
- . Cour supréme. 2 . \hat{a} \200\230: \hat{A} »,;

e ne me considÃ@re pas comme un modÃ@rÃ@, je veux des changements radicaux en Afrique du Sud...» Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelez: se dÃ@fend vivement dÃ@s qu'on le quahfie de K moderc>> comme.
"o eratoneite

 ${\tt discredit\tilde{A}@~aux~yeux~de~la~majonte~noire}$

dans son pays. :

A S8ans, ce dirigeant noir dâ\200\231Afn-- que du Sud, prÃ@sent cette semaine a Paris, « invitÃ@ », explique-t-il, par Jac~: ques Chirac, Ã@volue en permanence sur le fil du rasoir. «Chief minister»- .- { (Premier ministre) du Bantoustan.~ - Kwazulu - un territoire semi-autonome morcele dans la province: sud-- . afnicaine du Natal - Gatsha Buthelezi: - doit a la fois cultiver son image rassurante de « modÃ@rÃ@ », mais aussi prÃ@ser-ver une crÃ@dibilitÃ@ en permanence me-: nacÃ@e. nt

 $\hat{a}\200\230$ Ce chef zoulou, qui n besm: pas ; lroquer ['¢lÃ@gant. costume europÃ@en. dans lequel nous I'avons vu- hier. pour; la:peau. de ldopard et les:: sagaiesâ\200\231 des: FCBi ceremonies traditionnelles; OCCUpE uneâ\200\231::

 \hat{A} » a ~Gaisha Buthelen a appelela fmn \hat{A} « T le 4 soutenir son mouvementet SFaC amq;b:ce mpfxlm t \hat{A} ©gie:non violente \hat{A} »: La tentation \hat{a} 00\230de \hat{a} 200\231| e ot a faire existe chez les dirigeants occzden

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. un petit chcz le - : Jles germesâ\200\231 de la guerre civile qu
dm Salinger, & pa,-is,_,.i chacun redoute.
; "+ Pierre- K
place dÃ@licate sur I'Ã@chiquier- politique Butbdm aâ\200\230affirmÃ@ qu'it'y avait. deux H
sud-africain. II se veut a la fois dig- camps: chez: Jes: Noirs: jes: partisans..
geant anti-apartheid et adepte du dia - : dâ\200\230_un,-squm, de: parti uni-
logue avec Pretoria, Oppose aux : de la: « dé,
toasetavocat du systéme capitaliste et
de~la xd\tilde{A}©mocratie d [â\200\231 occidentale
Mais surtout. Gatsha Buthelezi
yryes e : Vi¬\201gâ\200\231?omdmmleermi¬\201mriqwdm
\hat{A}» * \hat{a}\200\230tion durable de TUDF t ry oo No rEnuelwdeux; a-t-il dxt \hat{A}«cesr ;
e e e te:
Bati, apamrde197i une orgamsatmu â\200\231 parmlÃ@ilg%m
l;m nesure, Inkalha, qui sâ\200\231appuie sur ; dÃ@fense de la dÃ@mocratie et dch hbre
force numerique des Zoulous e :
$ cntrep:mqwi¬\201atsha:
m groupe cthnique aveg six xml.-w'_,
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Yoquer; ce. qui luf pepmes oupes dé
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uag I;a;: dernier son propn:syudm
contrer la
COSATLS grande centm!c
récents s sonda 5
Tent toutefois que i Ryvrhar. i¬\202geffxâ\200\230lon
Câ\200\230apommrdewdra ndc'~
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AFRICAN rhetoric does not

equal fact; there is always a difference between what African politicians say for the record and the pragmatism with which they act, especially when economic realities are involved.

Bearing this in mind, we should carefully evaluate current official K; onouncements calling for a

arxist state in Zimbabwe if we are to gain a cleawrs tive of what is likely to take place.

At the same time it is necessary to accept that official government B:licy is that which is intended to

done, unless competing interests prevail.

Judged by official rhetoric and party resolutions, Zimbabwe seems well on the way towards scientific socialism.

However, the record of seven years of independence shows that government has $a\geq 00\geq 30$ taken no significant practical steps in transforming. society according to Marxist-Leninist principles.

Apart from minor ministerial interference with the private sector and inconvenient labour legislation a^200^24 such as minimum wages and restrictions on dismissal of workers a^200^24 government has not nationalised a single industry since independence, has not taken over a single private school and has not confiscated a single farm.

Reality directly contradicts the pronouncements made by government before and after independence.

Zimbabwean Prime Minister Robert Mugabe visited Moscow last week, strengthening ties between the two countries. However, Zimbabweâ\200\231s Marxist pronouncaments are not matched by its economic policies $a\200\224$ and may never be. The contradiction is examined by Sam Kongwa, an Africa Institute researcher, in this excerpt from an article in the Instituteâ\200\231s latest bulletin

â\200\224RBulw~vesa- Da

] FACE TO FACE ... Robert Mugabe meets Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow last Saturday

Zimbabwe: the
socialist debateyl

SAM KONGWA

| its unique position in the â\200\231 region
| :\:;inï¬\201? onai ethos have all texï¬\202ed o tate against the introduction
C Marxist-Leninist ideology.
Zimbabwe has a strong, influen-
| tial and visible black middle class which acts as a blocking mechanism to socialism

The middle clasÂ\$ has accumul

< y t.
fg; ptx;o;ierty i:nd wealth, and ha.;i a
= oseent. a Marxxst-Lemmst</pre>

This group includes publi vants, polit&ians, am?ed fs):ce; personnel and businessmen who are products of Western education and free enterprise acquired during the pre-independence era. They have learnt a lot from the socialist failures of other African countries and loathe falling into the trap of $a\200\234$ politics of poverty $a\200\235$. $200\230$ This group has resisted $200\224$ and will continue to resist â\200\224 the implementation of a socialist programme, in spite of the extollation of its virtues by the few in the top pqgltli:alâ $200\224r$ eaoil:rship. â $200\230$ i The private sector at independence was relatively developed I and still accounts for a significant

percentage of production. Foreign ownership and external control of the private sector are some of the salient features of the Zimbabwe ec%nongy. o orei bring with them

external capital and expertise. Black Zimbabweans control only about 12% of the private sector.

Approximately 8% of the manufactunng firms $\hat{a}\200\224$ which produce 68% of the entire output $\hat{a}\200\224$ and about 80% of the 15 profitable firms and the five major banks are foreign-owned. oy

In the mining sector, foreign firms account for about 88% of output.;

In the agricultural sector it is $\tilde{}$ estimated that 75% of the profits - are produced by plantations and farms under foxg, $\hat{a}\200\230$ gigp; ownership.,

The countryâ\200\231s power structure,

Key sectors of the economy are dominated by giant multinational ~ corporations $a\200\224$ such as Turner and Newall (asbestos), Union Carbide (chrome), Delta (breweries), Lonhro (mining and manufacturing and farming) $a\200\224$ and have a 'hold on virtually all strategic sec-

" tors.

A 11 past moves towards nationalisation have been met with resistance and threats of withdrawal by

these firms. $\hat{a}\200\230$ Under the circumstances, gov-

ernment has had to adopt a prag- ;

matic approach in order to avoid the disastrous consequences of nationalisation of the $\hat{a}200\234$ commanding

heights of the economyâ\200\235 experienced in countries like Zambia, Tanzania and Mozambique.

The Industrial Development

Corporation has been restricted to,

" taking over firms which have been abandoned and which no one wants to manage.

The much-publicised land reforms have also been confined to a willing seller/willing buyer basis. The introduction of socialist pro-

- grammes in Third World countries is often preceded by a high profile of Eastern bloc experts in the host country.

The experts are usually deployed in strategic areas, such as security, intelligence and economic planning.

After the departure of the North;

Korean military training team there have been arkably few socialist experts in Zimbabwe. Their only presence is confined to diplomatic re%:sentation.

ormed observers state that

the Eastern Bloc diplomatic repre-

sentatives are %enerally more closely watched by Zimbabwean

security than their Western counterparts.

e reason for this must be sought in the history of the Zimbabwean war of independence, when almost the entire socialist world $a\200\224$ except for China $a\200\224$ backed government $a\200\231$ s arch-rival, Zapu.

Despite the recent reported purchase of advanced Soviet MiG29 fighter planes by government, it would appear that government is $a \geq 00 \geq 30$ cautious and determined to ensure that such purchases do not significantly introduce a new and more visible Soviet profile in Zimbabwe.

This is borne out by governmentâ200231s denial of the purchase.

One gets the impression, therefore, that despite the rhetoric in support of Marxist-Leninist ideology, the logic of the transformation to a practical socialist system is still being questioned.

The recent well-publicised ex-

ulsion from Zimbabwe of two North Korean secret service agents is a case in point.

In a country where 60% of the

ple are regular church-goers

" and 80% of the schools are private,

governmentâ\200\231s efforts to introduce litical education and to drop reigious education from the curriculum have been resisted by public servants who had the benefit of a missionary education (the attempt has since been abandoned).

There is also an influential group within government that has argued that Zimbabweâ\200\231s quest for the leadership of the ntline states and its intention of serving as an example of African success would be frustrated by moves towards socialism.

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The?' point out the dismal failures of socialist experiments elsewhere in Africa.

This group is also of the opinion that there is no precedent in his-

tory where a socialist experiment has succeeded in a country so nomically dependent upon a neigh--bouring capitalistic regional power, such as SA.

It is further postulated that the introduction of a new rival economic and ideological set-up in the sub-region, with strong Soviet or other tern bloc involvement, would tend to invite perceptions of animosity, and, perforce, retalination from SA. S

In the light of the above, it would appear that $a\200\224$ in the end $a\200\224$ pragmatism will prevail over rhetoric.

Union bareai ey gwlel)

UNION-NEGOTIATED wage settlements in the first six months of this year reflected increases averaging 16,4%, exceeding the national norm by 4% to 5%.

This is according to a mid-year report on collective bargaining trends published by consultants Andrew Levy and Associates and released yesterday.

The report states that, economically, the bargaining prospects for 1987 appear more favourable than at any time in the previous two years. This is due to buoyant eco-

nomic forecasts being given cre-

dence by production moving back to full-time and order books glling. A'; a macrg-l:;el, \tilde{A} @hDel;e are wetxh: pectations o o gro .compared with \hat{a} 200\230the 0,7% of the

_year before.

There is little doubt, the report observes, that the economic recovery is having the effect of heightening both union and worker impressions of managements \$\alpha \200 \231\$ ability to meet substantial wage increases.

Settlements

i And during the next six montths, says, employers can e to haveytz reach settlementsxcpl?)cse to the inflation rate.

The rt notes a number of strikes {ear which lasted for more than four weeks, and says that they indicate â\200\234the solidarity and militancy of labour at the moment, as well as the ability to sus-

ALAN FINE

tain extremely lengthy strike ac-

tion, facts which management should not underestimateâ\200\235.

It predicts that a further factor in wage bargaining will be union oressure for nation-wide in-company bargaining, rather than a series of plant-level negotiations.

â\200\234Although there have been some important groups granting this (including SAB and Premier), strong resistance is to be expected from a number of the major employers who have decided that plant level aegotiation works well in prac-

ceâ\200\235.

These employers believe that

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ what the unions are now referring to as $\hat{a}\200\230$ all level bargaining $\hat{a}\200\231$ is an open invitation to have innumerable bites at the same cherry. Where employers resist (this), they should expect to face legal industrial action, and probable national strike action, before they even get to discuss wages. $\hat{a}\200\235$

Big impact

This debate, it says, will sooner or later find its way into the Industrial Court.

The report argues that the Cosatu living wage campaign has made a significant impact on wage bargaining.;

As regards other union organisa-

ning/shows growth

tions, the report observes that the performance of the United Workers $200\231$ Union of SA $200\234$ remains unimpressive $200\235$ and employers who face them across the table $200\234$ seem to have little to fear $200\235$.

Little can be said, it adds, of the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu) as a confederation. Performance here can only be judged by looking at its individual unions.

There ap to be, though, a slight tendency to more strike action in support of wage claims, with a lengthening of the duration of the strike, as well as a very significant usage of a\200\234cut pricea\200\235 industrial action by way of overtime
:):_ns and go-slows in support of

is. .

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The South African Governm should ta! (e no comfort from :i¬\201 general_axr of disillusionment with :cconoxmt;:1 ;Janctions being felt ross the West German sp;c â\200\235 political or this is more likely to result i even tougher measurqsybeing taltel: than in any relaxation of the limited I e, . Boray o spolie - he most likely first step would be to add a ban on the $ta\200\231::gport$ of South African coal to the existing block on iron and steel, new investments and gold coins. The key factors, according to repraphtativeg. of the parties in the ruling coalition, are developments inside South Africa and the amount ::t g;&;surtlel f?}' more sanctions ex-1e United S ' and Nat%. .' S o . The May general election result is Interpreted here as a most unhelpful l!n'ch to the right $a\200\224$ a blow to vl:;i&s;ldent Bl::haâ\200\231s reform process ch was already bein little too late. 4 ey Domestic pressure Tougher sanctions loom 7 A Y Bonn ho It comes dowhâ\200\235toâ\200\230a sim foreign policy, ple question of priorities in says Jean-Jacques Cornish in this report from the West German capital. ' T Kohl . . . cannot stand alone. (It compounded the disappoin ' ment over the exclusion of blac from the Presidentâ\200\231s Council an President Bothaâ\200\231s disastrously anti climactic Rubicon speech which had been'touted in Bonn beforehand b $a\200\2301a\200\230ia\200\230ttl)lrelgp ,Mixt:tzter Mr Pik Botha as$ â\200\234the biggest thi i $\frac{1}{200}230$ Riebeecigâ200231. thing since Jan van This combination is e ted result in the FDP, whichxzzgerallt;

gives the lead in the coalition on forelgn. policy matters, bowing to omestic political pressure by rartâ\200\230i(:)';;;(t)mg ta_tstougher pro-sanctions n at i oyt | My conference in

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 $\hat{a}\200\234$ We see the violence on television and we read of the arrests of young children. Reasonable, rational argument against sanctions is no longer accepted.

 $a\200\234$ What else is there but more sanctions? If I knew of another way, I would take it. I believe the FDP

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will vote for sanctions in September and if the SPD comes to the Bundes-tag with a practical sanctions resolution we would support that too. \hat{a}

The senior coalition partner, Mr Helmut Kohl's CDU, is more inclined to withstand pro-sanctions pressure inside Germany.

South Africa falls way below German reunification, East-West relations and nuclear disarmament on its list of foreign priorities. Nevertheless, it would not stand alone against a move for stronger eco-

'mic measares \hat{a} \200\224 even if this

 $a\200\234$ nt mandatory sanctions $a\200\224$ from

ropean partners and the Unit-as.

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rizon.

It is quite sfmp'ly a question of
| priorities.

""West Germany is committed to

adopting a uniform EC foreign poli-

cy. As the country truly at the heart

- of Europe â\200\224 it has more neighbours

than any other state on the globe $\hat{a}\200\224$

it would be senseless to be out of step.

West German trade with South

Africa, for example, is less than

1percent of its foreign business compared with 70 percent with Europe. West German investment in the Republic forms a similarly minuscule proportion of its foreign stake.

CDU analysts illustrate the sanctions in waves and believe they are now on top of the first. As they see it, the economic steps have hardened the attitude of South African whites and have had negative impact on the black population.

The buy-out of American companies that have quit South Africa has predominantly favoured whites. The ban on SAA flights into the US has not stopped South Africans jetting into New York and Washington via Europe but it has bankrupted Cape Verde where the US-bound South African jumbos used to stop over.

Nevertheless, the analysts accept that the reaction to this political backfire will ultimately mean more rather than fewer sanctions. The

second wave could begin to swell, they say, at the EC summit in Brussels this week. :; v

Sanctions are not specifically on the menu for the heads of state but they will inevitably come up in the simultaneous meetings of foreign ministers and senior officials so that they would form part of the final declaration.

Any proposals could be acted upon during Denmarkâ\200\231s six-month presidency of the EC beginning in September or in the following p:lriod under West German leader-ship. â\200\230

Since West Germany looks after Danish interests in South Africa because Copenhagen has withdrawn its diplomatic representatives, the - Bonn envoys are preparing for a sticky year ahead.

If there is no substantial EC initiative in this period, it is generally accepted that the sanctions issue will inevitably loom larger in the United States $\hat{a}\200\224$ and once again the West German Government would feel obliged to follow that lead.

It is not simplistic to say that the ball lies in the South African Government $200\231$ s court. Those parties that oppose sanctions for practical and moral reasons desperately need the real ammunition to sustain their argument.

At the very least, CDU and FDP members agree, this would necessitate the initiation of real political dialogue among all South Africans.

By this they mean nothing short of unconditionally unbanning all political parties. They also require a deadline for a constitution in which all South Africans would enjoy equal rights within the foreseeable future.

/ Any further repressive sfeps or political backsliding from oria would make the anti-sagctâ\200\231io case indefensible. i

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i'-iâ\200\230?.â\200\230f Ot orijl, yabasyT MATIWDE ~ SOWETAN, Tuesday, June 30, 1987

â\200\230PAC MENâ\200\231

~ By MONK NKOMO A MAJOR political trial involving seven alleged members of the banned Pan Africanist Congress

starts in the Pretoria ,Mgg\isttatqâ\200\231sâ\200\230 Court '

| The seven accused, including two alleged members

of Qibla â\200\224a Moslem organisation â\200\224 face 24 charges

of terrorism, attempted murder, defeating the ends of justice and being members of an outlawed organisation. The trial is scheduled to last for several weeks.

The accused are Mr Mabatu Enoch Zulu (52), Mr Siyabulela Ndoda Geanqa (26), both of Transkei, Mr Vincent Alson Mathunjwa (29), of Springs, Mr Sidziba Paul Mohlolo (29), of Johannesburg, the Rev Daniel Nkopodi (27), an AME priest In Bophuthatswana. Mr Achmad Cassem, 2 draughtsman and Mr Yusuf Patel, both of- Cape Town.

They appeared briefly before Mr J H Bekker. They were not asked to plead and the case was postponed to

| this morning. DR

Lawyers for the accused $a\200\224$ Mr Dikgang Moseneke, Mr G van Tonder and Mr A M Omar $a\200\224$ asked for the postponement to study particulars submitted by the State last week. : -:

The State alleges that Mr Zulu, Mr Geanga, Mr Mathunjwa and Mr Mohlolo joined the PAC in 1960 and received military training in Egypt, Yugoslavia,

Zimbabwe and Tanï¬201nia. : T g Y a^200^2 The four accused and

other unknown members or supporters of the PAC ~are also alleged to have entered South Africa during 1985 and April 1986, carrying semi-

handgrenades.

automatic rifles and -

The State alleges that Mr Zulu, Mr Geanga, Mr Cassem and Mr Patel contacted a member of Qibla, a Moslem organisation, in connection with the supply of weapons to fight - the government. Both Mr

Cassem and Mr Patel
 were members of Qibla.

Letters

The State alleges that Mr Nkopodi acted as a courier and

- @ Smuggled cash, letters,

arms and ammunition into South Africa from Botswana to be used by trained PAC members in sabotage attacks;

- e Helped trained PAC members to enter the country illegally, and
- . @ During March or April

last year he bought a car, in Brits with PAC funds. The car was to be used to promote the aims of the PAC.

The State also alleged that Mr Cassem and Mr Patel helped a certain Mr Hanief Sayed, a murder accused to leave the country during Novem-

* ber or December, 1985.

The alleged murderer was driven to Gaborone by Mr Patel, according to

the charge sheet. '

Questions o

SIR $\hat{a}200\224$ Inkosi Buthelezj $\hat{a}200\231s$ response to what one presumes is critical comment been giving the Inkosi inon the part of My Roger creased attention), Burrows Mp regarding the The

KwaZuly loyalty pledge

(Mercury, June 12, 1987)

raise_s so i

liberals than doeg the ABC (which has recently

Why, one may ask, should Mr Burrows, or any other berson, not ¢comment on this pledge, since it is indeed an unusual step for Someone who, in his verba] $\hat{a}\200\224$ utterances, is constantly she needs a constituency; extolling the virtues of de. Leaving aside such mocracy (which include unrepresentative evidence freedom of chojce ; iti- $% \left(1\right) =\left(1\right) \left(1\right) =\left(1\right) \left(1\right) \left(1\right) =\left(1\right) \left(1\right$ cal allegia ed by the Sowetan newspadomofspeech). Der:to ascertajp If there referenc i backing \hat{a} 200\231 which the Inkosi was placed 24th, one notch ahoye President Botha), let us look firstly at KwaZuly elections and secondly at Inkatha,

In the only ele_ctions

d be in the fortunate Position of those black doctors who, in rejecting it, $\frac{3}{200}$ esek work elsewhere

ith, no doubt, adverse

auences for the
KwaZulu health services),

It is certainly rather un-

â\202¬ Inkosi to bite

as fed him

or the popular-

he enjoys with whites is

in no smajj measure to

the combined efforts of the

PFP and the white Press,

who Presumably have more

credibility with white

the average as low as 6% of those entitleq to vote). When the last elections were dye to be held in 1983 only Inkatha cangj. dates were pPermitted to stand, so al] were returned unopposed,
Then there js the question of Inkathaâ\200\231s much vaunted membership fig-

Abused Women must, act

SIR $\hat{a}200\224$ we write in Support of $\hat{a}200\230$ Too Late To Cry $\hat{a}200\231$ whose ge.-count of marriage, battery and divorce js familiar to us. Despite it being her personal story, her experience re-flects that of many women attempting to leave abusive - marriages,

In South Africa, the medical an
]do not always Work

In addition, Separation and divorce can be isolating ex-Deriences after which women simply remain powerless, depressed and without support,

It is therefore our belief that the first step in ending violence against women is for women to work together, Cha!lenging $a\200\230$ the system $a\200\231$ ig easier to do with others than by ourselves.

We applaud $a\200\230$ Too Late To Cry $a\200\231$ s $a\200\231$ brave fight for her free--

om despite the odds against her. We also call on other women to speak out against the violence they, along with thousands of others, experience daily,

RAPE CRISIS

Durban

nkatha,

ures. How, one may ask, are these members obtained? Given the fact that civi] servants are expected to join Mr X, a clerk, e g recently received a letter saying it Wwas noted he was not a member and should imme. diatel rectify the situation), that Inkatha dyeg are, in some instances, deducted involunta'rily- from school fees, and that one cannot settle on much of re-Serve or squatter area land without joimâ\200\231ng, it is not difficult to boost membership, L

Take, for $\hat{a}\202\pi$ xample, one of the large Squatter areas

near Durban, housing tens of thousands of people, and overseen ¥:Mre'T Shabalala, a member of the Inkatha centra] committee; all who wish to settle in this area (and there is very little chojce when it comes to finding shelter) are re. quired to Pay Inkatha dues each month ag bart of their â\200\230rentâ\200\231, ¢

In short, there is probably no Way. of telling, upthe present bantustan

h support

therefore remain an open question unti] sych time as truly democratje political structures (wWhich, by defi. nition, exclude bantustans) \hat{A} » exist,

As in any Community po-

litical viewpoints are sure

aried, and it seems

e PFP should there-

 $\hat{a}\202$ striving to maintain

and $\hat{a}\200\230$ build further links

with the various black political groupings,

I for one hope that Mr Burrows will continue to exercise his democratijcright to express an opinion, particularly if it concerns infringemen i of indivi

icers of anj
Politica]l groupings I am

Sure that the majority o Natalians would not want it.

DEMOCRAT

JuL 321

'87 13018 KWARZULU GOWT.

GRIFFIM

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CHizen o-6- (987

By PETER DELMAR

ARCHBISHOP Des. mond Tutu yesterday .. denied a report sarlier $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 34$ this month in which he was quoted as saying

Tutu: W

that he would signal a time when it is necags. ary to use violence to end apartheid, Speaking to Teporters on his return to South Africa from g two-week

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tour of Mozambique, Archbishop Tutu said: â\200\234I've said my usual things. I've said absolutely nothing new.â\200\235

The archbishop claimed he had besn mis-

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- e, Quite simple, \hat{a} \200\235

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airport to protect him,
Archbishop Tutu_spid
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: bishop Tutn sed
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JUL @1 â\200\23087 13:88 KWAZULU GOVT. GRIFFIN JH

RBAN - The Nauou-

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kamp, said Jestapa..

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'election when whites had
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Eutml n tlous. the
daba has taufht us it
should take Place be
tween competent politi- .
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Black, White Youths Debate S. Africaâ\200\231s Future

Township Resiglents Meet Students From Elite Afrikaner University $\tilde{\mathbf{A}} \mathbf{m}$

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By Aliister £; mrks

Washington Post Foreign Service

STELLENBOSCH, South Africa, June 29â\200\224In a rare exchange of views hetween the races in this segregated society, 200 black and white students have spent the past two days in a hotel Here debating the future of their strife-torn countr

yThe black students came in buses from ghetto townships that have experienced some of the worst racial violence of the past three years, while most of the whites were from Stellenbosch University, the ruling

Afrikaner community's most prestigious college.

They were brought together by an institute founded recently by former opposition politician Frederik van Zyl Slabbert to promote contact hetween Afrikaner and African nationalists, whom Slabbert believes are set on a collision course that could lead to a race war.

From Saturday until today the students ate, slept and talked together in intense sessions that sometimes produced heated exchanges but also revealed a growing radicalism among a number of the Afrikaner students who said

they were ready to live under black majority rule. 3

The meeting was characterized by repeated assurances from the black students, some of whom bore the scars of clashes with Security forces in the townships, that what they called the $\hat{a}\200\234$ people $\hat{a}\200\231$ s revolution $\hat{a}\200\235$ was directed not against whites but against $\hat{a}\200\234$ the unjust system $\hat{a}\200\235$.of apartheid that imposes segregation and white minority rule.

 $\hat{a}\200\234I$ would like to allay your fears about the term $\hat{a}\200\230$ people $\hat{a}\200\231s$ government. $\hat{a}\200\231$ It doesn $\hat{a}\200\231t$ mean a black government, it means a government for everyone who identifies with the

See SOUTH AFRICA, A18, Col. 3

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Township Residenfs, thite Students

Debate South Africaâ\200\231s Future

SOUTH AFRICA, From AL3

struggle to overthrow an unjust system, \hat{a} 200\235 said Jeremiah Sulelo, a black student who was imprisoned for five years prison.

There were also heated moments, as when an Afrikaner student leader, Marthinus van Schalkwyk, who said he favored blackwhite negotiation, argued in favor of continued security force action in the townships to ensure stability while such negotiations were in progress. He said the underground African National Congress should be excluded from the talks unless it cut its ties with communists.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ There is no way the ANC is go-

ing to distance itself from the only people who stood by it after your government banned it and put our leaders in jail, $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 35$ one black student retorted heatedly.

Blacks also reacted angrily to Van Schalkwykâ\200\231s suggestion, a reflection of official government policy, that it was $a\200\234$ not a viable option $200\235$

for the African National Congress to participate in negotiations while it was still waging a guerrilla struggle against white minority rule.

Protesting that they were the victims more than the perpetrators of violence, the blacks argued that it was even less tolerable $a\200\234$ that the state should be able to hold its mil-

itary power over a negotiating table. \hat{a} 200\235

Some of the most intense exchanges were on the kind of economic system South Africa should have after apartheid, with the blacks and radical whites equating apartheid with capitalism, while more conservative whites warned of the economic failure of socialism in other African countries.

Slabbert, who said he was pleased with the way the conference went, said he plans to hold more $a\200\234$ contact workshops $a\200\235$ like this hetween whites and blacks all over South Africa.

Slabhbert, who resigned as leader of the opposition Progressive Fed-

eral Party in 1985, raised funds abroad, mainly in Scandinavia, the United States and Britain, to start the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa to promote dialogue between these two confrontationist forces.

The institute was launched last month with a showpiece get-together of black and white community leaders from all parts of South Africa.

As Slabbert explained it, the institute $200\231$ s role is to bridge the guif of noncommunication caused by segregated living and $200\234$ get people tatking betore they start killing each other. $200\235$

If young black activists in the townships and young whites who are conscripted into the Army can meet and talk, Slabbert said, there 15 a chance they will begin to understand each orherâ\200\231s needs and fears.

 $\hat{a}\200\234But$ it they both regard it as inevitable that they must kill each other then, my God, they are yoirg to tight, $\hat{a}\200\235$ he warned.

South Africa: Have Sanctions Helped?

[sometimes wonder whether editors read the stories they are writing headlines for. A headline on page A15 [June 21] reads â\200\234Envoy Backs U.S. Sanctions for S. Africa.â\200\235 This sounded like a real sensation. Was Ambassador Edward Perkins actually taking issue with the White House and with assistant secretaries Chester Crocker and Alan Keyes? Â¥Then I read the story and found that Mr. Perkins had described last Octoberâ\200\231s sanctions act as having been a success â\200\234as a statement of abhorrence by the American people of a hated system.â\200\235

But I had thought the purpose of sanctions was to heip end apartheid, or at least push the Botha govern

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Rsy ¢/p5/eÂ¥

ment in that direction. As to whether that government has been effected, the ambassador thinks it is too early to tell.

Souf &irica, spent Wi whoa s patihertwnd renlace it with a multiracial democracy

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lsinvestment campaj "

 \hat{A}^{\c} ther than aced this effgrt. They have Becom \tilde{A}^{\capce} @ major factor Mn tne rise of :he ultra-right in the recent election and the hardened line of the Botha government against further dismantlement of apartheid legislation. \hat{a} \200\230

ARMISTEAD LEE

Arlington