

AFRICA NETWORK

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APARTHEID GOVERNMENT DECLARES ILLEGAL BANS

Today's news (2/25/88) of the Pretoria Government's ruling to enforce cross-country censorship and bannings of "the activities of 17 leading anti-apartheid organizations, including the nation's largest, the United Democratic Front, prohibit(ing) the major labor federation from all political action" is a heartbreaking, disgraceful violation of international human rights law.

Through this ruling, the apartheid government also stands in violation of the preamble of its own constitution's decree:

"To uphold Christian values and civilized norms...

"To safeguard the integrity and freedom of our country...

"To uphold the independence of the judiciary and equality of all under the law...

"To respect and to protect the human dignity, life, liberty and property of all in our midst...

"To accept our duty to seek world peace in association with all peace loving peoples and nations."

Urgently request Congress to take action declaring apartheid government's conduct as illegal before international court of law.

Please contact Congressional Representatives in your area accordingly and forward copies of correspondence (requests and responses) to Africa Network, P.O. Box 5366, Evanston, IL 60204.

Many thanks for your concern and efforts.

Dennis Brutus

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RSA

PREAMBLE TO THE CONSTITUTION

IN HUMBLE SUBMISSION to Almighty God Who controls the destinies of peoples and nations,
Who gathered our forebears together from many lands and gave them this their own,
Who has guided them from generation to generation,
Who has wondrously delivered them from the dangers that beset them,

WE DECLARE that we
ARE CONSCIOUS of our responsibility towards God and man;
ARE CONVINCED of the necessity of standing united and of pursuing the following national goals:

To uphold Christian values and civilized norms, with recognition and protection of freedom of faith and worship,
To safeguard the integrity of freedom of our country,
To uphold the independence of the judiciary and the equality of all under the law,
To secure the maintenance of law and order,
To further the contentment and the spiritual and material welfare of all,
To respect and to protect the human dignity, life, liberty and property of all in our midst,
To respect, to further and to protect the self-determination of population groups and peoples,
To further private initiative and effective competition:

ARE PREPARED TO ACCEPT our duty to seek world peace in association with all peace-loving peoples and nations; and

ARE DESIROUS OF GIVING THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA
A CONSTITUTION which provides for elected and responsible forms of government and which is best suited to the traditions, history and circumstances of our land.

The New York Times

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 1988

South Africa Bans Most Anti-Apartheid Activities

Key Labor Federation Will Also Be Barred From Political Action

By JOHN D. BATTERSBY

Special to The New York Times

JOHANNESBURG, Feb. 24 — The South African Government today banned the activities of 17 leading anti-apartheid organizations, including the nation's largest, the United Democratic Front, and prohibited the major labor federation from all political action.

Anti-apartheid leaders vowed to defy the crackdown and warned the Government that its action would lead to further violence.

The curbs were imposed under a 20-month-old nationwide state of emergency decree and took effect immediately.

Western officials and analysts reacted with shock and sharp dismay to the crackdown. [Page 6.]

Tutu Speaks in Cape Town

Speaking at a news conference in Cape Town, Archbishop Desmond M. Tutu, the Nobel Peace laureate and leader of South Africa's 1.6 million Anglicans, said:

"Peaceful paths to change are being closed off one by one, and those wanting real change are being encouraged by the Government's actions to turn to violence.

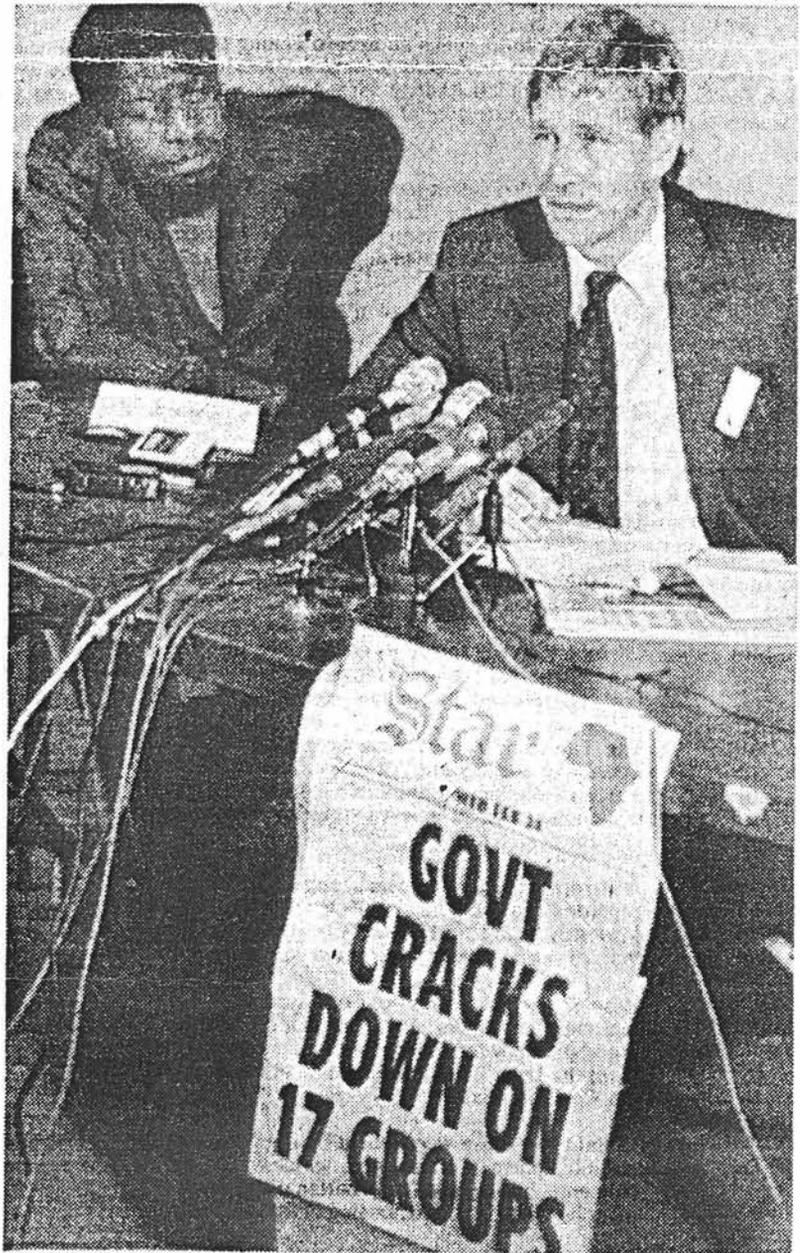
"White South Africans must realize that they are at the crossroads," he went on. "If they don't stop this Government soon, and there's not much hope that they will, we are heading for war."

Official Cites Public Order

The Law and Order Minister, Adriaan J. Vlok, said at a news conference that "the South African Government is determined to take all reasonable steps to insure the safety of the public and the maintenance of public order."

He added that the new regulations "will contribute to a climate of stability, peaceful coexistence and good neighborliness among all population groups."

The new curbs appear to be aimed at further weakening anti-apartheid



Agence France-Presse

Montsho Motswagi, left, spokesman for United Democratic Front, with Peter Harris, civil rights lawyer, at Johannesburg news session.

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Stiff Anti-Apartheid Curbs Imposed

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groups — already severely hampered by the Government's earlier crack-downs — and restricting their leaders, so the Government can release detained rank-and-file members without concern that the groups can resume their operations. In this sense the measures differ from outright bans imposed on the African National Congress in 1960 and on 18 black-consciousness organizations in 1977.

The decree, published in the official Government Gazette early today, prohibits the 17 anti-apartheid groups from "carrying on or performing any acts whatsoever."

To Retain Legal Status

The decree said the affected organizations would retain their legal status and could keep their assets. They can also keep their records and books up to date and perform related administrative functions.

At his news conference, Mr. Vlok said the Government did not wish to prohibit all the activities of all the organizations concerned but "only those which endanger the safety of the public."

Some lawyers said the restrictions were so wide and vague that they would stand little chance of being upheld if challenged in a court of law.

The Congress of South African Trade Unions, or Cosatu, the country's largest labor federation, with a mostly black membership of 800,000, was placed under separate restrictions that forbid it to campaign for disinvestment and sanctions by foreign companies or governments, to call for the release of

South Africa bans the activities of 17 leading groups.

detainees or the legalization of outlawed political organizations, or to mobilize opposition to the Government-sanctioned system of local government or call for work stoppages on anniversaries of significant dates in the history of anti-apartheid protest.

The measures were announced just a week before three whites-only by-elections, in which the National Party Government faces strong opposition from the extreme right-wing Conservative Party. Political commentators also suggested that the ban was intended to forestall anti-apartheid groups' plans to encourage a boycott of multi-racial elections for local councils in October.

Movements Restricted

The Government also announced restrictions on the movements and activities of 18 anti-apartheid leaders, including Archibald Gumede and Albertina Sisulu, co-presidents of the United Democratic Front, an anti-apartheid coalition of more than 600 community organizations that says it has nearly 3 million members.

Four hours before she was served with the order, Mrs. Sisulu spoke at a news conference at Khotso House, headquarters of the South African Council of Churches. She said:

"The Government is declaring war on the people of South Africa. The United Democratic Front and its affil-

ates will not take this sitting down. We will challenge these curbs in a court of law."

Mrs. Sisulu and Mr. Gumede were the last Front leaders not restricted, detained or involved in protracted treason trials.

Emphasis Away From Detention

A police legal adviser, who did not want to be identified, told journalists that the restriction of individuals, some of whom were still in detention, was an attempt to shift the emphasis away from detaining people to returning them to society while curbing subversive activities.

The people restricted include a number of leaders of anti-apartheid groups involved in violence between black factions in Natal province, but no one from the opposing group, Inkatha, is affected.

The affected groups include leading civil rights groups such as the Detainees Parents Support Committee, which has been in the forefront of campaigning against large-scale detentions.

"The lights are finally going out in South Africa, and with them the last vestiges of freedom to criticize or resist in any way the suffocating tentacles of apartheid," said Dr. Max Coleman, a physician who is a spokesman for the committee. "To oppose it is to invite liquidation."

Some Not Affected

Both the Front and the Support Committee are black-led, multiracial groups that include white members. Mainly white affiliates of the Front, like the End Conscription Campaign, and liberal civil rights groups like the Black Sash, were not affected by the ban.

Also restricted were the Soweto Civic Association, a community organization in Johannesburg's sprawling black satellite city that has spearheaded a 20-month-old rent boycott; the Azanian Peoples Organization, a rival of the United Democratic Front that espouses the black consciousness philosophy, and the Release Mandela Committee, a group campaigning for the release of the imprisoned African National Congress leader, Nelson R. Mandela, and other political prisoners.

Lawyers said only those Front affiliates mentioned in the list of 17 organizations would be affected by the ban, and that the curb on Cosatu would not apply to individual unions belonging to the federation.

Signals of a Shift in Strategy

The crackdown follows signals of a fundamental shift in the Government's strategy of seeking a power-sharing arrangement with blacks. In recent months the Government appears to have accepted its failure to involve black leaders with any substantial following in its plans and has opted instead to try to encourage improvements in the socio-economic position of blacks ahead of any further political changes.

Groups Seeking Changes

Special to The New York Times

JOHANNESBURG, Feb. 24 — In its crackdown today, the Government restricted the activities of 17 anti-apartheid organizations and one labor federation. Here are the names and descriptions of the groups:

Azanian People's Organization (Azapo). Black consciousness-oriented anti-apartheid group; rival of U.D.F.

Azanian Youth Organization. Azapo youth wing.

Cape Youth Congress. U.D.F.-affiliated youth group in Cape Province.

Congress of South African Trade Unions. Labor federation with about 800,000 members.

Craddock Residents' Association. Black civic group in Cape Province.

Detainees Parents Support Committee. U.D.F.-affiliated group aiding detainees' families.

Detainees Support Committee. Provides post-detention aid for ex-detainees.

National Education Crisis Committee. U.D.F.-affiliated coalition of parent, teacher and student groups.

National Education Union of South Africa. National umbrella body for anti-apartheid groups in education.

Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organization.

Community organization in Port Elizabeth in Eastern Cape province.

Release Mandela Committee. Group seeking release of Nelson Mandela.

Soweto Civic Association. Soweto community organization.

Soweto Youth Congress. U.D.F.-affiliated youth group in Soweto.

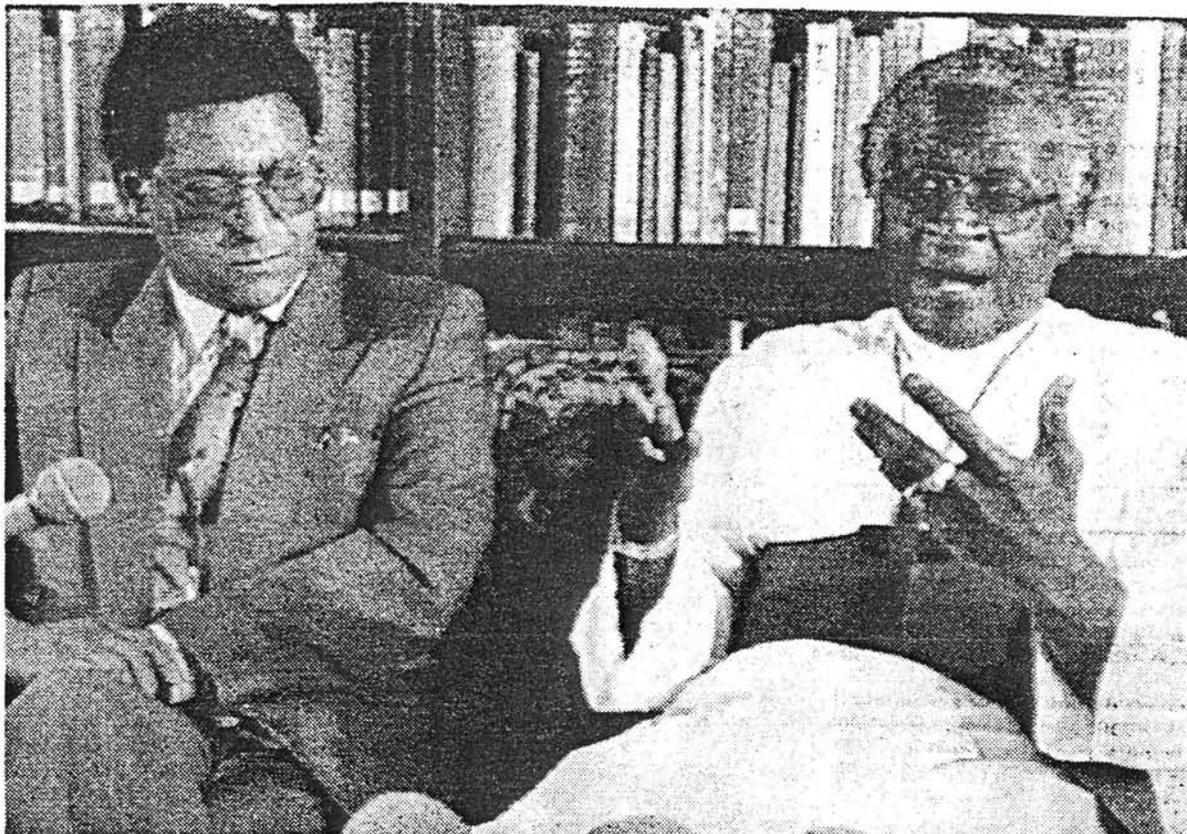
South African National Students' Congress. National umbrella body for black student organizations.

South African Youth Congress U.D.F.-affiliated national umbrella body for non-student youth; claims membership of between 500,000 and 700,000.

United Democratic Front. Anti-apartheid coalition of 650 organizations claiming between 2.5 and 3 million members.

Vaal Civic Association. Civic group representing residents of black townships south of Johannesburg.

Western Cape Civic Association. Coalition of civic associations in Western Cape Province.



Agence France-Presse

Archbishop Desmond F. Tutu, right, with Dr. Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, at a news conference in Cape Town after the Government announced its crackdown.

'Shock and Distress' in West Over Pretoria's Action

By MARK A. UHLIG

Western officials and analysts reacted with sharp dismay yesterday to South Africa's crackdown on major anti-apartheid organizations and predicted that the move would hasten the growth of violent conflict between the Government and its opponents.

Congressional advocates of economic sanctions against South Africa predicted that the move would lend strong momentum to a drive for further measures this spring. And representatives of the African National Congress, the largest outlawed opposition group seeking the overthrow of the Pretoria Government cited the crackdown as proof that the authorities could not be trusted to deal in good faith with black opponents.

Many experts expressed particular surprise at the breadth of the new restrictions, which include several organizations that are widely considered to be relatively moderate.

"It's hard to understand why at this particular moment they would slap such severe restrictions on any type of opposition gathering," said Senator Nancy L. Kassebaum, a Kansas Republican who is the ranking minority member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee's subcommittee on Africa. "It is a major disappointment for anyone who has had hope for even small steps forward in South Africa."

"This action betrays the hollowness of the regime's claim that it is committed

to reform, and committed to dialogue," said Neo Mnumzana, the permanent observer at the United Nations for the African National Congress.

The Governments of the United States and Britain, the two nations long considered to be South Africa's most important foreign friends, bluntly condemned the crackdown.

"We are appalled by the announcement from the South African Government today that it is effectively outlawing the activities of a large number of organizations," said the State Department spokesman, Charles E. Redman.

He said the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Chester Crocker, had summoned the South African Ambassador, Piet Koornhof to express to him the Reagan Administration's "shock and distress" at the announcement.

Move for Sanctions Seen

In London, British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe declared his Government to be "totally opposed to repressive measures of this kind."

Congressional critics of the South Africa predicted that the new restrictions would revive efforts to impose strong new economic sanctions against South Africa.

"What the South African Government is doing is an open invitation to greater violence and bloodshed," said Representative Howard E. Wolpe, a Michigan Democrat and chairman of

the House Foreign Affairs Committee's subcommittee on Africa.

"It 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," said Mr. Wolpe, who is expected to hold hearings on new sanctions proposals next month.

Reagan Opposition Stands

But State Department officials said the Reagan Administration had not relaxed its opposition to new sanctions.

Mr. Redman said sanctions "do not accomplish what we're trying to accomplish — bringing an end to apartheid."

American experts on black politics in South Africa said they were baffled by the scope of the Government's action.

"The Government is isolating itself from popular leaders because of its own misconceptions about who the popular leaders are," said Thomas G. Karis, professor emeritus of political science at the City University of New York and editor of a four-volume documentary history of South African black politics.

"This further polarizes the situation, further alienates the Government from many blacks who were prepared to talk with it," Dr. Karis said.