

BUSINESS DAY, Tuswday, June 3 1948

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claims,
accuracy, that the African
National Congress is strongly in-
fluenced at its higher levels by

-pamphlet published yes-
Yesterday by government

with substantial

T COMMENT

Talk of the ANC

does so, then the matter is des-
tined to be settled by force. Dep-
uty Minister of Information
Louis Nel implied as much when
he produced the first copies of

. the pamphlet yesterday.

members of the Communist Par- .-
ty, and that it is wedded to the

"violent overthrow of white rule.

The ANC does not dispute
either claim. The extent of com-
munist influence in the ANC
executive is perhaps a matter for
debate - the pamphlet identifies
only four non-Marxists among
them - but it surely misses the
point.

Even Bishop Tutu {3 now say-

-ing that if sanctions fail to bring

down white rule, then the church
will justify the use of force. The

" Kaires Declaration published

last year by 140 clerics says

' much the same thing, The ANC

-itself claims it was forced into

.violence by the failure of all

peaceful methods,

That was indeed the position in 1961 when the ANC was banned, and for many years afterwards. Now the situation has, to a degree, reversed itself. Government claims it is willing to negotiate, if only the ANC will renounce the use of force; the leading ideologues within the ANC argue (the point was spelled

" out In some detail in its journal, Sechaba, more than a year ago). .
" â\200\234that -acceptance of non-violent

- change would amount to a â\200\234be-

trayal of the revolutionâ\200\235.

Admirers of dumb fatalism will find no fault with the position taken by government; nor

â\200\230will militarists and rightwingers.

But people who wish to spare this country the agony of a drawn-out race war must surely wonder whether the government of President Botha is fit to handle

â\200\230the challenges that face it.

Statesmanship calls not for a reaffirmation of the obstacles to negotiation, but for their removal. If the ANC leadership is over-ly influenced by the Communist

arty, it is In large part because its members have festered in ex-

â\200\234â\200\234ile for 20 years, wooed and court-ed only by the Communists.

And if the leaders of the ANC take a much harder line than millions of ANC sympathisers within the country, then it is surely be-

â\200\234cause there is no mechanism by

which those sympathisers can elect their leaders. '

To deal with this situation is not easy but Namibia offers a starting point. The existence of Swapo's external wing â\200\224 violent, and Communist-influenced â\200\224

" has not required the banning of
e,

This brings the issue to dead-

lock. If the ANC will not re-

nounce violence; and if govern- - gu
i hack â\200\230politician. = Â°

ment will not negotiate unless it

. Swapo within the territory. The

same dichotomy might easily be
created inside South Afrlca, and

it might open a range of new

political possibilitice.

" In any-event, it is time for the

leap, of imagination that distin-

guishes the statesman from the

>/ 5775â\200\230,.@2

THE CiTiÃ©en

ANCâ\200\231

s links with

Moscow detailed In
Govt booklet

By KRITH ABENDROTH
THE Government has
taunched 8 campaign
against the African

stional Congress,

stresging through its
own utteranced it links

th and manipulation
vy Moscow, and tying
in the Unitec Demo-
cratic Front as its pro-
revojtutionary ont

bOdYA .

The Deputy Minister of
Information Mr Louls
Nel, yesterday releassd 2
42-page booklet on the
thieat of the ANC 10
South Africa detailing the
gommunist eentrol of the
body's executive and
ittossing that many AND
rtembers are Â¢learly not
cofimunists, .

Cloasly, the dogument
is aixned at :imn.mg on
powing Bl
conosrn shout the asgalat-
ing vidence and exploit-
ing the fact that the ANC
hierurchy has to B large
extent lost conggol of its
revolutdonary forces in
the townships.

Mr Nal stressed 2t 3
Press confetence that the
(lovernment bad gone
out of its way ta be â\200\234fafrâ\200\235
1 the ANC, und said that

it would welcome and
certain any Approaches
from the ANC to discuss
any claims of ANC misste-

presentation in the docu-

ment, :
the document #tresees

moderate

Marxist revolutionary
theory and its aim of mis-
using and abusing sincere
but misguided people
along its revolutionary

He said the pawn
would be eliminated in
the final stages of a cotten-
tual takeover of South
Africa,

He stressed the pres-
ence of this the secret agen-
da the hands of the
Communist Party domi-
nated African National
Congress executive and
infiltrated, chapter and
verse, the direct Hes of
support of 23 of the 30
members of the ex-
ecutive.

I there are any of
them who say we are
wrong, and would be will-
ing to renounce violatio-
ns and talk to us it would be
music to our ears, he
said, the

Violence

It had been decided to
hit back with the docu-
ment, which contains nu-
merous direct quotations
showing the ANC's total
dedication to violence
and a socialist state, be-
cause of the escalation of

the commitment and speculation

about dialogue with the
ANC in recent weeks,

The Government con-
tinued to stress that it
would talk to the ANC,
or any body, which fore-
swore violence, And that
it saw the ANC in the
light of only one of the
realities of the
spectrum of politics

cal expression. ;

He said the Government was convinced that the Black population DY and largeâ\200\235 was *'sick and tised" of the ongoing violence and unrest and wasted to end it.

The publication, he said, proavnted yï-\201nu L1 guinents in support the South African Government's position on negotiation with the ANC.

Questioned, he said that 70 000 copies of the publication had been printed and would be sent to opinion formers throughout the country. It was probable that copies would find their way overseas.

Initially it was being printed in English and Afrikaans but plans to print it in Black languages were also being considered, : '

It had no intention, he said, of jeopardising the

negotiations of the o

" davelo

called Bminent Persons Group, it was simply being put off because the issue 1 top jobâ\200\235.

The document also indicated why the Government was opposed to contacts between private South African groups and the ANC, 110 rather how

would intentions the contacts might be.

Exploited

The Government concerned that the understandable desire of some South Africans for negotiations and for peace was being exploited by the ANC to divide and confuse democratic and moderate elements in South Africa,â\200\235 he added,

At the same time it was
very important that the
decision to produce the
b?â\200\231:gudiâ\200\230d not accord m
3 impotents, 10
ANC in the Govern-
ment's eyes,

- "The ANC is only one
of the realities in the
broader context of Black

un-

doubtedly involved in se .

rious terrorist incidents

and urban unrest in the

Republic, it is wrong to

think that the ANC has

significant control over

processes in the

Black urban areas,

" â\200\234Indeed, out of the or-
tion's main work-
s that they lead-

: 'c)udâ\200\231; after â\200\230two decades

. and continued to make it

' be g
take, somewhat satisfying

* clearly that it would negoti-

ations only with

- South: Africans who re-
sounded violence.

It has insisted that ne- :

ations just essential-
18 of give and

- reasonable da

At the moment the
.ANC does not comply
with these requirements, â\200\235 .

these

j';.;"' said Mt Noli.

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Louts
jaunches booklet on
the Aâ\200\234CI

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ANC manipulating
UDF says Tambo

Citiaen
QUOTATIONS in the
book, Talking with the

-ANC, set out to prove othet Â¢.m6Â¢aiï¬\201c organi-

that the United Demo-
cratic Front {y being ma-
aipulated directly by the
NC ~ itself undder Com-
wunist manipulation,

It says that in his presl-
dentlal sddsess in 1984,
ANC leader Oliver Tam-
o stated: â\200\234A special re-
nsbility rests on the
uldays of the ANC and
the most-sdvanced mem-
pears of our broad, demo-
cratic movement to act as
revolutionarias â\200\224= as guch
to wage & revolutionary
struggle; and basing
themselves on ths con-
ious and organisad ine
â\200\230yolvemant of the massal
of the movement, to bulld
Y moas and disciplined
yavolutionary movement,
. â\200\234In this context the fure
ther mobilisation and or-
ganisstion of the masses
of our oountry asswiie

special importance.

made grest strides in
these areas of work,

â\200\234This s evident in the
strength of the UDF and
the pace at which it con-
tinues to growâ\200\235â\200\231,

" In an article published
in â\200\234Dawnâ\200\235 journal â\200\230of
Umkhonto we Slzws =
the spear of the natlon
padlitary wing â\200\224 ft was
stated!

â\200\234Tne netional Ubere
ation wliance headed by
the ANC shall be abls to
guide the UDF onily if we
have
ground struotures within
the UDR. 5

â\200\234These structurass must

- sidlfully- give_the correct
* guldance to the UDF

sbove all raise the tasks of
the front,â\200\235

In & broadcast .of
Radio Freedom on May
11 this year the ANC said

of the UDF:
â\200\234Already we have filled

mlitlon-strong front like

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the United Democratl
pront, which
_able to snsurÃ© that the tri-
cameral system becomes
stillborn.

â\200\234However for the Unit-
ed Democratic Front and

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the workers who constl-

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History of
ANC traced
in Govt

-~ booklet

Chizen Reponer
THE DEPARTMENT of
Information publiation
â\200\234Talking with the ANC",

Traces the history of

Quits clealy, we have ' the ANC and the creep.

{ng cancer in it of the SA
Communist Party and
quotes ljnnd ANC lead-
er, Nelwon Mandels ex-
tenively â\200\224 his alm belng
to teplace capitalism in
?oufh Africa with socials
sm.

In the historical surge
it notes â\200\224 pousibly wit
the intention of peintingâ\200\231

to similar problems

ing now that the Sowe
to riots in 1976 caught the
ANC off guard.

The fact that the Otga-
sdaation had little or noth-
ing to do with the student
rioting was an indication
of the degree to which the

ANC's fondership in exile

had lost contact with de-
velopments in South Afri-
ca,

Nevertheless, it is,
the organisation ben-
efited from the distur-
bances as a result.

pumber of young
Black radicals who joined
its ranks after fleeing
from South Africa,

It backtracked to record
that the 8th major con-

of the

tact between the ANC
and international com-
munism took place in
1928 when the ANC's
leader - General J. T.
Mabasa and Cape Prov-
ince secretary, A
Guma visited Russia,

The alliance, the book
says, grew to the firm
bases of July 30 1981
when Tambo was asked to
tell the SACP that when

the ANC spoke it was,

not so much as a guest
invited to address a for-
eign organisation.

The book cites other
countries in which the
Maoist two-phase revol-
utionary theory has suc-
ceeded,

It stressed that the op-
pression of the ANC in
South Africa is not pri-
marily aimed at the secur-

ity forces as in the case
of

guerrilla action.

. Tnstond it claims that â\200\224

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roglst organiaations -
ANC aotions are directed
5 unidentifiable victitas

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and intinidating the pop- -

ulation,

~ In thiz way, it says, the-

- ANC doesnot differ at all
from the PLO, the IRA
and the Red Brigade.

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Citioon Reporter
WHILE lagving tha path

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JUSTIFICATION for the
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by the ANC In yarious

blications, socordiag o
the Departnent of Infor-
mation booklet â\200\234Talking
With the ANC", ~<

Examples lsted -

â\200\230From the Aftiean wom-
munist, Fourth Quarter
1981: â\200\234A question which
{s often raised is that slsce
violence is often linked
with revelution (in some
people's minds at any
rate) the ANC must have

*been & â\200\230moderatsâ\200\231 organi-
sation bedors 1961, Notb-
ing could be more erro-
acousâ\200\231;

On FFreedom Radio:
â\200\234Our people must Organ-
ise themselves into groups
to manufacture teadition-
al weapons which muit be
used against the enemy.

â\200\234After arming them-
selves in this manner, out
rople roust begla 0
duntiy collaborators and
snemy Agents and
them. The puppets in the
teioameral parliament and

the BamuÃ©mm must be
destroyed''')

Freedom Radio again:
On May 4 this year â\200\224 st
us take all onr wWeapons,
both rudimentary and
gophisticated, out neck-
lacas, our grenades, our

machineguns, out
AKATs, our limpet mines
and everything we can get
~Jet us fight the vigilan-
tes, the socalled â\200\230fathersâ\200\231
to.?mwr with the apati-
held regime together with

the
Army"â\204ç
Agothar Badlo Free-
doti brondcasy; "â\200\234Bnemy
property must bs vombed
or ettacked in any pos
ible way. Enemy agents
and collaborators must
also be isolated and at
tackedâ\200\235; . ;

Barlier Radio Freedom
toporied: "â\200\234Fuppets were
killed, their houges burne
od, many ware forced to-
realgn and are still resign-
ing todsy";

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Again; "The sratgy of

â\200\234Total powerâ\200\231 the

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ANC kesmen Alo
Motol sald: â\200\234Among us
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broadosst on May 7 this

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that the officlal ANC atdl- * e apartheid government
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mâ\200\231t reghtds negotiatlons - the digbanding of the SA
fist a8 A-means for achlevs Defence Forceâ\200\235 "

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achieving total power.
It quotes ANC leader

Oliver Tambo as aylnng in

s 1983 Radio Freedom
broadenst: .

â\200\234The ANC will talk to
somebody at the prapdt
moment in the proper
conditions; but witl.do #o
just beosuse our struggle
has reached a point whers
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Analysis of AN

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Gitizen Reporter
â\200\234TALKING with the ANC," the
Department of Informationâ\200\231s book-

let, claims thut the 8A Coramunist

Party and the ANC's own state-
ments present & strong case that:

Â©Â® The ANC hay 8 formal alli-
ance with the JACP and both are
coramisted to the vigent overthrow
of the present system of govern-
ment; :

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ution; :

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phase theory of revolution has been

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wer of countries, Mll-informed non-
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" first phase, will, al the â\200\234vanguard

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sume leadership during the second
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@ The ANC identifiad closely
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CiTiaen Tuesday 3 June 1986

Black-on-Black
i killings rise

dnlunï¬\202 rter

B figures published in the book
g org i k| g e

action between August last year and May this year,

Of them, 358 were killed in seeurlty force action, bug
417 were Blacks killed by Black tadicals.

8ignificantly, the Â\$ ï¬\202;um show & growing gulf be-
tween the numbers killed in securlty foree action and in
Black radical action in the past few months.

For Instance in March, 87 Blacks were killed by
Blacks, sompared with 57 by security foroes in May, 58
Blacks wera killed by Blacks compared with 11 by se

surity force sction. Betwsan May 1 and 18, 35 wore
- Killed by Blacks and 12 in security forcs autlons,

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Pamphlets of the Unis.

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South Afriean Comayy.

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â\200\230THE NEW YORK TIMES,

TUESDAY, JUNE 3,.1986

South African Opposition Splits Over Divestment

By ALAN COWELL

Special to The New York Times

JOHANNESBURG, June 2 â\200\224 When

they meet students on the campuses of American universities, white opposition figures here say, they encounter a debate that offers no easy agreement and, more often, a mutual bewilderment.

' If they are opposed to apartheid, American students are said to ask them, how can they also oppose the divestment of foreign holdings in South Africa as a means of pressing this countryâ\200\231s Government into racial change?

The automatic linkage of opposition to apartheid and support for divestment does not carry over to South Africa, where the debate on the value of withdrawing investments transcends racial lines.

Helen Suzman of the white opposition Progressive Federal Party asserted in a recent interview at her Johannesburg home that in the United States â\200\230â\200\230a simplistic equation has been evolved that unless you are pro-sanctions, you are a racist.â\200\235

In New York on Sunday, Miss Suzman told the graduating class of Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion that â\200\234â\200\234I understand the moral abhorrence and pleasure it gives you when you demonstrate. But I donâ\200\231t see how wrecking the economy of the country will insure a more stable and just society "â\200\231

Blurry Distinctions Seen

Frederick van der Slagter, the former leader of the Progressive Federal Party, said in a recent conversation that he, too, had found that support for

Reuters

Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, for-

mer leader of South Africa's Pro-
gressive Federal Party.

" doing more harm than good in the land

divestment on American college cam-
puses seemed synonymous with opposi-
tion to apartheid. Students he had
spoken to, he said, were surprised to
find that he did not support their views.

For Mrs. Suzman and others from
white opposition groups racked by de-
bate over how best to oppose apartheid,
the attitude on American campuses
evokes irritation and bewilderment at
what they perceive as ignorance, and
apprehension that the activism of
American college students will end up

it is supposed to benefit South Af-
rica.

Opposition to divestment is not uni-
versal in this splintered land. Bishop
Desmond M. Tutu, winner of the 1984
Nobel Peace Prize, reflected a wide-
spread view among black opponents of
apartheid by publicly advocating puni-
tive sanctions.

Opposed by KwaZulu Chief

Such views are frequently expressed
by, black labor unionists, but do not
seem to have universal black support.
Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, leader of
KwaZulu, so-called homeland for the
nation's 6 million Zulus, opposes di-
vestment and other sanctions on the
grounds that blacks would be the first
to suffer from the destruction of the
economy.

Mrs. Suzman, a veteran of white op-
position to apartheid, has her own per-
spective.

Divestment, she said, was self-de-
feating because it blunts the one
weapon that blacks are able to use to
insist that their demands be accommo-
dated that is if they have the power
to withdraw skilled labor in a power-
ful economy increasingly dependent on
black skills.

The withdrawal of investments, she
argued, could not be seen as a measure

that could be lifted after it had achieved its effect. "Once people disinvest," she said, "they don't come back."

Disappointment in America

On American campuses, she said, "I think people were probably rather disappointed by my attitude" and, at the same time, the Government she op-

South Af-

U. S. , on U. S. Urge End to Apartheid

Special to The New York Times

JOHANNESBURG, June 2 "More than 80 member companies of the American Chamber of Commerce in South Africa placed full-page newspaper advertisements around the country today "call for sweeping changes in apartheid and the legalization of outlawed political organizations."

The appeal of the legalization of

political organizations,

presumably including the exiled African National Congress, conflicted with the opening of a new campaign by the authorities designed to depict the rebel organization, based in Lusaka, Zambia, as a group steered by Communists and bent on seizing total power

At a news conference in Pretoria, Louis Nel, the deputy minister responsible for Pretoria's information policies, displayed a new 42-page booklet called "Talking with the ANN.C.," the initials of the African National Congress.

To Inform South Africans

* Mr. Nel said the African National Congress, whose statements may not be quoted in South Africa, was quoted at length in the booklet because of recurrent speculation that the Government might negotiate with the group.

It is the right time to inform South Africans on this issue," Mr. Nel said. In the past, South Africa has ruled out negotiations with the African National Congress because of its espousal of violence as a means of overthrowing white

mmoul} rule.

South Africaâ\200\231s whiie ieaders have ex-

pressed readiness to negotiate with |

black leaders provided they renvunce
violence. â\200\230At the imnoiuent,â\200\235â\200\235 the booklet
says, â\200\230â\200\230the A.N.C. does not comaply with
these requirenicins. â\204ç

The booklet :efers als Lo the oui-
lawed South African Communist
Pariy, which has a formal alliauce
with the African National Congress.

â\200\234â\200\234The A.N.C. has a foriual alliance
with the S.A.C.F.. " he booklet says,
â\200\230â\200\230and both are conunitted to the violent
overthrow of the plesent system of gov-
ernment for the puspose of seizing total
power for itself.â\200\235

The appeaiance oi the booklet sug-
gesied thai the authuiities are seekiilg
tc coumer the propaganda viciories
scored by the African Naloundl Con
gress In the last 20 months of violent
proiest in South Africa, which has
claimed more than 1,600 lives.

In that period, the African National
Congress has emerged as the emblem:
of black resistance in the nationâ\200\231s seg-
regated townships and has come to as-
sume the mantle, in the eyes of many
South African blacks and foreign politi-
cal analysts, as a potential successor to
Afrikaner rule -â\200\224 a status vehemently
repudiated by the authorities.

Many Press for Legalization
Many South African business offi-
cials now say that only with the legali-
zation of the Congress, and the release

of its imprisoned leaders, notably Nel- |

kâ\200\224â\200\224â\200\224

son Mandela, can the nation be wrested
fromn its crisis.

The notion was echoed in the adver-
tisement today, sponsored by such
companies as I.B.M., Citibank, Coca-
Cola, and Union Carbide. The adver-
tiseinent appeared under a photograph
of a black hand and white hand reach-
ing out for one another. â\200\230â\200\234â\200\234We must get it
wogether,â\200\235 the advertisement said.

It called for the removal of discriminatory legislation and said apartheid laws were "totally contrary to the idea of free enterprise."

The advertisement acknowledged that some American companies based in South Africa were under mounting pressure from the divestment lobby in the United States to justify their continued presence in South Africa.

The advertisement listed seven demands, including the freeing of political prisoners and the legalization of outlawed organizations, whose identities were not specified.

There was no immediate response

from Government officials, who may |8

view the advertisement, South African political commentators said, as an intrusion into domestic politics by companies who have, in the country's years of growth, recorded substantial profits.

poses in Parliament seems so slow in offering tangible evidence of substantial reform that "I am not going to go

knocking my head against a stone wall" by opposing sanctions unless the Government reinforces the argument that change is coming.

That, she said, did not imply that she had dropped her opposition to sanctions, but rather that the Government was making the argument futile by offering no reformist ammunition for sanctions opponents.

From her experience in the United States, she said, divestment seemed "a wonderful moral cause and everybody feels good about it."

"But it's not going to bring down the rapid demise of the Government," she said. "The Government will plod on with its incremental changes, or, if things get really tough, you will get back into the laager attitude, close down the hatches, become self-sufficient and go into a situation approximating martial law."

The divestment campaign, she said, seemed based on the idea that change could be effected by "the short, sharp shove of sanctions."

But that conflicted with her own view that political change in this country would result from "a long process of |,

attrition, growing repression and right-wing intransigence.â\200\235

Should the withdrawal of foreign investment limit economic expansion so that budgetary planners in South Africa had to decide whether to increase

spen , say, on the army or on segregated black schools, then the army would have first clmm. she said.

â\200\234If white survival is in the balance,â\200\235 she said, â\200\234I have no doubt which priority the Government will settle for.â\200\235

Discussion Has Effects

}:hscusslon of how apartheid shouldâ\200\230be combated has affected the Progressive Federal Party. Dr. Slabbert resigned as party leader earlier this year, arguing that Parliament and its politics were not capable of effecting real reform.

His resignation angered the party faithful, including Mrs. Suzman, who argue that, since the nationâ\200\231s racially segregated three-chamber Parliament is the only body capable of legislating change, then change should be sought within it.

Dr. Slabbert has argued that by seeking a role outside Parliament he might be able to promote change in other ways by mediating between the nationâ\200\231s many rival forces.

His resignation, and the Progressive .Federal Partyâ\200\231s continued presence in Parliament as a questioner and critic of Government policies, seem to sharpen the issue about the role of white liberals toward the ambition of a restive black majority mcreasmgly ready to seek its own route to what is termed â\200\234liberationâ\200\231 from white rule.

But decisions affecting South Africaâ\200\231s future, the Rev. Beyers Naude, eneral secretary of the South African Council of Churches, said the other day, were no longer being made in Parliament, or board rooms or synods, but : on the streets of segregated black wwnships, by â\200\234â\200\230those who are suffering.â\200\235

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.SDAY, JUNE 3, 1986

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SHULTZ DENOUNGES
APARTHEID, SAYING:
IT MUST GO SOONâ\200\231

He Asserts West Will Suffer if
South Africa Fails to Shift
Its System Peacefully

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 2 â\200\224 Secretary
of State George P. Shultz said today
that â\200\230â\200\234Western interests â\200\224 moral,
strategic, economic and political â\200\224
will sufferâ\200\235 if apartheid in South Africa
is not soon ended peacefully.

â\200\234Apartheid is wrong,â\200\235 he said. â\200\234It
robs the blacks of South Africa of their
fundamental human rights. It drains
the country of its human potential, and
it threatens the security and economic
prospects of an entire subcontinent.

â\200\234Our people in government have
demonstrated that we oppose apart-
heid. Apartheid must go, and it must
yield to a nonracial system based on
the consent of all the governed. It must
go soon.â\200\235â\200\231 !

Defends Administration Policy
In an emotionally charged speech to

a conference of clergy interested in

Shultz Attacks Apartheid System,

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African National Congress offices in

Saying It Must Be Replaced Soon |

Continued From Page A1 The conferetice was sponsored by the
Reagan Administrationâ\200\231s â\200\234special
working group on South and southein
Africa,â\200\235 formed last fall. The goal of .

Â@ three neighboring countries. the group, which is led by the State De-

In addition, around the country, and|partment, is to build public support for

~ particularly on college campuses, |the Administrationâ\200\231s policies.

there have been renewed protests call-| The meeting at the State Depariment
ing for institutions to divest themselves | was meant {0 persuade members of the

' of holdings in South Africa. clergy of the Administrationâ\200\231s sin-

Mr. Shultz said that just as it was im- cerity in opposing apartheid and w win
portant tc reject the â\200\234immoral vio-|the backing of the clerics for the Ad-
lenceâ\200\235 in South Africa, â\200\234so also must ministrationâ\200\231s opposition 10
more se-

we question the political and moral vi-| vere measures. Mr. Shultz was well re-

. sion of those who advocate economic ceived by the group, which applauded

destruction as the road to South Af- severai gmes.
ricaâ\200\231s salvation.â\200\235 =t

â\200\234Some would have us believe that the
true foes of apartheid are the advo-'
cates of punitive economic sanctions

_ and disinvestment,â\200\235 he said. â\200\234They
X have_â\200\230iailed to make a convincing

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" Says Change Is Occurring
He said that change was taking place

' in South Africa and that the prospeci of
" further change was â\200\234exciting violent

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â\200\230 of us can permit ultimate victory in the

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minorities at both ends of the political
spectrum.â\200\235

Citing the right-wing Afrikaner
groups Oppose a change and the left-
wing black radicals as examples of the,
opposite poles, Mr. Shultz said, â\200\234â\200\234Nonej

form of a democratic society for all
South Africans to be wrenched from us
by extremes of left and right.â\200\235

He said pressure from the United
States and other nations as well as
pressure from within the country were
producing some â\200\234meaningful reformâ\200\235
in apartheid.

â\200\234The question we now face is not
whether apartheid will end, but how
and when it will go,â\200\235 he said, â\200\234â\200\230and
what will replace it.â\200\235

â«Will it end in bloody, violent kind of
confrontations, strung out over some
years and totally destructive?â\200\235 he
said, in answer to a question from a
member of the audience. â\200\230â\200\234â\200\230Can we find
a way to bring it to an end through a
process of no doubt very difficult, tough

negotiations and struggle? I don't know
how probable it is, but I know it's possi-
ble. And as long as it's possible, we
would be derelict in our duty if we did-
n't stay engaged and try to be construc-
tive and try to bring something good
out of the situation.

the lime iâ€¢ Decide

e Bibie velis us (hal thel is a sea-
son for every change, he said. There
is a time to deliberate and a time o de-'
cide. In South Africa, now is the time to !
decide. Now is the time for negotiat;onil
Negotiation alone off e prospect of
ol change. |

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